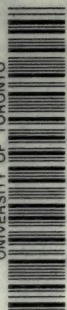


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AMERICA





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AMERICA.

AND THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE.

BY

FREDERICK VON RAUMER,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN, &c. &c.

"If we compare the present condition of our Union with its actual state at the close of the Revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement, in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation, which bears any resemblance to it."—MONROE, *Seventh Message*.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

WILLIAM W. TURNER.

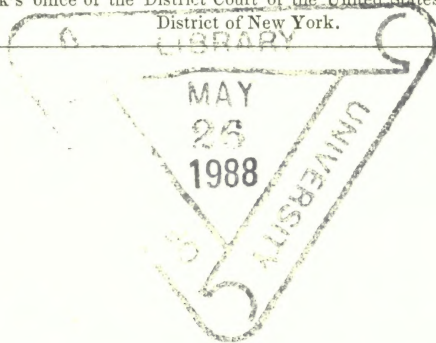
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S. W. BENEDICT, PRINTER,
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THIS work of BARON VON RAUMER which has been recently published in Germany, although in good part of a didactic nature, will not it is thought be without interest for the American public, on account of the reputation which this veteran historian has already acquired, the almost personal concernment of the topics he discusses to every American citizen, and the candid and kindly spirit in which he writes. His opinions on the whole respecting the institutions, the past history, and the future prospects of this country, are in the highest degree favorable; and whenever he allows himself to find fault, which is but seldom, he does it with evident reluctance, and with the air of a friend whose admonitions are wholesome, and not with the bitterness of an enemy. The comparisons too, which he makes between many of the American institutions and the corresponding institutions of Europe, will be found useful and instructive. One virtue of his will not be the less esteemed on account of its rarity among writers in this country; and that is, that he has at least endeavored to make himself well acquainted with what he has undertaken to write about. He has also shown great and commendable carefulness in every instance, not to violate the privileges of a guest by exposing to the world the confidences of private and social intercourse,—a proceeding which some writers on both sides of the water might imitate with advantage.

The Author has made numerous quotations from American works; and these I have compared with the originals, wherever I could have access to them. The delay occasioned by these verifications has unavoidably caused the publication to be postponed somewhat beyond the expected time. I observed in the course of making them, that the Author had occasionally fallen into slight errors in the hurry of copying; these, where I have noticed them, I have silently corrected. In every other respect, I have endeavored, as in duty bound, to faithfully render the

Author's meaning, whatever may be the statements or sentiments he puts forth ; which of course does not involve an endorsement of every thing contained in the book. Indeed I have often felt inclined to add a correcting or explanatory note, but in general have refrained from every thing of the kind : because want of time would not have permitted me to do it except in a very partial degree ; and because, as the Germans would say, it is rather the *subjectivity* than the *objectivity* of the book that will claim the attention of readers in this country. Americans will not resort to a work of this kind, written by a foreigner, and which treats of such a variety of delicate and difficult topics, to obtain minute information on matters of fact. What they will feel curious to know is, what are the opinions of an intelligent and well informed man, placed by circumstances beyond the reach of local passions and prejudices, on the various topics that have long agitated and continue to agitate the national mind.

Although the Author's anxiety not to decide on hasty or one-sided grounds, but to do justice to all the valid arguments advanced on either side, may sometimes give him an appearance of wavering, it will be found that the principles of the widest liberty are every where adopted as his own. The opinions which he thus expresses are not without their value in another point of view, for those whose sympathies are not confined within the physical boundaries of their own country ; for they show us what are the thoughts and aspirations that now engage the minds of the foremost men among our German brethren. The cheering sun of liberty is now scattering its effulgent beams over all the habitations of men. And as the nations turn towards its divine light, and bless its genial life-restoring warmth, they laugh the scowling despots to scorn, who would persuade them it is but a scorching and devouring flame. The Anglo-Saxon offshoot of the great northern family of nations has long basked and thriven in this sunshine of the soul. The glistening eyes of Germans and Scandinavians look upon the success and happiness of their more fortunate kinsmen with feelings, not of envy, but of honest pride and emulation. They too are resolved to share these high privileges. Already they buckle on their armor for the field ; the notes of preparation sweeping across the Atlantic already meet our ears ; nay, already the combat with the powers of tyranny and superstition has begun,—and who can doubt of a glorious victory at last ? Lord, hasten the day !

W. W. T.

NEW YORK, November, 1845.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN the course of my historical labors I have been led from ancient to mediæval, and lastly to modern, the most modern history of all. Here the French Revolution is usually designated by its admirers, as the highest point of human development; while it is condemned by its opponents, as an incontrovertible proof of human folly and sinfulness. To the former, any further progress beyond what has been attained seems scarcely possible; the latter despair of the future altogether. Neither of these views satisfied me in the least; and the more I desired to become acquainted with the actual present and the probable future of mankind, the more I became convinced that this latter was by no means to be sought in Europe alone, and that amid the splendors and horrors of the French Revolution the Germano-American one had been too much overlooked.

Eager for information, I took up in succession a great number of books of travels. But what for the most part were the representations I encountered? A country of late origin and in every respect more imperfect than the other parts of the world, an unhealthy climate, infectious diseases, a dead level of democracy originating in a lawless and villanous rebellion, a presumptuous rejection of all the natural distinctions of society, together with shameful ill-treatment of the negroes and Indians. Politics every where a prey to party spirit; religion split up into a multitude of sects; indifference to science and art, an immoderate worship of Mammon, an eager striving after material advancement with a neglect of the spiritual and the amiable; nowhere truth and faith, nowhere the amenities of refined social existence; a total want of history and of great poetical recollections, &c. &c.

Can it be wondered at, when a well-informed writer angrily exclaims: "I have read nearly all the statements of travellers in the United States for the last thirty years; and it has filled me with astonishment that

such a mass of contradiction and absurdity could have been produced on any given subject.”* Since 1786, remarked John Jay, I have found scarcely six foreign travellers that knew any thing of America ;†—and this number, adds a skilful reviewer, is still too high !

Yet in spite of this censure, and of these leaders or misleaders, my longing to behold the youthful present of this remarkable country increased, and with it my desire to hear true prophets discourse of a brilliant future. Still I was often told plumply and plainly by Americans (although I had carefully prepared myself and used every exertion to become a diligent learner), that “no foreigner could accurately judge or properly describe any thing American.” Declarations of this kind rendered me more and more sensible of the magnitude and difficulty of my undertaking, and urged me to redoubled scientific exertions ; but they could not wholly discourage me. In the first place, because it can scarcely be denied, that the native who always stays at home very easily becomes partial in his views ; that travelling, on the contrary, widens and clears up the intellectual horizon.‡ It is not until a man has one or more times left his native land, that he can thoroughly comprehend both that *and* foreign countries. Again, when native-born Americans, as is very natural, entertain different opinions on a host of topics, a traveller must also be allowed to adopt the views of one or the other. Lastly, so long as they are praised, most Americans do not require either a long residence or native birth ; it is only when this is intermingled with blame, that complaints are almost invariably heard of prejudice, ignorance, difficulty of understanding the American character, too short a stay, &c. &c.

It is true nevertheless, that the observer very seldom places himself at the proper point of view for America ; hence it results that even well-wishers have frequently regarded things in a crooked, distorted, false light. Scattered and trivial anecdotes hastily caught up, have been used to characterize and even to depreciate an entire people ; and observations made in rail-cars, steam-boats, and hotels, have often been the only sources of confident representations. In their zeal against undeniable and unpleasant trifles, they fail to see any thing of the great and unparalleled historical phenomena offered to their view ; they find fault with all that differs from what they have been accustomed to at home ; sigh after kings, courts, nobles, soldiers, orders, titles, an established church, rights

* Hinton, *Topography*, ii. 412.

† *American Review*, xvi. 281.—The witty Clockmaker says, in his peculiar way (p. 39): “Wishy-washy trash they call tours, sketches, travels, letters, and what not—vapid stuff, just sweet enough to catch flies, cockroaches, and half-fledged gulls.”

‡ O wad some Power the giftie gie us,
To see oursel as others see us!—BURNS.

of primogeniture, and the like ; look for routs, soirées, and perfumed fine gentlemen and dandies in the western wilds ; and reproach the Americans with all sorts of defects (of which they themselves have long been aware), without ever undertaking to show how they should be treated and removed.

Perhaps I too would have fallen into the like errors, had I not been supported and instructed in the most obliging and courteous manner by the best informed men in every department of life. For this I here publicly render them my most sincere and heartfelt thanks : and if I do not name every individual among my instructors and friends, or mention every obliging act, every instructive and pleasant companionship which I enjoyed, it is by no means owing to lack of feeling, but because I must fear that repetitions, accruing on every page, would weary even the kindest reader. On this account I have printed only fragments from the Letters written during my tour, by way of addenda to the book. They have a personal although not an objective truth, and exhibit the first impressions of the moment. The demand, that I should have delineated more sharply, have written with greater piquancy, and not have shunned even the violence or offensiveness of caricature, is one to fulfil which would be foreign to my nature. If, notwithstanding, I have fallen into this fault against my will, I beg that it may be forgiven, and that the errors (which in a book of such varied contents are unavoidable, in spite of the most careful endeavors) may be kindly excused. As for the rest, the moderate compass of my book will show that I have not even desired to touch upon *every* topic, much less could I exhaust them.

But many will probably object, as they often have done before, that I am obnoxious to a much severer censure, and am devoid of gratitude and feeling ; because I do not see the *whole* truth in *one* extreme, but endeavor to penetrate to the centre from which life and motion radiate on every side. Extremes however—as in the vibrations of a pendulum—show only the points of stoppage and return ; and it is not from them that the force which impels in both directions proceeds. Certainly Aristotle never intended by his energy of being, thinking, and feeling, to signify a mere negation ; his *energetic* medium was no stupid letting of oneself down between two stools,—a line of conduct which no man can praise or recommend who retains the use of his five senses.

Should my book reach America, I request my readers there not to forget, that it is especially intended for Germany, and can offer nothing new to the well informed inhabitants of the United States. On that account I was obliged, among other things, to give a summary of the constitutions and a somewhat lengthy historical introduction. The latter was rendered necessary by the fact that in Europe many imagine

that the great confederation grew out of a rebellion, and consequently can never enjoy a sound existence or bear wholesome fruit.

The peculiarities of Europe cannot be indiscriminately imitated in North America, nor those of North America in Europe. Excellences as well as defects may serve for mutual instruction and improvement.

Many at home had prophesied to me, that when I returned from the United States, I should be cured of all *favorable* prejudices, and bring with me an *unfavorable* opinion of the country and the people. How differently has it turned out! All the trifling disagreeablenesses of the journey have utterly lost their importance; while the truly great and wonderful phenomena and facts still remain like the sun-lighted peaks of the Alps, in full splendor before my eyes.

But in proportion to the depth and sincerity of this my love and admiration, I feel it to be my sacred duty not to dissemble or cloak the dark side of the picture. In the censures I have uttered, regardless of consequences, yet according to the best of my knowledge and belief, there will be found expressed at the same time the wish for improvement, and faith in the possibility of such improvement.

While there is but little hope of a new and more extended development of humanity in Asia and Africa, how sickly do many parts of Europe appear! If we were forced to despair too of the future progress of the Germanic race in America, whither could we turn our eyes for deliverance, except to a new and direct creation from the hand of the Almighty!

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

NATURAL FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY.

	PAGE.
Age of the American Continent—Its Extent—Seas and Lakes—Mountains—Rivers—Climate—Mineral and Vegetable Kingdoms—Prairies—Agriculture	13

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERIES AND FIRST SETTLEMENTS.

Travellers and Discoverers—Virginia—Maryland—New England—Carolina—New York—New Jersey—Pennsylvania—Georgia—Delaware—General state of things	22
---	----

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR TO 1763	29
-----------------	----

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

State of affairs after the War—Commerce and Duties—Right of Taxation—Stamp Act—Resolutions in America—Effect in England, and Counsels there adopted—Views and Principles—Question of Right—State of Fact—Abolition of the Stamp Act—Hopes and Fears—New Taxes—Duty on Tea—Tea cast into the Sea—Proceedings against Boston—New Movements—First Congress—Resolutions of the Congress—Parliament, Chatham—Lord North's Proposals—Burke's Proposals—Beginning of the War—Declaration of Independence—Reflections	31
---	----

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

Necessity of the War—Washington—Capture of Burgoyne—France and America—War between France and England	52
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND TO THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES.

Views in England—Chatham's Death—Disasters of the Americans—Paper Money—Rochambeau, Arnold, Andre—Capture of Cornwallis—Treaties of Peace—Results	62
---	----

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES TO THE ADOPTION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

Loyalists—Consequences of the War—The Army—Washington's Departure—First Constitution of 1778—New Constitution—Washington President	67
--	----

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF 1787.

Representatives and Senators—Rights of Congress—The President—The Judicial Power—General Regulations	72
--	----

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

The Territories.	76
------------------	----

CHAPTER X.

THE PRESIDENCY OF WASHINGTON AND OF JOHN ADAMS.

Washington's Presidentship—The French Revolution—Genet—Foreign Relations—Washington's Farewell—Washington's Death—John Adams—Dispute with France—Alien and Sedition Bills	80
---	----

CHAPTER XI.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PAGE.

Birth—Descent, and Education—Declaration of Independence—Jefferson in Paris—Jefferson President—Jefferson on the Freedom of the Press—Jefferson on Christianity—Jefferson on Plato—Federalists and Republicans—Jefferson's Principles—Jefferson on Slavery—Jefferson on Political Union—Jefferson's Administration—Jefferson's Message—Louisiana—Contest with the Maritime Powers—Jefferson's Private Life—Jefferson, Adams, and Washington—Jefferson's Death—Jefferson's Fame	87
--	----

CHAPTER XII.

THE RACES OF MANKIND AND SLAVERY.

Slavery in general—Justification of Slavery—Aristotle—Hobbes—Races of Men—Negroes, Mulattoes, Quadroons—Mind and Morals of Negroes—History of Slavery—Arguments for and against Slavery—Condition of the Slaves—Madison's and Jefferson's Slaves—Ills of Slavery—Backward condition of the Slave States—Liberia—St. Domingo—Abolitionists—Channing—Laws of the States—Abolitionists—Emancipation, Indemnification—Jefferson's Views—Partial Emancipation—Defence of the Colored Men—Antilles—Arguments in favor of the Slave States—Congress—Missouri and Columbia—Internal Slave Trade—Manumissions—Labor of Whites and Blacks—Ascription to the Soil—Subjection to Tribute—Dangers and Prospects	109
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INDIANS.

Nature and Origin—Property of the Indians—Indian Characteristics—Whites and Indians—Indolence of the Indians—Cherokees—Future Prospects	136
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

IMMIGRANTS.

Nationality of the Americans—Immigrants, their Origin and Character—Germans and Irish—Native American Party—European Governments—Whither Emigrate?—Advantages of the United States—Number of Immigrants	145
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

POPULATION.

Population—Materialism	152
------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

AGRICULTURE.

Grain, Horticulture, Culture of the Vine—Sugar, Rice, Silk, Tobacco, Cotton—Produce and Improvements	155
--	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

Claims of the Single States—Mode of Sale	159
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

Progress of Manufactures—Commerce—Imports, Exports, Tonnage—Regulations of Trade—Rate of Interest—Value of Imports and Exports	163
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

CANALS, STEAMBOATS, AND RAILROADS.	169
------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XX.

THE BANKS.

History of Banking—The National Bank—Opponents of Banks—Theory of Banking—Paper Money—Abuses of Banking—Misfortunes through the Banks—Jackson's Measures—Bank Laws—New Defects—Specie and Paper Currency—Sub-Treasury Bill—Exchequer Bill—Hopes and Prospects	174
---	-----

CHAPTER XXI.

TAXES AND FINANCES.

Revenue and Expenditure—Internal Improvements—Surplus Revenue—Single States—Europe and America—Indebtedness of the States—Repudiation—Taxation of Single States	189
---	-----

CHAPTER XXII.

POST-OFFICE	197
-------------	-----

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TARIFF AND NULLIFICATION.

Introduction of Duties—Reasons for and against Protective Duties—Nullification—Compromise Act—Jackson and Calhoun against High Duties—New Tariff—Commercial Independence—Wages New Factories—Advantages and Disadvantages of America—Protective Duties for	
--	--

CONTENTS.

xi

	PAGE.
Agriculture—Raising of Taxes—False Views respecting Duties—Clay and Webster on the Tariff—Proposals for Compromise—Evils and Means of Remedy—Smuggling—German Customs—Union	199

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ARMY, MILITIA, AND NAVY.

Number of the Army—Division, Officers—West Point—Army Expenses—The Militia—The Navy—Standing Armies	219
---	-----

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LAW AND THE COURTS.

Legal System—Legal Studies—The Supreme Court—Circuit Courts, District Courts and Courts of Equity—Justices of the Peace—Lynch Law—Mexico—Juries—Criminal Law Bankrupts—Debtors—Number of Criminals—Law of Inheritance—Marriage, Divorce	227
---	-----

CHAPTER XXVI.

PRISONS.

The Philadelphia and Auburn Systems—Reformation of Prisoners—Instruction—Female Prisoners—Reconciliation of both Systems	233
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE POOR AND THE POOR—LAWS

239

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

Lunatic Asylums—Deaf and Dumb Institutions—Institutions for the Blind—Houses of Refuge—Hospitals—Widow and Orphan Asylums	242
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE POLICE.

Gambling-houses, Lottery-Offices, Hotels—Drivers, Cruelty to Animals—Games of Chance—Vagrants—Firemen	248
---	-----

CHAPTER XXX.

ADMINISTRATION, CITY REGULATIONS.

Self-Government—Counties—Communities—Baltimore, Boston, Charleston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Richmond, Washington—Change of Offices	250
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXI.

OUTBREAKS AND PARTY SPIRIT.

Murder of the Mormon Prophets—Anti-Rent Excitement in the State of New York—Philadelphia Riots—Disturbances in Rhode Island—On Outbreaks—Parties—Federalists, Republicans, Democrats, Whigs—Concluding Remarks	257
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXII.

SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES.

Schools and Universities—Governments and Schools—Principles of Education—America and Europe—Praise and Blame of Schools—Germans—Public Schools, Colleges, Universities—Negro Schools—Religious Instruction—Female Teachers—Labor in Schools—Alabama—North and South Carolina—District of Columbia—College of Jesuits—Connecticut, Yale College—New Hampshire—Illinois—Kentucky—Louisiana—Maine—Maryland—Michigan—Missouri—Ohio—Pennsylvania—Vermont, Burlington—Virginia, Charlottesville—New York—Massachusetts, Boston, Cambridge School and University—Medical Institutions, Physicians—Summary, Remarks—District Libraries	274
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LITERATURE AND ART.

For and against America—Freedom of the Press—Newspapers and Periodicals—Defence of Newspapers—Congress on Newspapers—German Newspapers—Periodicals—Libraries—Fine Arts, Music, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture—History—Eloquence—Webster, Clay, Calhoun—Poetry—Philosophy	299
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIV.

BELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

Intolerance—Church Establishments—Religious Liberty—Sects—Catholics, School Money—Episcopalians—Methodists, Divisions among them—Presbyterians—Congregationalists—Baptists—Quakers—Shakers—Rappists—Mormons—Universalists—Unitarians—Philosophers—Clergymen and Churches—Church Property—The Voluntary System—Societies—Bible Societies—Missions—Public Worship—Camp Meetings—Revivals—Dangers and Prospects—Intolerance	323
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE STATE OF OHIO.

PAGE.

Settlement, Origin—Natural Condition—Constitution—Administration of Justice—Population—Productions—Canals—Taxation and Finances—Banks—Prisons—The Deaf and Dumb—The Blind—The Insane—Paupers—Churches—Schools—Cincinnati, Population—Swine-breeding—City Ordinances, Taxes—Churches, Schools—Lane Seminary—Woodward College—Mechanics' Libraries—Germans—Prospects.	350
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Relations with Europe—The Indians—Texas—The Oregon Territory—Canada	366
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AND PUBLIC LIFE.

Europe and America—American Political System—New Constitution—The President—Presidential Election—Conventions—Presidents and Kings—Europe and America—Re-election of the President	378
--	-----

LETTERS.

ARRIVAL.

Voyage from England to America—Nova Scotia—Boston—Journey to Washington	411
---	-----

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—MARYLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA.

Washington—Calhoun—Whig Convention in Baltimore—Hotels—Journey to Charleston—Charleston—Literary Club—Columbia—College in Columbia—O'Connell—Youth and Age—Sermon—Cotton Plantations—Slaves	416
---	-----

VIRGINIA AND PENNSYLVANIA.

Journey to Richmond—Richmond—Monticello, Jefferson—Washington—Statue of Columbus—Opinions on Goethe—Opinions on Byron and Shakspeare—President's Garden—Canal by the Potomac—Jesuits in Georgetown—Mount Vernon—Baltimore—Negro Church—Fences and Bridges—Journey to Pittsburg—Pittsburg—The New Jerusalem—Journey to Cincinnati	426
--	-----

OHIO, KENTUCKY, ILLINOIS.

The Ohio—Indians—Cincinnati—Columbus—Journey to Lexington—Louisville, The Kentucky—Journey to St. Louis—St. Louis—Journey to Chicago—Chicago	440
--	-----

THE GREAT LAKES AND NEW YORK.

The Great Lakes—Journey to Buffalo—Buffalo—Niagara—Rochester—Auburn—Syracuse	451
--	-----

CANADA.

The St. Lawrence—Montreal—Canada—Quebec—Journey to Burlington—Heights of Abraham, Wolfe, Montcalm	458
---	-----

VERMONT AND NEW YORK.

Burlington—Journey to Albany—Saratoga—Albany—The Hudson, Journey to New York—West Point—New York	462
--	-----

PENNSYLVANIA.

Journey to Philadelphia—Germany and America—Pottsville, Harrisburg, Lancaster—Festival in Philadelphia	472
--	-----

CONNECTICUT AND MASSACHUSETTS.

New Haven—Hartford—Princes and Princesses—Journey to Boston—Slander of Jefferson—Boston Athenæum—Custom House and Market Hall—Democracy in New England—Trade in Ice—English and American Critics—The English Language—Lowell—Whig Mass Meeting—Party Spirit—Harvard University—The Writing of History—Salem—Globe in the Museum—Museum in Boston—Liberality for Public Objects—Haydn's Creation	478
---	-----

MANNERS AND MORALS OF AMERICA.

Manners and Customs—American Society—On American Vanity and Presumption—Servants and Domestic—Prosperity, Love of Gain—Temperance Societies—Eating, Drinking, and Cooking—Women	491
APPENDIX I.—Synopsis of the Constitutions of the Several States	503
APPENDIX II.—Statistics of Manufactures in Lowell	504
APPENDIX III.—Synopsis of Recitations and Lectures in the University of Vermont	507
APPENDIX IV.—Plan of Recitations in Harvard University	509

THE

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

NATURAL FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY.

Age of the American Continent—Its Extent—Seas and Lakes—Mountains—Rivers
—Climate—Mineral and Vegetable Kingdoms—Prairies—Agriculture.

THE history of civilized nations as known to us embraces a period of from three to four thousand years ; and yet, until three hundred and fifty years ago, one half of our globe remained undiscovered. So slowly were the difficulties of long sea-voyages overcome, so slowly increased the interest in geographical discoveries, so recently did men arrive at an intelligent consciousness of the necessarily spherical conformation of the earth. Even the important discoveries of the Northmen in the tenth century, excited so little curiosity, desire of information, or thirst of gain, that they sank into total oblivion.* Hence, Columbus remains the theoretical and practical discoverer of America: an effort of intellect, courage, and perseverance, such as the world never witnessed before, and which never can be repeated in a like manner.

Some philosophers have maintained that America is of later origin than the old continent of the earth. It is not clear to the unlearned (nor is it, as I understand, to those really versed in such inquiries), what is meant by this. The formation of the spherical figure of the earth (if any other figure ever existed) must have been begun and continued uniformly through its whole extent ; the hand of God and his handmaid Nature did not first finish Europe, and then pass over the Atlantic ocean, in order to bring to light and embellish America also. Why should the Alps be older than the Cordilleras, and the valley of the Mississippi younger than Holland and the lowlands at the mouth of

* Rafn, *Mémoire sur la découverte de l'Amérique*, 1843.

the Rhine? If the waters of the earth maintain a general equilibrium, they could not rise essentially higher on one hemisphere of the earth than on the other. This inferior antiquity, or later appearance, of the land of America can therefore be explained and proved, not from the gradual diminution of the waters, but only by the doctrine of the upheaval of the mountains.

The Americans deny that such proof can be adduced; and it is not my province to decide the controversy. An unqualified superiority in the natural advantages of whole quarters of the globe can by no means be proved from their greater youthfulness or greater age. In North America, it is human history alone that, as far as our knowledge extends, is brief and void, when we compare it with that of the old continent; and although we know not the age of many monuments erected in it by the hand of man, still they do not suggest the idea of such ancient and high civilisation as do, for instance, those of India and Egypt.* At least those which have been found in North America are only mounds of earth, without stones, bricks, or walls. Let us then, in conformity with our purpose, leave those primitive ages undisturbed, to investigate the present and still existing.

America extends from the 54th degree of south to the 71st degree of north latitude, and has therefore, from south to north, an extent of 7500 geographic miles. The extreme breadth of the southern half, from east to west, is estimated at 2800, and that of the northern half at 3000 miles. The entire territory of the United States of North America has, from the southern extremity of Florida to the northern extremity of Maine, an extent of 24 degrees of latitude, or 1440 miles, which is about the distance from Naples to Drontheim in Norway, or from Bern to Thebes in Upper Egypt. The greatest extent from east to west is from the eastern boundary of the state of Maine in 45° N. lat. to the north of the Columbia river, on the Pacific ocean, making over 50 degrees of longitude. The most westerly states of North America, Missouri and Arkansas, reach to scarcely half way between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The greatest extent from east to west is about equal to that from the eastern boundary of Russia in Europe to the western coast of Ireland. The superficial area of the United States has from natural causes been estimated very differently; according to a moderate computation, it must amount to about 1,792,000 geographic square miles,† or from ten to eleven times as much as the superficial extent of France.

* Bancroft's History, iii. 309. Doubtful in South America.

† Darby, in his View of the United States, p. 57, reckons the surface at 2,257,000 English square miles, or about one-twentieth of the superficies of the earth; Tucker reckons it at 2,369,000 miles. Which estimate is correct?—So long as the boundaries of the Oregon territory remain unsettled, exactness and agreement are impossible.

But that of this immense region only a very small part is under tillage, while another portion is incapable of cultivation, will be shown in the sequel.

If we consider the *sea-coasts* of the United States, the western has as yet no importance; although the Oregon region will doubtless one day obtain it, and will probably be the last land on the earth capable of being settled. But of so much the more consequence are the coasts of the Atlantic. They form gulfs of different sizes deeply indenting the main land. The first extends from the Sabine river (the boundary on the side of Texas) to the southernmost point of Florida; the second, from here to Cape Hatteras in North Carolina; the third to Cape Cod in Massachusetts; and the fourth to Passamaquoddy bay, which forms the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. The northern bays afford more numerous and better harbors than the southern; and this has had an important influence on the progress of the states. New Orleans, however, near the mouth of the Mississippi, is of the greatest importance; and Mobile, at the mouth of Alabama river, is also of some consequence. St. Augustine in Florida, Savannah in Georgia, and Charleston in South Carolina, are worthy of notice; but they are far behind Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Boston is now the principal seaport in the northernmost gulf.

The sea-coast from Florida to New Jersey is low alluvial or diluvial soil, a great part of which is swampy or sandy; yet with proper care and industry it could be fitted for cultivation. The tide rises on the southern coasts only from 4 to 6 feet, but on the coast of New Brunswick from 40 to 50 feet;* perhaps an effect of the Gulf stream, or of still more general laws of nature. West of these lands, sinking towards the sea, arise the long chain of Appalachian or Alleghany mountains; which in several ridges, interrupted by streams and without peaked summits, separate the eastern slope from the immense valley of the Mississippi. Far beyond this stream arise the loftier and more sharply defined Rocky mountains; from which there stretches to the upper Missouri a great desert in many places impregnated with salt, which recalls to mind that of Africa. The greatest elevations reached by the Appalachian chain are found in New Hampshire, and are estimated at from 3,000 to 7,000 feet; but the highest mountains in all North America are probably at the sources of Columbia river. According to the measurement of Mr. Thompson, the Brown mountain rises to the height of 16,000 feet; and he conjectures that other peaks are 10,000 feet higher still.†

* Darby's View, pp. 62, 66.

† Greenhow's Memoir on the Northwest Coast, p. 11. There are no ignivomous mountains in the United States, and it is only among the Rocky mountains that proofs of volcanic action are found.

But if the mountains of South excel those of North America in altitude and extent, the North American *lakes* are unique of their kind upon the earth. We will mention only the five largest: Lake Ontario has a superficies of 11,640 miles, Lake Erie of 7,940, Lake Huron of 1,520, Lake Michigan of 14,880, and Lake Superior of 36,000. They exhibit for the most part a prodigious depth, so that in several places no bottom has been found with 1800 feet of line. Hence they, together with their outlet the St. Lawrence, contain, as has been estimated, more than one half of the fresh water on the globe. They are girt with hills and sandy ridges, but not with mountains properly so-called.

The bottom of Lakes Huron and Michigan is estimated to be at an average 300 feet below, and their surface at 618 feet above the level of the sea.

An outlet for this enormous mass of water is furnished by the river St. Lawrence, running from west to east. Its sources lie very near those of the Mississippi; and so far are they from being separated from each other by high mountain-ridges, that when the waters have been unusually high, boats of from 70 to 80 tons burthen have passed from Lake Michigan through the Illinois into the Mississippi: consequently but little assistance would be required at this place to establish a natural water communication between the Atlantic ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. It has been estimated that every hour 1,672,704 cubic feet of water are poured into the Atlantic through the St. Lawrence. The tide ascends the stream about 400 miles, or half-way between Quebec and Montreal. Vessels of 600 tons sail up to the latter city, and ships of the line as far as Quebec.

Although the valley of the St. Lawrence exceeds in extent every thing of the kind in Europe, this stream is far inferior to the Mississippi, and still more so to the Missouri. The former takes its rise in about 48° N. lat. and 95° long. west of Ferro; the latter in 43° N. lat. and 110° W. long. The Missouri is wrongfully deprived of its name at its confluence with the Mississippi: that of the latter prevails through several zones, although the former brings down four times as much water and is twice as long as the Mississippi;* it is in fact one fourth longer than the River Amazon, and if not robbed of its name, is the longest river in the world. It flows through a distance of 3,100 miles before reaching the Mississippi; and consequently down to this point it is about seven times as long as the Rhone. In common with the Mississippi, it moves from north to south in so many windings, that it is difficult to calculate its length.† They receive about 200

* North Amer. Review, 1823, p. 60. Mexico has fewer navigable streams and fewer serviceable harbors than the United States.

† The Encyclop. Americana, art. Missouri, estimates its length to the Gulf of Mexico at 4,400 English miles. Lewis and Clarke navigated it above St. Louis 3096 miles. (Travels, p. 21.)

tributaries, and water a region of immeasurable extent. If the Raab, which rises in the Fichtel-Gebirge, emptied in the African kingdom of Fezzan, it would still not have by far the length of the Missouri, but only that of the Mississippi.

Between this stream and the St. Lawrence many essential differences and contrasts present themselves. The Mississippi runs from north to south in a regular stream; the St. Lawrence from west to east, forming or passing through many lakes. The former comes from an almost polar region of perpetual ice, and descends into the country of the fig, the orange, and the sugar-cane; the latter flows almost wholly through the same degrees of latitude. The Mississippi rises and falls to an uncommon extent at different periods of the year; the St. Lawrence remains constantly at the same height, and causes no inundations. Although it receives innumerable tributaries, the Mississippi becomes no broader, but constantly deeper and deeper (or the water is dispersed by running over its banks); while the St. Lawrence widens into a large bay, and its bed is interrupted and embellished with countless islands. From its confluence with the Missouri, the Mississippi becomes turbid, and is constantly adding to the deposit at its mouth, which renders it difficult of entrance;* the St. Lawrence, on the contrary, is and remains throughout, pure and clear, and is bordered on its banks by woods and fields, while the Mississippi winds its way, less picturesquely, through tracts of meadow-land and swamps. Trunks of trees, floating timber, and even whole islands torn from its banks, drive down its current or assume a fixed position; so that a voyage down the Mississippi was for a long time regarded as more dangerous than one across the Atlantic. But by means of steamboats and machines of different kinds, an immense number of trees have been removed from the river, others that threatened to fall in have been cut down, sandbanks have been washed away by the application of dams; and thus the dangers of its navigation, though not yet wholly removed, have been greatly diminished.

Among all the lateral streams of the Mississippi, the Ohio is as yet by far the most important. Through a long extent of its course, mountains appear at its side; but in fact these are only the margin of a level highland, and the deep-cut bed of the river has from Pittsburg to the Mississippi a fall of only about 400 feet in 1000 miles; so that obstacles presented to navigation by the low state of the water in summer, may mostly be removed by artificial means.

These and other giant streams of North America, as the Mississippi, either do not burst forth from lofty Alps; or else, like the Missouri, after breaking from the mountains, they flow through

* At New Orleans, the river is 158 feet deep, while there are only 12 feet over the bar.

tedious plains of the same aspect, and thus present but few images of beauty to the artist's eye. Yet this very peculiarity of their conformation makes them so much the more useful, as bonds of union between great tracts of country, as the highways of a daily increasing commerce. In what manner the industrious exertions of a shrewd and active people have profited by, and even greatly enhanced these natural gifts of rivers and lakes, will be seen hereafter. It is sufficient here to indicate the natural peculiarities of the principal streams, and at the same time to observe that, by the settlement on their banks of an enterprising race of men, the beautiful and commercially important Hudson, Delaware, Potomac, Susquehanna, &c., have been raised far above their primitive natural condition.

It is an indubitable fact, that in the same degrees of latitude, the winters are colder and the summers warmer in North America than in Europe. To this general observation, important with respect to living, to commerce, and to navigation, I will add a few particulars chiefly respecting the *climate* of the United States.*

Hudson's Bay, in the same latitude as the Baltic sea, is even in summer full of ice. In New York (in the latitude of Madrid and Naples) the winter accompanied with ice lasts on an average one hundred and sixty-four days; and the Delaware is frozen over for five or six weeks. New York has the summer of Rome and the winter of Copenhagen; Quebec, the summer of Paris and the winter of St. Petersburg.

In America, too, the climate by no means depends altogether on the degrees of latitude, but is influenced more or less by the winds, the lakes, the great tracts of land in the north, the ocean, the gulf stream, &c.

In the northern parts of the United States, the medium temperature amounts to about 45°, and in the southern to 68° Fahrenheit.† Here the difference between summer and winter is but slight, while in the north it is immense. It amounts for instance in Florida to 10°, and at Fort Snelling in the north to 56°. At Key West, the southernmost extremity of Florida, the medium temperature amounts in winter to 70°, and in summer to 81° Fahrenheit. At Fort Snelling, it is in winter only 16°, and in summer 72°. In the month of July, the heat is sometimes five degrees higher than it is even at Key West.

			Winter.	Summer.
The medium temperature of	Lake Superior is		21°	63°
"	"	Lake Ontario	30°	72°
"	"	New Orleans	59°	83°
"	"	Key West	70°	81°

* Chiefly from the instructive work of Dr. Forry.

† Long's Second Expedition, ii. 466. Poussin, Puissance Américaine, ii. 200.

In Quebec the thermometer sinks to 30° below zero, and rises in summer to 95° above zero. In Baltimore the thermometer rose twice in the course of eight years to 98°, and sank four times below zero.* In an elevated part of the Oregon territory, the thermometer stood at sunrise at 18°, and at noon at 92°; while a difference of 40° Fahrenheit was quite common. In Alabama it amounted in one day to 50°.

The quantity of rain in different months and years is very different. Thus there fell :

In Baltimore, in August, 1817,	10 $\frac{2}{5}$	inches.
“ “ 1818,	2	“
In Cincinnati, during one year,	44	“

In Europe it rains oftener,† but not so much as in America.‡

Notwithstanding the great difference above noted in the temperature of the atmosphere, the climate (with the exception of some parts along the sea-coast and in the vicinity of swamps) is not prejudicial to the duration of life; or else the injurious effects diminish with the progress of cultivation,§ and through the adoption of judicious precautionary measures. A high degree of longevity is established by the statement,|| that in 1835 there were in the United States :

33,517	persons	between 80 and 90 years of age.
4,477	“	between 90 and 100 “
508	“	aged 100 and upwards.

If North America is far behind the southern continent as respects the discovery of the precious metals, it abounds to superfluity in all the indispensable and generally useful treasures of the *mineral kingdom*. Thus there is found :

Platina, none at all.

Silver, very little.

Gold, in great abundance, especially in Georgia and North and South Carolina,¶ east of the mountains.

Copper, in plenty near Lake Superior, and at different places in the Mississippi valley.

* Darby's View of the U. States, p. 389. Buckingham's Slave States, i. 243.

† Greenhow's Memoir on the Northwestern Coast, p. 17. Warren's Account of the United States, i. 164.

‡ In the northern half of the United States, the days in a year were :

	Clear.	Cloudy.	Rain.	Snow.
On the Coast,	202	108	45	9
In the Interior,	240	77	31	16
By the Lakes,	117	139	63	45
Far from the Lakes,	216	73	46	29

§ Ibid., p. 273.

|| Amer. Almanac for 1835, p. 91.

¶ Trans. of Geological Society of Philadelphia, i. 1-16.

Lead, in the neighborhood of the lakes,* in Missouri, Wisconsin, and Arkansas, in prodigious quantities.

Iron, to superfluity in New England, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Tennessee. In Missouri there are even whole mountains of almost pure oxide of iron.

Salt, in abundance in Illinois, New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and other parts; although a considerable quantity is still imported from Portugal, Spain, Sicily, England, and other countries.

Coal, in many places in very great quantities, *e. g.* in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, &c. The beds in Pittsburg alone, the American Birmingham, appear to be inexhaustible.

The *vegetable kingdom* has reigned and still reigns in America under two great aspects, those of forests and prairies. The forests extend from the river St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, over plains, declivities, and mountains. In Europe one can hardly form an idea of the magnitude and beauty of the American primeval forests and trees; and while in France there are reckoned only 37 kinds of trees that grow to the height of 30 feet, there are in America 130 kinds which exceed this measurement, and which with the variety of their growth and foliage surprise and enchant every beholder. The diversity and beauty of the colors of autumn are especially celebrated.

The practice of burning down the trees, which the first settlers found necessary, is constantly diminishing; since the increasing water communications facilitate transshipment, and give the formerly worthless timber a daily increasing value.

Although it may be contended that the cultivation and consumption of *tobacco* is not beneficial to the human race, yet the universal diffusion of the American *potato* is an undeniable blessing. Without it, many of the countries of Europe would be entirely incapable of supporting their present population, and the poorer classes would often be left a prey to hunger.

Those seas of meadow-land, the *prairies*, which lie southwest of the great lakes and along the banks of the Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, &c., are for the most part entirely destitute of trees, having been so from the beginning, or made so in consequence of natural or violent changes. For while some maintain that many forests, both in ancient and modern times,† have been purposely or accidentally burnt down, others deny the fact, because traces of coal are nowhere to be met with. I regard it as indubitable that the prairies on the Illinois and towards Chicago, have

* On the upper Mississippi, too, 35,000,000 pounds of lead were obtained in a single year.

† Lewis and Clarke's Travels, p. 3.

arisen from the subsidence of the waters, and are the bottoms of ancient lakes; nay, had the waters of the Mississippi, in the summer of 1844, risen but a few feet higher,* they would again have been converted into lakes. Thus Featherstonhaugh (p. 120) designates the prairies in Arkansas as the beds of ancient lakes, and remarks that meadow and forest often seemed there to contend for the mastery. The soil of the prairies is either perfectly level, or else it assumes the form of waves, and presents the appearance of a green sea which has suddenly become fixed while in motion. But to this color of the grass are soon joined the hues of a variety of brilliant blossoms; red, it is said, predominating in spring, blue in summer, and yellow in autumn. The moister parts are the resort of innumerable water-fowl, and the drier are traversed by immense herds of buffaloes. Yet even here drinkable water is found not far beneath the surface. It is easier to cultivate these meadow-lands, girt with trees at the edges, than to extirpate the giant sons of the primitive forest; these plains also offer the most favorable opportunity for the construction of roads, canals, and railways.

With the exception of many poor or swampy places on the shores of the Atlantic, and the great deserts that lie beyond all the present settlements at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, the entire soil of the American republic admits with care of profitable cultivation, and exhibits for the most part a superior degree of fertility. That the wild beasts are constantly forced further back, while man and the domestic animals take their place, is an incalculable gain; and the diminution of the vegetable kingdom is no loss, as this is rarely carried further than is necessary, while a rich indemnification is presented in the prodigious store of coal and iron.

Even in Maine, the state lying furthest to the north, all the necessities of life can be produced; and from here down to Florida and Louisiana there extends the cultivation of such a variety of articles, that the United States are better capable than any other country upon earth of forming a commercial state exclusive and sufficient for itself. But as they have not wished to put into execution this unphilosophic and unpractical idea, they have naturally already attained the second rank among the commercial nations of the world.

* In some of the northwestern regions, as, for instance, in the Traverse des Sioux, the water is still decreasing.

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERIES AND FIRST SETTLEMENTS.

Travellers and Discoverers--Virginia--Maryland--New England--Carolina--New York--New Jersey--Pennsylvania--Georgia--Delaware--General state of things.

As soon as Columbus had revealed another horizon to the eyes of all Europe by means of his grand discovery, every seafaring nation sought to secure for itself a share in the new countries. The Spaniard Ponce de Leon landed in Florida in 1512;* Soto penetrated to the Mississippi in 1541; and in 1565 the Spaniards founded St. Augustine in Florida, the oldest city in the United States, but at the same time they most barbarously destroyed, out of religious hatred, a settlement of French Huguenots.

In the year 1524 Verazzani undertook for France the first voyage to the coasts of the United States; Cartier arrived at the St. Lawrence in 1535; and in 1608, Champlain penetrated to the lake that bears his name.

More continuous and indefatigable were the enterprises of the English. John Cabot, a Venetian merchant residing in Bristol, received from King Henry VII., on the 5th of March, 1495, a patent to discover and take possession of countries. On the 24th of June, 1497, he reached the continent (Columbus reached it in 1498, and Amerigo in 1599) in the 56th degree of north latitude, and he followed down the coast to the 38th degree. This discovery was at that time equivalent to taking possession. Cabot's son, Sebastian, went in 1517 in search of a northwest passage, and on this occasion penetrated into Hudson's bay. Drake's voyages and plundering excursions (1577-1580) were of no lasting consequence; and in spite of the boldness and perseverance exhibited by Raleigh (since the year 1584) in his endeavors to establish the colony of *Virginia*, so called after Queen Elizabeth, it was not till twenty years later (in 1607) that Jamestown, the oldest Anglo-American city, was founded. And even at this time every thing wore an unfavorable aspect. Among those who had ventured over there were more gold-hunters, nobles, and idlers, than husbandmen and mechanics. There was a lack of women, and numerous dissensions gave the Indians opportunities for attacks and for inflicting barbarities. The aim of

* The best information on all these matters is to be found in Bancroft's History

the greater part was rather to amass sudden wealth, than to settle and labor. It was very correctly remarked by Capt. John Smith, the man to whom Virginia is so highly indebted, that mechanics and husbandmen were needed most of all, and that nothing was to be hoped for or gained in the country *but by labor*. And such, thank Heaven, is still the case!

In the two first patents for a company of adventurers, only their and the king's rights were guaranteed. In 1619, Governor Yeardley boldly convoked a representative assembly; and in the year 1621, the London Company established a constitution similar to that of England; the Governor and members of a Council were appointed by the company; but the legislative power was entrusted to an Assembly, in which sat the councillors above mentioned, and two burgesses chosen to represent each plantation. Orders from London needed ratification by the assembly, and *vice versâ*. The governor was allowed a negative, restraining vote. Judicial proceedings and the trial by jury were the same as in England.

In the year 1623 King James broke up the company; yet the rights of Virginia were not hereby diminished. On the contrary, it was distinctly declared that the governor should levy no taxes without the authority of the assembly. The designs of kings James and Charles I. to abolish the company altogether, met with failure; nor did the last-named monarch succeed any better in obtaining for himself a monopoly of the increasing tobacco-trade. When England, in the year 1642, demanded a general monopoly of their trade: the reply of Virginia was, "*Freedom of trade is the blood and life of a commonwealth.*" Nor could the English Navigation Act of a later date be fully enforced.

But while such laudable progress was making, the introduction of *slaves* was unhappily permitted, and afterwards even approved of by Locke. Less objectionable was the introduction of respectable females from Europe, who were disposed of at the rate of from 120 to 150 pounds of tobacco each.*

Cromwell treated the colonies with good sense and moderation; but after the restoration of Charles II., ecclesiastical and political usurpations soon showed themselves. The high church was declared to be the religion of the state, a strict conformity in all doctrines was enjoined, force was employed against the Quakers, and a heavy fine† prescribed for non-attendance at church. This intentional infringement of the rights of the people led to revolts, and under Governor Berkeley to very severe punishments. This indeed Charles II. afterwards disapproved of in words; but he failed to grant a new patent with more ample public rights. The

* Grahame, ii. 72. A pound was worth three shillings.

† Fifty pounds of tobacco.

altered government in England since William III. operated also in a different manner on Virginia.

Persecuted Catholics founded *Maryland* under the conduct of Sir George Calvert and his son Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore. He received from the crown, in the year 1632, almost unlimited powers; though to these a representative constitution was annexed. These immigrant Catholics likewise gave the first praiseworthy example of general religious toleration; although during the English rebellion political and religious disputes were not wanting.

In the year 1650, twelve persons were convoked by Lord Baltimore to form an Upper House, and from each county four persons were chosen for the Lower House. About 1660, Maryland was in the possession of political freedom, based on a partial application of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; and in the year 1692, Lord Baltimore's prerogatives were almost wholly abolished.

As Maryland owes its origin to intolerance against Catholics, so the settlements in *New England* were brought about by persecutions inflicted on Protestant dissenters and Puritans.* But, as it usually happens, the persecuted also held their views to be the only right ones, and sought to enforce them by stringent laws.

Charles I. was eager to get rid of the turbulent Puritans, and accordingly he here made larger concessions than he had done to Virginia. At least, from the year 1629, there was gradually developed out of a charter granted to a trading company for Massachusetts, a constitution with representative forms, based on democracy.

In the spirit of this political freedom, Roger Williams demanded also religious tolerance, and said that no creed, no opinion should be persecuted. Heresy should remain unattacked by laws, and orthodoxy needed no frightful protection by means of punishments. To this the Puritans opposed the conviction that the state must root out all errors: thus very naturally assuming their own views to be the only correct ones. Williams, a truly pious, noble, and disinterested man, suffered on account of these principles, persecution, banishment, and distress of every kind; yet he afterwards (about the year 1638) became the founder and law-giver of *Rhode Island* with democratic forms and entire religious freedom.

In Boston, however, the capital of Massachusetts (founded 1630), religious discussions, in which the women took an active share, continued to exist, and led to legal decisions inflicting banishment on Catholics, Jesuits, and Quakers.

* The first settlement was in 1620 at New Plymouth.

In the year 1629, arose *New Hampshire*, and in 1636, *Connecticut*; and in both of these, republican institutions were developed. Charles I. and his ministers (Strafford and Laud) entertained the design of carrying out their political and religious plans in New England also;* but they were prevented. It is also said in a petition of that colony: "Suffer us to live in the wilderness undisturbed; and we hope to find as much grace with the king and his councillors, as God imparteth to us already." From that time forward New England remained unmolested by the king, withstood all closer dependence on the Long Parliament, and was not disturbed in its development by the favorably disposed Cromwell. Still, the echo of the ecclesiastical disputes in the mother-country was heard beyond the Atlantic. "Faith," it was repeated, "should not grow so cold as to tolerate errors. Polypity is the greatest impiety, and only gross ignorance can demand liberty of conscience."

This keenness and determination operated more advantageously in another direction, in establishing greater popular freedom and opposing oppressive restrictions on trade.

In the year 1662 and 1663, Connecticut and Rhode Island obtained new charters, which fully secured municipal independence, permitted the election of public officers, extended religious toleration, and very much restricted the influence of the king and of the mother-country. Many things were already deliberated and acted upon in North America, which elsewhere were hardly thought of; such as making provision for the poor, the construction of public roads,† the registering of births, deaths, &c. The zeal for schools was so great, that parents were commanded to send their children to them, under pain of punishment.

About the time when the restored Stuarts deprived most of the English towns of their charters, or essentially altered them, the like danger threatened the American colonies. They stood up, however, with equal sense and spirit (with Massachusetts at their head) to defend their rights, and declared that no appeal should go from America to England. "Our connection with that kingdom," said they, "is a voluntary one; and it has no right, either to bind us or to give away our lands, since we have acquired all by our own labor and means."

The province of *Carolina*, or the country between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean (a territory equal to several kingdoms), was granted by Charles II., in 1663, to several eminent noblemen. Shaftesbury and Locke sketched a constitution, in which the latter had the chief hand, for the future state yet in embryo; but which—

* Grahame, i. 252. Bancroft, i. 44.

† De Tocqueville, i. 46.

like many a one framed in a similar manner—was rendered all the more unsuitable, by the endeavors of its authors to foresee and provide for all imaginable cases, and thus make it unalterable for all future times. The English system of hereditary aristocracy, although already sufficiently complicated, was transferred to the primeval forests of America, along with many artificial additions. The eldest of the eight proprietaries was to be a kind of sovereign, armed with numerous powers and rights, and the remaining seven were made high court dignitaries, chancellors, chamberlains, &c. They constituted, moreover, a sort of upper house, to which was joined a lower order of nobility, and other gradations, after the manner of the feudal system. Only the greater proprietaries received certain elective rights; while no real control whatever was granted to the people over legislation, government, and judicature. On the contrary, the Church of England was made the religion of the state, to the exclusion of every other; negro slavery was recognized in the constitution as lawful; and thus the laws proceeded from the most important matters, down to regulations respecting ceremonies, pedigrees, fashions, and sports.

The opposition to this ill-advised constitution rose to such a pitch, that it was abolished, and forced to give place in 1693 to democratic institutions. In the years 1719–1721, the province was divided into two states, North and South Carolina.

New York, which had been colonized by the Dutch, and where some Swedes had also settled, was surrendered to England in 1667; and in 1683 it gave itself a constitution with a universal right of voting in the election of representatives to the assembly, with which were associated a governor and council. The assembly alone had the right to assess taxes. Trial by jury was established, religious tolerance declared, and the introduction of martial law and the quartering of soldiers prohibited. When James II. refused to ratify this constitution, disturbances arose, which were not composed and put an end to before the beginning of the 18th century.

As to the history of *New Jersey* we remark only that it, like *New York*, passed from Dutch into English hands, and Quakers likewise settled there. It was among the peculiar regulations of the province, that each of the representatives chosen by the almost universal right of voting should receive directions for his proceedings and a shilling a day, to make him bear in mind that he was a servant of the people. Slavery and imprisonment for debt were prohibited.

Penn., the friend of the Stuarts, received in 1681 a grant of land from Charles II.; and this title, which appeared to him unsatisfactory, he strengthened by free contracts with the Indians. In

the year 1683, Philadelphia, the capital of *Pennsylvania*, was founded.

Between Locke, the lawgiver of Carolina, and Penn, essential differences and contrasts are to be observed. The philosopher confided only in the experience of his senses, the Quaker in his inner light; the former in the knowledge and consciousness of his own actions, the latter in divine oracles: moreover the former spoke of popular rights, and founded an hereditary aristocracy; the latter of divine right and patient obedience, and established a democracy; the former regarded property, and the latter the moral nature of man, as the foundation of political rights. Negro-slavery was adopted in *Pennsylvania*, and only rejected by German settlers. Dissensions arose between the democratic party and the feudal lords, and the form and contents of the constitution were altered several times.

The first Dutch colony in *Delaware* was destroyed by the Indians; the second, founded mostly by Swedes, fell into the power of the Dutch, and in 1664 into that of the English. In 1682 the province was granted to Penn, and in 1702 it was raised to the rank of an independent colony. In 1704 and 1714, attempts to reduce to practice the intolerant principles of the English Protestants failed, through the opposition of the inhabitants.

It was not till 1733 that *Georgia* was founded, as a protection against Florida and the French enterprises on the Mississippi. The first charter improperly granted the lands, after the fashion of the feudal law, only to heirs male; after its surrender in 1752, the province was reduced to a stricter dependence on the crown.

These few brief and dry details are by no means designed as a connected view of the internal and external history of the North American settlements; still they were necessary to a better understanding of subsequent events, and to furnish opportunity for a few general remarks.

No single colony, with the exception of *Georgia*, was directly founded under the guidance or by the support of the English government. On the contrary, they sprang up for the most part through the intolerance and injustice of the mother-country. Royalty, in spite of its sufferings and embarrassments, could not emigrate; and an hereditary nobility and priesthood are as little capable of being transplanted as close boroughs with corporations and exclusive privileges.

The English revolution of 1688 was differently viewed in the different colonies; and it was far from giving universal satisfaction, inasmuch as king, parliament, and church were not wanting in attempts to increase their own power, and to infringe upon American rights and American customs. Believing in the omnipotence of Parliament, they would willingly have revoked all

the American charters, and have framed them anew, under pretence of altered relations, for the sole benefit of the mother-country. The loud opposition raised to their plans kept them in abeyance till the middle of the eighteenth century. And thus the intention of levying taxes by England on America was also given up; Walpole declaring, that he would leave it to those of his successors who had more courage and were less friends to commerce than himself; and that the free trade of the Americans brought more into the treasury than compulsory taxes could.*

The charters of the newly formed States were different among themselves, and it was impossible that they could then decide on all future unknown circumstances. Even where the king possessed the greatest power, it did not exceed that which he exercised in England, and the provincial assemblies of America were assimilated to the English parliament. In spite of internal dissensions, and numerous feuds with the Indians, the colonies sprang up far more vigorously than those of Spain and Portugal, which were restricted by the mother-countries in every respect; and by the preponderance of a free yeomanry—actually represented in the assemblies—a democratic power was formed, which England could not successfully control. Thus the entire subjection of the Americans consisted in not making any laws contrary to those of the mother-country, in submitting those which they did frame to the king's approval, in acknowledging the authority of his governors—within certain bounds, and in not opposing the general restrictions which Parliament placed upon their commerce.

* Grahame, iii. 307.

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR TO 1763.

MANY constantly recurring feuds with the *Indians* exercised the vigilance and bravery of the North Americans. But of far greater importance were their wars against the *French*. With singular address and perseverance, these latter had established a chain of settlements and towns, extending from Canada along the Ohio and Mississippi down to New Orleans; which girded in the English colonies, and not only prevented them from extending into the interior of the country, but even threatened to confine them to a small sea-coast on the Atlantic. On account of the war of succession in Austria, the English did but little to oppose this danger; for in those times, the slightest change in European relations and possessions was erroneously looked upon as of the highest importance; while every thing relating to America was but slightly regarded, and soon lost sight of. Nay, when the Americans did not spare the greatest exertions, and a union of all the colonies was talked of (in 1791), mutual suspicions arose, on the one hand that England was aiming at a greater centralization and thereby an increase of the royal power, and on the other hand that America was seeking to render itself stronger and more independent.

The neighborhood of the French, it was argued by many in England, is the best security for the continued annexation of America to the mother-country. If this danger should be ended, the notion of independence would spring up again and meet with support from France.

After eight years of war, England gained nothing by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748; and France merely received back again what she had lost in America, viz. Cape Breton.

On both sides the ensuing years of peace, from 1748 to 1756, were actively employed. While the Americans penetrated step by step into the interior, the French labored at closing up and fortifying the immense chain of posts before mentioned. The former thought only of diligent cultivation of the earth; the latter were bent on robbery, plunder, bold enterprises, glory, and conquest. France entertained no jealousy against her American colonies, and assisted them more than England did hers. Although, notwithstanding this, Canada and its appurtenances had

less power, it was still united, and was governed from a single point; while the idea of a union of the North American colonies, suggested again by the increasing danger of a new rupture, and developed by Franklin, was still regarded in England as too republican, and in America as too monarchical.

The assembled governors of the colonies, and the most respectable members of the provincial assemblies, made the proposition, that a council for all the states should be chosen by the latter, with a royal governor at its head; and that both together should be empowered to make general laws, and to raise money for the general defence. The English ministry proposed, on the contrary, that the governors of the provinces should from time to time convene with two of their councillors (mostly appointed by the crown), arrange general measures, erect fortifications, levy troops, and draw sums from the British treasury; which should afterwards be raised from the colonies, in the shape of taxes, by virtue of an act of Parliament.

The first and more comprehensive plan gave rise to misgivings in England, and the last met with still less approval in America; for it placed the decisive power in a few hands independent of the people, afforded some assistance only from time to time, and settled the most highly important question relative to the right of taxation to the disadvantage of America.* The most zealous declared, even at that early period, that America was no more dependent on England than Hanover was.

When questions of trade in Europe, and border strifes in America, gave rise, after single deeds of violence, to an open war between England and France, in May, 1756, these opposing views operated in an injurious manner, and awkwardness and negligence gave to the first military expedition a very unfortunate termination. It was not until Pitt came to the head of the government, in 1758, that activity and interest were exhibited on behalf of American affairs. This led, on the 13th of September, 1759, to a decisive and incalculably important battle on the Heights of Abraham, before Quebec. Montcalm, the French, and Wolfe, the British general, both fell fighting bravely. At the Peace of Paris, on the 10th of February, 1763, the French lost all their American possessions; and all the country eastward of the Mississippi, including the Floridas ceded by Spain, fell to England.†

Interesting as is the Seven Years' War of Europe through the personal greatness of King Frederick II., and the bravery of the Prussians, pressed upon by enemies of superior force,—singular

* Jefferson's Writings, i. 6.

† Spain, according to a secret article, was to be indemnified by France with the rest of Louisiana. Bunner's History of Louisiana, p. 122.

in the history of the world as is the dominion acquired immediately after this war by the English in the East Indies,—it still remains the most important event for the history of mankind, that from that time forth the dominion of the Romance nations in other quarters of the world crumbled to pieces, while that of the Germanic stock, especially in America, marched irresistibly forward. Few then perceived what must be the inevitable result; nay, even now there are many who overlook the immeasurable importance of this development of human progress; and hence it is worthy of mention, that Vergennes,* the French minister for foreign affairs, foresaw, as early as the year 1775, the future independence of all the European colonies, and prophesied that in time to come the Germanic people would rule over South America likewise.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763, TO THE NORTH AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, IN 1776.

State of affairs after the War—Commerce and Duties—Right of Taxation—Stamp Act—Resolutions in America—Effect in England, and Counsels there adopted—Views and Principles—Question of Right—State of Fact—Abolition of the Stamp Act—Hopes and Fears—New Taxes—Duty on Tea—Tea cast into the Sea—Proceedings against Boston—New Movements—First Congress—Resolutions of the Congress—Parliament, Chatham—Lord North's Proposals—Burke's Proposals—Beginning of the War—Declaration of Independence—Reflections.

ENGLAND, during the seven years' war with France, had made very great exertions, borne an immense amount of taxation, suffered from the derangements of her trade, and plunged herself deeply into debt. It seemed absolutely necessary that her finances should be arranged, the public debt reduced, and the neglected laws of commerce again put in practice. And above all, it was considered that America should lend its assistance to these necessary and wholesome measures; since the whole war had been undertaken chiefly for its sake, and had been concluded with the gain of immense tracts of land to its almost exclusive advantage. The rejoicing and enthusiasm produced in America by this happy event were certainly very great, and its gratitude to England was natural and sincere. But this joy was partly produced by the consciousness to which the Americans had attained of the greatness of their own power and the value of their own exertions;

* *Raumer's Beiträge*, v. 216.

and to this they joined the observation, that after the destruction of the French power, English assistance for the future would seem to be no longer necessary. And, moreover, it appeared very questionable whether, during the great struggle, America had not done, suffered, and paid more in proportion than England.*

While such were the feelings naturally and unavoidably entertained, and while the colonies were daily increasing in weight and importance, the government of the mother-country should have exercised the greatest moderation and prudence, and should have adapted its measures and demands to the new relations which had sprung up. But instead of this, orders were issued in 1764 for a stricter enforcement of the English Navigation and Customs Acts, which were harshly executed by the public officers; so much so, that many manufactures were directly prohibited in America, in order to secure the monopoly of them to the mother-country.†

Both before and after the war, the northern colonies in particular had carried on a considerable and profitable trade with Spanish America, receiving gold and silver in return for English manufactures. This was contrary to the letter, but not to the spirit of the English Navigation Act; although even then it seemed no longer adapted to the general state of things. It was wrong to discuss the mere theoretical question respecting the relation in which that trade stood to the *old* laws, without taking into account long custom, the advantages of the trade, the inclinations of the people, their own power of execution, &c. It is true, the prohibition of the trade was again removed, in consequence of the urgent complaints of the Americans; but it was at the same time burdened with such high duties, as to render it impossible to carry it on. Not only did new remonstrances on this turn of affairs, and on the increasing despotism of men in office, the assumptions of the military, &c. remain without effect, but England likewise imposed duties upon silk and woollen goods, sugar, coffee, wines, &c.; all, it was said, for the protection of America, although at this moment no danger threatened it. This Customs Act, which was already regarded as an innovation in America, was rendered doubly burdensome by a number of accessory regulations. Thus, for instance, the paper currency of the colonies was rejected, and payments ordered to be made in specie; while disputes on this head were to be decided, not by the common law and with the aid of juries, but by the courts of admiralty.

Formerly, all laws relative to commercial monopoly and the burdens connected therewith, had been regarded as general rules

* Burke, ii. 396.

† See Ramsay's *History*, chap. ii. Kuhfahl, i. 7.

of trade, and not as custom laws in particular. The regulations above mentioned, as well as others connected with them, led, however, to a closer examination of the theory and practice of systems of taxation, and to a severe scrutiny into the relations of a mother country to its daughter states.

The prevalent feelings and tendencies were sufficiently manifested when Massachusetts, which was soon followed by the other states, declared, June, 1764, that where there is no representation, slavery reigns, and that the British Parliament had no right to tax unrepresented Americans. Thus the question relative to the *right of taxation* became the central point of all the disputes that broke forth. Both parties were agreed that America ought to contribute *pro rata* to the taxes occasioned by the last expensive war. But while Great Britain maintained that its Parliament necessarily and naturally possessed the right to impose taxes on *all parts* of the kingdom, the Americans responded, that the British empire had grown to such an extent, and the interests of its various parts were so diverse, that it must have several representative assemblies. The American assemblies, said they, are for America, what the British are for Great Britain; and by adopting a contrary view, and one opposed to our charters, we should lose the right of taxing ourselves through our own representatives, we should be put without any reason lower than Englishmen, and be turned into subjects of subjects.

In England many were at first enraged to think that the colonies should refuse to yield obedience to Britons, the conquerors of the world, or to acknowledge the omnipotence of Parliament, and help to diminish, in compliance with its decree, the great burdens resting upon the mother-country. The declaration, said they, that Americans ought to enjoy the privileges of British subjects, does not contravene the right of the British Parliament to impose taxes. To such taxation every Briton, without exception, is subjected, and the American charters were intended merely as a protection against a partial levying of taxes by the king. Liverpool, Manchester, and other English towns, which send no representatives to Parliament, could not be taxed by it according to the American views; but they, like America, are *virtually* represented, and pay without offering any opposition, in which respect the Americans would do well to imitate them.

The defects of the English constitution, the Americans replied, should not be held up to us for imitation. It must not be forgotten, that the interests of a distant and essentially different part of the world cannot be virtually represented like those of an English town, which lies close at hand. Newly arisen relations of time and place are to be attended to, and the early necessitous state of colonies furnishes no rule for their treatment after they are

become powerful and have reached their maturity. But the intention seems to be, not to extend their rights in a natural manner with their increasing power and importance, nor even to maintain them unimpaired; but, from a perverse management or a selfish jealousy, to impose upon them still heavier restrictions.*

It is certain that, even at this early period, nothing but the greatest sagacity, circumspection, and moderation, without violence, could have suggested the right course of action; but the heads of the English government were wanting in those qualities. Fearful that America might become weary of her fetters, they ventured on the dangerous experiment of loading her with yet more galling ones.

In fact, there were but three practical courses to be pursued; and these were, either that the colonies should become independent, or that they should retain their legislative assemblies, or that their representatives should be received into the British Parliament. The fourth expedient, that of taxing America without any representation and without participation in the legislative power, was wholly repugnant to the spirit of the British constitution. Walpole, as we have seen, had totally rejected propositions founded on this principle; and there was as little propriety in appealing respecting America to some former attempts, which perhaps had been successful, as there would have been in citing to Englishmen the proceedings of the Star-Chamber in the time of Charles I., or the dispensing power claimed by James II.

Some few, indeed, may have already entertained the idea of America's complete independence of England: but it had not yet descended to the mass of the people; and it essentially depended on the wisdom of the measures next to be adopted, whether this idea should rapidly spring up, or still be repressed for a long while to come. At that time England could not and would not accustom herself to the thought of *different* legislative assemblies, in connexion with *one* executive power; and the reception of even a small number of transatlantic representatives into Parliament seemed to Englishmen as too great a favor, supposing it to be practicable; while the Americans pointed out that they would still be worse off than Englishmen, inasmuch as American members and their votes would be excluded from the House of Lords.†

Such was the state of things, when Lord Grenville, in March, 1765, brought forward a *Stamp Act*, which was to be no less binding on America than on England.‡ Its simplicity, although it comprised a countless number of topics, was extolled; and an attempt was made to weaken the opposition offered to it on the score of the sparse population and scattered dwellings in Ame-

* Adolphus, i. 162. † Grahame, iv. 200. ‡ Grahame, iv. 195. Adolphus, i. 203.

rica. Charles Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, said on this occasion: "The Americans, planted by our care, fostered into strength and opulence by our indulgence, and protected by our arms, will not grudge to contribute their mite to relieve the mother-country from her heavy burdens." In vain was it remarked that a stamp duty for thinly peopled America was injudicious,* for the simple reason that the attendant expenses would ten times exceed the amount of the tax; while supervision, examination, and the punishment of delinquencies would be almost impossible. In vain were pressing remonstrances presented by American agents; they were laid aside unnoticed: for first of all the colonies must acknowledge the unconditional right of taxation possessed by Parliament, and must submit to the rule, according to which no petition against a pending money-bill could be admitted.†

In just indignation at this frivolous and pedantic mode of thinking and acting, Colonel Barré exclaimed in parliament in reply to Townshend, "It is not the care of England, but her intolerance and tyranny that planted the colonies; they have grown in strength by your neglect, by your interference their progress is impeded, while they have driven back enemies of every kind by their own exertions. The people are true to the king, but also jealous of their freedom; let every one be careful not to violate it!"

Notwithstanding these remonstrances, there were but about forty votes in the lower, and none in the upper House, against the Stamp Bill. To the majority it seemed perfectly natural, and at the same time but of little consequence. On the 22d of March, 1765, it received the royal assent; and scarcely any one in England doubted but that it would also go into effect in America without opposition. But the distribution of the stamps being postponed until the 1st of November, the Americans soon recovered from their first alarm; political clubs were formed, and in numerous publications the existing state of affairs was discussed from many points of view, and in a vehement manner. As early as May, 1765, the legislative assembly of Virginia convened, and resolved—on the motion of Patrick Henry—*not to obey*. They even denounced as enemies every one who maintained, that any but the provincial assemblies could impose taxes on the colonies. "Cæsar and Charles the First," said Henry, "met their destruction,—let George the Third beware." While many applauded, and others blamed this boldness, the governor dissolved the assembly; but he could not prevent the knowledge of what had taken place from spreading abroad and inciting to imitation. In many places, as Boston, Newport, New York, Portsmouth,

* Belsham, v., 181.

† Hinton, i. 272.

Newcastle, &c., the enraged multitude gave themselves up to violent excesses. The stamp papers were destroyed, the houses of the stamp distributors plundered, and they themselves were burnt in effigy, and compelled to swear that they would resign their offices.*

Although quiet and more thoughtful citizens disapproved of these proceedings, their views, nevertheless, were constantly becoming bolder and more comprehensive. England, it was said, cannot constitute both head and members at the same time. Where all local principles and regulations are destroyed, slavery exists; and as Parliament was not established, either by law or custom, for America (any more than for Ireland) as it was for England, its power in both countries cannot be one and the same; and its omnipotence in the colonies is a thing not to be spoken of. As the legislative assemblies of the colonies—even with the king's consent—cannot make laws for England, neither can the British Parliament for America. If the rights of the king are less extensive in several of the colonies than in England, be it remembered that with regard to Maryland he expressly renounced the right of taxation. Connecticut and Rhode Island are complete democracies; while other provinces possess, by their charters, the right of declaring war and concluding peace. It is to be considered, moreover, that the French made war upon America chiefly on account of England; and that America, by commercial duties, and by the purchase of English productions and manufactures, does virtually bear a part of the English burdens. Supposing even—which may be doubted—that the moneys received would be well administered and employed in England, still the Americans can now no more consent to arbitrary taxation for useful purposes, than could the English patriots in the time of Charles I.

Among these complaints were heard others respecting injuries to commerce, the quartering on them of an insolent soldiery, the depreciation of the paper currency, &c.† The opposition acquired greater unity, and redoubled importance, by the meeting in New York (in October, 1765) of twenty-eight delegates, from nine provinces, to wit: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. They resolved, that America could be taxed only through its own representatives, and that all their present grievances should be laid before the king and Parliament. New Hampshire had promised to accede to the resolutions adopted; and the other provinces had been prevented by their governors from sending delegates to the meeting in New York.

Simultaneously with the adoption of these political resolutions,

* Ramsay, i. 111. Adolphus, i. 210. Grahame, iv. 203, 213.

† Ramsay, i. 122. Adolphus, i. 213. Hinton, i. 275.

voluntary agreements were entered into to purchase no English manufactures until the repeal of the Stamp Act. The most zealous efforts were made to supply—although imperfectly,—the wants thus occasioned; many things were cheerfully dispensed with; and secret promises were mutually given to ward off, with united exertions, any violence or penalties which this course might entail.

Such a general and well-regulated opposition produced a very great sensation in England; and each party explained the events in conformity with its own views and aims. Mr. Nugent (afterwards Lord Clare) remarked, that a pepper-corn in acknowledgment of the right, was of more value than millions without.* Lord Grenville maintained, that the disobedience of the Americans was very great, that the right of taxation was a necessary part of the general legislative power of Parliament, and that protection and obedience were reciprocal. He declared, too, that the insolence and obstinacy of the Americans arose from the party spirit and erroneous views that were exhibited in Parliament.—Mr. Pitt answered with his usual boldness: “I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow-subjects so lost to every sense of virtue, as voluntarily to give up their liberties, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. Assert the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies in as strong terms as can be devised; extend it to every point of legislation whatsoever; bind their trade; confine their manufactures;—but do not take their money out of their pockets without their own consent. That you have no right to do; and only in a good cause and on solid grounds can England crush America to atoms.”—To this Nicholson Calvert replied: “It matters little to the question whether the Americans are in the right or not,—they think themselves so.”†

These few sentences contain, in fact, the brief text of innumerable subsequent discussions and explanations; they defined for years the theoretical and practical position of parties, and have—with slight modifications—so important an influence, even in our own day, that an elucidation of them in this connection cannot well be out of place; especially as it must enable us to decide respecting the truth or falsehood of the reproach, that the American republic sprang from a damnable rebellion.

Respecting the relation of a mother-country to its colonies, no general system had as yet been laid down with scientific exactness; nor were the examples in history so numerous, or of such a kind, that men could draw conclusions from them with certainty, and act accordingly. This insufficiency of the theory and

* January, 1766. *Parliament. History*, xvi. 97–110. *Adolphus*, i. 225.

† *Raumer's Beiträge*, iii. 289.

practice that had hitherto prevailed, led to sharp, and for the most part arbitrary contradictions ; and since none possessed that consummate statesmanship which sees with prophetic eye into the future, and knows how to direct and control it, they lived on from day to day, wondering without reason why temporary remedies and temporary expedients, instead of leading to the desired results, brought forth constantly something new and unexpected.

If a child is begotten, it does not depend on the mother's will whether it shall be born or not, nor upon the parents whether after birth it shall grow up to maturity. Every colony, says Thucydides with his well known acuteness, honors the parent city when the latter acts well towards it ; but it becomes estranged by unjust treatment. For those settlers were sent out not to slavery, but that they might remain on a level with them that stay at home.*

The above cited declaration of Lord Clare, respecting the immeasurable importance of even a pepper corn by way of right, may in the first place be explained to mean (and so it was understood by Pitt), that it is an imperative point of honor and the first of duties, not to surrender the smallest portion of one's right, but to pursue it to the extremest iota. This view, which transfers some of the littlenesses, prejudices, and follies of private life into the sphere of politics, involves whole nations in strife without reason or prospect of advantage, instead of skilfully and mildly reconciling them with each other.

This declaration acquires additional weight, when understood to mean that force without right is ever powerless ; or rather that in the latter there resides a boundless power that nothing can resist. However, this theory also leads to harm, if not closely examined and essentially corrected. And first of all we find *force* opposed to *right*. If we here assume that *force* and *wrong* are wholly synonymous, the antithesis at least seems clear, and it may perhaps be proved, from the speculative point of view, that all wrong is in fact powerless or absolutely null and void. But for the practical point of view of historical action, this proof is without efficacy, and totally different means must be employed for overcoming wrong.

There is also a second source of confusion and misapprehension in the fact that the words *force* and *might* are often used synonymously one for the other, and hence the saying has crept in, that *might* is *always* opposed to right. But in truth different degrees of power and might give rise to different rights ; although it is hereby by no means intended to deny that wrong may be found connected with any quantity of might, be it great or small. Great might when separated from right, and good right destitute

* De Bell. Pelop. i. 34.

of all might, are always in a dangerous position; wherefore true political wisdom should apply itself to both these elements, and heal their defects as completely as possible.

Lord Clare insisted that both right and might were on the side of Great Britain, and cast aside the question relative to the right and might of America; and yet the main question on which every thing depended, was: What might and what right does America already possess, and what is it both called upon by nature and in a condition to acquire?

Grenville's words seemed to answer the question clearly: but that appearance was deceptive; for the Americans maintained that their defence during the last war had been substantially effected by themselves, and that after all the war had been brought upon them solely on England's account. Grenville's maxim also, that "Protection and obedience are reciprocal," may easily be taken to mean that obedience should cease when protection is denied. The truth of Grenville's declaration, that "the right of taxation is a part of the sovereign power," can by no means be denied as a general abstract proposition; but in the particular concrete case in which it was applied to the British Parliament, it was only a premiss, a *petitio principii*.

Pitt therefore very justly transferred the question to positive grounds, and showed that the form of the English law of taxation presented the most powerful arguments to induce the co-operation and participation of America. But still his views were too much confined to the concrete as those of Grenville were to the abstract. For how could the law of taxation be arbitrarily selected from the whole body of legislation, and the Americans be made contented with such a fragment, while, according to Pitt's harsh declaration, they were to remain without right or participation in any other objects of legislation? Nay more, so unable was Pitt to disengage himself from the prevalent English notions on the subject, that he would allow the Americans a voice only in direct taxation, while he claimed the imposition of all indirect taxes (e. g. custom-house duties) as a monopoly on behalf of England. But in this state, unsatisfactory as it was both in theory and practice, things could by no means remain.

Neither the doctrine of the point of honor, nor of the existence and omnipotence of a purely English right, nor yet Pitt's unsatisfactory proposal for an accommodation, could remove the difficulties that presented themselves. Mr. Calvert, therefore, very justly directed attention to existing *facts*. It was, he observed, of no kind of use to shut one's eyes to them, or to endeavor to solve the difficulty by laying down general propositions, or by referring to former circumstances which were essentially different. An unprejudiced examination of the facts would have

shown that neither old dogmas nor old laws were suited to the present state of things. The majority of the British Parliament mistook, on account of the *past*, both the *present* and the *future*, and wished to play the *judge* according to defective and disputed *custom*, whereas there was needed a new *legislation* for a *new world*.

Let us return, after these intermediate observations, to the historical facts. The Marquis of Rockingham,* a very sensible and excellent man, who was placed at the head of affairs in the summer of 1765, by no means participated in Grenville's views. He rather listened to those who maintained that the complaints of the Americans, as well as of the English merchants who were very much hindered in their trade, must be attended to; and that unconditional blind obedience was not to be looked for from men whose forefathers had left their native country and suffered the greatest hardships in order to be free.†

After many parliamentary struggles, the Stamp Act was at length (on the 18th of March, 1766) totally repealed in the House of Commons by 275 votes against 167, and in the House of Lords by 105 against 71, on the ground that this tax and the mode of levying it were preposterous.‡ At the same time the unlimited legislative power of Parliament was confirmed by a special act, and in other places the mildness and moderation of the government were greatly extolled.

This repeal of the Stamp Act gave rise in America to great and universal rejoicings; trade sprang up anew, numerous letters of thanks were despatched to England, and all seemed settled and composed. To the objection that Parliament had retained the principle of the right of taxation, and even strengthened it anew, the majority, full of gladness and hope, replied that Parliament, in order to save its honor externally, could not have acted otherwise, but that it would be too wise ever to put the principle into literal execution in America.

The season of commercial restriction, however, had produced in America the proud belief that, with respect to trade, it was less dependent on England than England was on it. A small island like England, it was said, which was indebted to the Americans for the disposal of so many of its wares, should not have the presumption to seek to impose restrictions on an entire hemisphere. Such were the sentiments and views of America.

In the meantime, in the course of July, 1766, a partial change of ministry had occurred. The Marquis of Rockingham's place

* Belsham, v. 177. Burke's Life, p. 183.

† Adolphus, i. 388.

‡ Belsham, v. 532. Burke on American Taxation, ii. 401.

was given to a tory,* the Duke of Grafton; Pitt, now created Earl of Chatham, being prevented by ill health from attending to business, had but little influence; and the control of the finances was entrusted to Charles Townshend, a man of splendid abilities, but of fickle and uncertain character. He thought it would be manifesting a sufficient degree of prudence and compliance, if he should refrain from taxing America directly, and merely regulate its commerce, as had so often been done before without opposition. When he proposed accordingly, in June, 1767, to levy duties on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea entering into the colonies, the bill was passed, almost without opposition, into a law.

As soon as the Americans received news of this, they were unwilling any longer to recognize the former nice and too artificial distinction, that England ought indeed voluntarily to give up direct taxation, but that to indirect taxation she was perfectly entitled. They justly observed, that the prohibition to manufacture certain articles of commerce (as, for instance, hats), and the command to purchase only those of English make, undoubtedly included within themselves a tax, and the new duties would create a revenue at the expense of Americans just as much as the Stamp Act. Agreements were again entered into to import no English goods until the duties were taken off—a sort of indirect compulsion, which was both allowable and very displeasing to England. The animated declarations of the legislative assemblies against British taxation in any shape, and their open endeavors to enter into closer connection with each other for the sake of more effectual resistance, were regarded by the governors as still more dangerous, on account of their formal nature. When the governors on this account dissolved the assemblies, the malcontents formed private associations, which soon assumed a regular form, and proceeded with great applause to carry out the objects at which they aimed, and especially to support and strengthen the combination against English goods. The occupation of Boston and other places with English troops (September, 1768) increased the general discontent, without adding to the power of government. The payment and quartering of troops was every where refused on the ground of existing laws, and the proposal to grant sums for the salaries of officers *in perpetuo* was rejected, as it would place the ruling power in the hands of a few irresponsible persons. The command that all evasions of the customs should be tried and punished in England, was termed a violation of the most important principles of the British constitution.†

* Grahame, iv. 249.

† Grahame, iv. 276. Belsham, vi. 11, 21. Ramsay, i. 150. Adolphus, i. 358. Politisches Journal, 1781, p. 53.

In this state of things the English government a second time changed its measures. In April, 1770, an act was passed, by 350 votes against 62, granting a *partial* repeal of the duties levied in the year 1767. Those on glass, paper, and painters' colors, were taken off altogether; but that on tea was raised threepence a pound. By this means, the majority asserted, the burden was diminished, while the principle was preserved. On this occasion Grenville remarked: My strictness was the best means; Rockingham's unconditional repeal of the taxes the next best; but this middle way is the worst of all. Others said: It is absurd to keep up the contention while the advantage is surrendered. And Burke exclaimed: What dignity is derived from perseverance in absurdity is more than I ever could discern.* Regardless of these and similar reproaches, Lord North (who had succeeded to Townshend's place in September, 1770) declared: "A total repeal of the duties cannot be thought of till America lies prostrate at our feet!" Such vaporings were certainly unworthy of a statesman, and created a most disagreeable and exciting sensation in America. The compacts, however, against English goods were immediately dissolved, and retained only against tea.

But unhappily at this time many faulty measures and unfortunate occurrences took place. A constitution was introduced into Canada which gave reason to fear that similar restrictive provisions would be imposed upon the other colonies. The governor of Massachusetts lived in discord with the patriots of that province; he advised harsh measures, as was shown by intercepted correspondence, and made the judges wholly dependent on himself: these things gave rise, in March, 1777, to bloody conflicts in Boston between the people and the troops. Thus violent opposition gradually took the place of respectful remonstrances, and there needed but one new error on the part of the English government to stir up the passions also in behalf of the American doctrines.†

In consequence of the diminished export of tea to the colonies, an immense stock of that article had accumulated in the warehouses of the East India Company; for which reason the government gave permission to send it to all places whatever, duty free. As the remission thus granted amounted to a shilling on the pound, while the American import duty was only threepence; as the East India Company ordered their consignees in America to pay this latter tax, which was thus concealed in the price; and lastly, as the price of the tea, by taking off the threepence and by

* Belsham, v. 360. Adolphus, i. 464. Genz Histor. Journal, 1800, ii. 28. Burke on American Taxation, ii. 366.

† Ramsay, i. 172. Burke, ii. 363.

the recent abatement of a shilling, was brought much lower than before, it was thought that the Americans would thankfully acknowledge the advantages held out to them, and willingly make purchases. But, on the contrary, they said, "Shall we sell our rights like cowards for a trifling gain in the way of a tax; shall we show ourselves meaner and more selfish than England, who evidently surrenders greater advantages for the present, in order to carry out her claims to unconditional sovereignty?" Accordingly it was resolved that none of the tea should be bought, and that all ships laden therewith should be prevented from landing their cargoes. This was carried literally into effect in New York and Philadelphia, although not every where: in Charleston the tea was seized and kept till it spoiled; and in Boston seventeen persons disguised as Indians threw, on the 18th of December, 1773, three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the sea. Not a single chest landed in North America was sold there.*

As soon as Parliament received the news of these events, the majority, without reflecting on the primary cause that produced them, turned their attention solely to the outrages last committed in Boston. But instead of investigating the circumstances of the transaction, and finding out the instigators and participants therein, instead, in short, of taking the fair and proper course, they imposed (March, 1774) a heavy fine on the whole city, and laid an embargo on Boston harbor. In vain did Chatham, Rockingham, and others, declare themselves in favor of milder and conciliatory measures; in vain did Burke remind them that at length opposition was directed only against unjust laws, and that from this very circumstance it was evident how improper it was to condemn without a hearing, and to try to enforce constitutional principles by the military arm.†

The citizens of Boston said to the same effect: "How is it possible that for the offence of individuals and before any legal investigation, an unsuitable, incalculable, and destructive punishment is to be inflicted upon the whole city? How can it be required that dependence on Great Britain should outlive its justice?"

The feeling of right which advocated the propriety of indemnifying the East India Company for the loss of their tea, on the part of those who had caused it, was now excited in a much stronger degree in favor of the innocent inhabitants of Boston; though it was expected that a more equitable and moderate course would be adopted by England. But instead of so doing, Parliament about this time (May, 1774) changed the constitution of Massachusetts in its most essential particulars. It was enacted that the provincial council, hitherto chosen by the representative

* Grahame, iv. 329.

† Hinton, i. 312.

assembly, should hereafter be appointed by the crown. The appointment of most of the public officers, and the removal of councillors and judges, were intrusted to the will of the governor; the town-meetings were made entirely dependent on him; and not the slightest respect was paid to the contents of the old charters, to which all these proceedings were opposed. Lord North said: "If this bill does not rest on grounds of the greatest political necessity, it rests on *nothing*.* And in fact it did rest on nothing; yet 239 against 64 voted for it in the lower house, and 92 against 20 in the upper house, remaining true to the conviction, that severity would soon set all to rights!

Allowing that the constitution of Massachusetts exhibited great defects, still it was exceedingly rash to change its form just at that moment—exceedingly short-sighted to destroy despotically the recognized rights and charters of an entire people, and to play the reformer so awkwardly and unjustly. At any rate it might have been distinctly foreseen that herein the omnipotence of Parliament was still less likely to be acknowledged than it was in paying the duties on tea.

The third blundering encroachment of the English ministry consisted in a law passed at the same time, to the effect that any person indicted for murder or any other capital offence committed in aiding the magistracy of Massachusetts should be tried in another colony, or in England.

These measures, the blame bestowed on them even in the British Parliament, the public meetings, correspondence, and publications of all kinds, raised the enthusiasm in favor of North American freedom to such a pitch, that even the most circumspect coincided in—or at least did not venture to oppose—the assertion, that it was necessary to bear present sufferings with cheerfulness, in order to escape the great and inevitable evils with which they were threatened. The restrictions of old constitutions and governments were less effectual in accustoming men to an anarchy hitherto unknown, than they were in leading to new measures which far surpassed in boldness all that had been attempted before.† Thus the combination entered into by newly established committees, communicated to all undertakings and movements a rapidity, unanimity, and activity, of which no example had hitherto been given; and which was afterwards repeated in the Jacobin clubs in another and more fearful manner.

Boston bore the very heavy loss arising from the embargo on its commerce, with immoveable firmness; and experienced every where such hearty sympathy, that even the inhabitants of the neighboring town of Salem—whither it was designed to turn

* Belsham, vi. 54.

† Burke, iii. 60. Ramsay, i. 217.

the course of trade, as a punishment to Boston,—declared, that they would consider it shameful to enrich themselves at the expense of their fellow-citizens. The proclamation of General Gage, the English commander-in-chief in Massachusetts, to the effect that the compacts against trade with England were hostile and traitorous, led merely to a controversial correspondence; while every one acted in the matter as he pleased. The attempt to establish a new government in Massachusetts failed; since several of the persons appointed by the king declined their offices, and others were prevented from assuming them by the people. Thus there ensued a general stoppage of all the courts and public offices, without giving immediate rise to riots, and acts of violence. When, however, the rumor was spread—perhaps intentionally—that Boston had been bombarded by the British, many thousands assembled immediately in the surrounding country; and all the custom-house officers and other public functionaries, including even the newly established courts in Salem, were compelled to flee to Boston.

Four months after the reception of the Boston Port Bill, on the 5th of September, 1774, the delegates of twelve provinces (Georgia followed later) met in general congress in Philadelphia; they gave one vote to each state, and chose Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, as their president. In some of the provinces the deputies had been appointed by the legislative assemblies; in others, where the governors opposed it, this had been performed by assemblies of the people on their own authority. The resolutions that emanated from the congress abounded in strong assurances of loyalty, and of legitimate adherence to the mother-country. They acknowledged the prerogatives of the crown, and disclaimed all desire of separation. But, on the other hand, they firmly maintained, that they were entitled to all the rights of native British subjects; that the late proceedings against Massachusetts were illegal and oppressive, and consequently were to be regarded as a matter of common concern to all the states. True, said they, the British Parliament can make certain regulations, and impose certain restrictions intended to benefit the trade of the *whole* kingdom; but no tax can be levied on the Americans without their own consent; and to them belongs the right of devising all laws for their internal government, and of laying them before the king. The congress resolved, moreover, that the American settlers had the right to be tried by their peers, to assemble peaceably together to consider their grievances, and present petitions to the king. It was contrary to law, they said, to keep a standing army in America without the consent of the provincial assemblies, and to make the legislative power entirely dependent on a council, simply appointed by the

crown. The acts respecting new taxes, the quartering of troops, judicial proceedings, the embargo on Boston, &c.: it was also necessary to repeal.*

To this effect an able and eloquent address was drawn up to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and also an address to the king; but at the same time—in order to give greater weight to these measures—all commercial intercourse with Great Britain was broken off until their grievances should be removed. Still the assurance was repeated, that nothing new was meditated; and that all they sought was the restoration and preservation of their former peace, liberty, and safety.

When the congress had thus performed its task, with seriousness, moderation, order, and prudence, it dissolved itself on the 26th of October; but not until it had made the necessary arrangements for a second meeting. Every where its orders were readily obeyed; and while the old forms of government still subsisted, they had in fact entirely lost their power and efficacy. One spirit seemed to animate all, and the enthusiasm on behalf of the public welfare exceeded all calculation. The merchants and country people submitted without demur to very strict regulations respecting trade, and the exportation of their produce; and each individual assented to unwonted deprivations and new obligations. A cheerful gaiety was exhibited in the midst of all these sufferings; for the attainment of freedom seemed worthy of all price. Thus all were exalted above themselves to a pitch of self-denial, devotion, and courage, which the cold prudence of quiet times can scarcely comprehend.

Yet instructive and warning as these events and manifestations must have been to every unprejudiced observer, the Parliament newly assembled in November, 1774, agreed with the former one: thus proving that a people may be very jealous of its own liberties, while, unhappily, it seeks to destroy those of another. Individual members, it is true, pointed out to ministers, that their anticipations of an easy suppression of disturbances had turned out erroneous, and that they were threatened with the dangers of a civil war; but the majority were still in favor of severe measures; and, among others, Lord Sandwich, the head of the admiralty, spoke in the most contemptuous manner of the sentiments and power of the Americans. The partial resolutions of the congress, he asserted, would not be supported by the people; or, at any rate, they would easily be annulled by the superior power of England. These erroneous views were in a good measure owing to the fact, that the government received their accounts of what was going on, almost exclusively from their own officials; who were either imperfectly cognizant of the true

* Ramsay, i. 248.

state of things, or else sought to enhance the value and merits of their vigilance by slandering the Americans.

No one censured the views and proceedings of the ministry with greater severity and vehemence than Lord Chatham. He pledged his honor, and declared that he would own himself an idiot, if the resolutions that had been passed would not have to be repealed. When ministers retorted, that it was easy to find fault, but difficult to make more judicious propositions, he brought in a Bill, on the 20th of January, 1775, which was designed to effect a reconciliation with the colonies. It asserted the right of the king to send a moderate army at all times into all parts of his dominions; but declared that military force should never be employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people. The legal constitution and charters should remain untouched, several harsh measures should be rescinded, and an amnesty declared for all that had taken place. A congress might assemble to acknowledge the rights of Parliament over the colonies, and grant a tax to the king, which Parliament might then dispose of. Direct local taxation should belong to the Americans; from which, however, the general measures necessary for the regulation of commerce in a great kingdom were essentially distinct. "As to the metaphysical refinements," said Chatham, "attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from legislative control and commercial restraint, as from taxation for the purpose of revenue, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless."*

Lord Sandwich's declaration, that Chatham's bill seemed rather the work of an American (turning to Franklin, who was present) than of a British nobleman, was certainly unfounded; since the colonists, for the reasons already mentioned would have been but little gratified with the measures proposed: but be that as it may, it is a proof of passion and hastiness, that this and similar propositions of the greatest statesman in England, should be rejected at once, and without serious deliberation.

The new Parliament, which, without subjecting itself to censure, might have repealed many of the acts of the former one, on the contrary proceeded with hasty steps in the same course, prohibited the reception of any more petitions from the Americans, and declared their acts rebellious. Yet notwithstanding this more than dubious proceeding, Lord North said: "I have not the least doubt that the dispute with America will be ended speedily, happily, and without bloodshed."

By way of nearer approach to this peaceful consummation, commands were issued to increase the number of troops in Boston, and to place a general embargo on American trade, including

* Belsham, vi. 102, 104. Genz, l. c. p. 40.

the fisheries in Newfoundland. It was, indeed, remarked by some, that the restraints on the fisheries would operate also to the serious injury of Great Britain; that such proceedings were more cruel than were customary, even against enemies; that they would drive the American fishermen to the extremities of famine, compel them to become soldiers, &c. But the majority replied: The Americans themselves have given occasion for the measures complained of, and commenced hostilities against English trade. They must be shown that England is not more powerless than they; and members must not shrink from adopting such means as are the best, because leading most speedily to the desired result.

Still, in order not to put an end to all thoughts of an accommodation, or with the design of creating differences between the colonies, Lord North, in February, 1775, made the proposition, that if any of the colonies would grant and place at the disposal of Parliament a proportionate sum for the common defence of the empire, and make provision for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice within their confines, and if such grants and provisions should be approved of by the king and Parliament,—then during such contributions the duties should be taken off, excepting such as might seem necessary for the regulation of trade, and the income from these should be expended for their benefit.

The ministers maintained, that in case the opposition of the Americans was founded solely on the grounds which they professed, they must necessarily accept the proposition made them; a rejection of which would completely prove that they cherished other and criminal designs. The whole proposition, however, met with but little acceptance even in England, and much less in America. The claims of Parliament to unconditional power, it was here said, are but awkwardly concealed; it desires to treat with single states, in order that it may work on some by fear and on others by self-interest, and thus dissolve their union. Assent to a permanent tax leads to tyranny. England's monopoly of trade comprises within itself a taxation of America; and if the mother-country desires to obtain still more, Americans must be allowed to carry on their trade as freely as Britons. The proposition, it was continued, contains no renunciation of the rights of taxation, and forgets that the internal government and administration of justice are wholly under the direction of American assemblies. On these and similar grounds, Lord North's proposition, which had been carried in the House of Commons by a vote of 274 to 88,* was in America unanimously rejected.

Milder proposals on the part of Edmund Burke, to redress the

* Belsham, vi. 124.

well-founded complaints of the Americans and acknowledge their right of self-taxation, were rejected by a vote of 184 to 51.*

Prophetically he said: "Force in the long run can never succeed, its effect is always uncertain. It is impossible to change opinions arising from descent, education, religion, position, &c.; two millions of men cannot be brought before a criminal court, but we must take things as they are, and hold fast to undeniable facts. Shall we destroy that which made the colonies great, destroy them to bring them to obedience? On the contrary the Americans must be won to the constitution of the British empire. This does not require the reception of their deputies in the English House of Commons, but the recognition of their own constitutions and of the right of self-taxation. It is by no means impossible to find out a proper position to be occupied by the American constitutions with regard to that of Great Britain; and the fear that in case of such a concession no more money would be granted by the Americans, appears, as England itself demonstrates, wholly unfounded. But after all, the idea of drawing money from America to England is certainly preposterous. American taxes must be expended in America, and it must not be forgotten that the colonies are still of use, directly in commerce and indirectly in war."

In the meantime New York, which it had been sought to gain over by a milder treatment than common, was striving after the same rights as the other states; and the increasing distress, arising in great measure from the suppression of the fisheries, augmented the hatred against England. The Americans, however, with great prudence and foresight, avoided the appearance of being the aggressors; they wished to awaken sympathy for their righteous cause, and not by passionate errors to diminish the number of their friends. But when General Gage undertook to destroy their arms and ammunition, a skirmish took place at *Lexington* between the king's troops and the Americans: the first blood of citizens flowed on the 19th of April, 1775, the immediate cause of war being the claim to impose a tax from which it was well known there could remain no surplus for England.

The English relied upon their ascendancy by land and sea, their wealth, military stores, and experience in warfare, upon their government directed from a single point, and the knowledge of the art of war possessed by their generals and admirals. The Americans took into the account the weakening effect of the distance between England and themselves, their more accurate

* Belsham, vi. 74. Burke on Amer. Conciliation, 22d March, 1775. Works, iii. 23. Ramsay, i. 307.

knowledge of their own country, and above all the righteousness of their good cause. The enthusiasm in favor of the war, not against the king but against the English ministry, was universal; and preachers, judges, public officers, the press, all labored unanimously for the same object. In a greater battle fought at *Bunker Hill*, near Boston, on the 17th of June, 1775, the English it is true gained the victory over the undisciplined American troops; but they met with such an obstinate resistance, and suffered so heavy a loss, that it furnished serious occasion to new councils and deliberations on both sides.

On the 10th of May preceding this event, the congress had met a second time, and had drawn up vindictory addresses to Great Britain, Ireland, and Jamaica, and also a suitable petition to the king. To this last no answer was vouchsafed, because the *rebels* made no offer of subjection, and had in view only to gain time. This rejection embittered even the moderate party, who, although aiming at the establishment and recognition of a free constitution, did not regard as desirable an entire dissolution of the connection with Great Britain.

The motion of the Duke of Richmond on the 10th of November, 1775, that the representations of the congress to the king presented an opportunity for new negotiations and a settlement of differences, was rejected as before.* The old tories, the high church zealots, and the whigs, with whom the maxim of the omnipotence of Parliament outweighed all other considerations, stood united against the smaller number of those who were styled American democrats.†

Five months later, on the 17th of March, 1776, Boston was taken by the Americans; and a few weeks afterwards, almost all the governors had fled, and the royal authority had become loosened to such an extent, that on the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved in congress to declare the *independence* of the North American states. A document was soon after drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, entitled the *Declaration of Independence*, and submitted to the examination of a committee. It was then taken up by the congress; and having, after an earnest debate, been altered in a few points, it was almost unanimously adopted‡ on the 4th day of July.

It enumerates all the evils, oppressions, and wrongs, which the Americans considered themselves to have suffered from England and especially from the king and government, and declares the eternal and inalienable rights which God has given to his creatures, namely life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

* Belsham, vi. 181, 204.

† Dr. Johnson said: "The Americans are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for any thing we allow them short of hanging." *Mr. Gregor's America*, i. 30.

‡ The only opponent was Mr. Dickinson.

"To secure these rights governments are instituted, which derive their just power from the consent of the governed. Where a government becomes destructive of these ends, the people have a right to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government which may conduce to their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed dictates that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience has shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But where a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism,* and when a government pays no attention to their most earnest petitions and well-grounded remonstrances, it becomes their duty to throw it off, and to provide new guards for their future security. We, therefore, the assembled representatives of the United States of America, appealing to the supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that they are and of right ought to be free and independent states, and that all allegiance and connection with the British crown is hereby totally dissolved. And for support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

From that time to the present day, this American Declaration (like similar principles, measures, and declarations) has been contemplated and judged from wholly opposite points of view. The uncompromising adherents of the doctrine of divine rights and blind obedience, as well as the advocates of the right of every rebellion, solve with perfect ease all questions concerning political and social relations; for without ever closely inquiring into their origin, contents, the occasion that produced them, their management and success, they clap them upon the same last, and measure them with the same yard-stick. This seemingly absolute and infallible wisdom necessarily tends almost always to error and folly; and all that is characteristic and life-like is destroyed, in order to enthrone in its stead the spectre of arbitrary rules as the only dispenser of happiness. This *caput mortuum* of soi-disant profound historical views, treats the thirty tyrants, the decemvirs and triumvirs, Gessler and Tell, Alba and William of Orania, Charles I. and Cromwell, James II. William III. and Louis XVI., Washington and Robespierre, the most stupid and impudent rebellion and the noblest stand against oppression,

* The Declaration speaks most strongly against the king, because America yielded no recognition whatever to the right and might of Parliament.

in precisely the same manner, and seeks to exalt a few barren ideas above genuine enthusiasm and profound knowledge. Without entering upon a closer examination and refutation of this one-sided system than is here admissible, we return after these few hints to our historical narration, the course of which affords a sufficient illustration of these principles.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (1776) TO THE BREAKING
OUT OF THE WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE (1778).

Necessity of the War—Washington—Capture of Burgoyne—France and America—
War between France and England.

A RIGHTEOUS indignation at wrongs endured, and a noble enthusiasm in the cause of liberty and one's native land are, as a general rule, the most important conditions to success in great warlike undertakings; but that these will not suffice without patience, obedience, and habits of discipline, was experienced by the Americans after a large body of English troops under Lord Howe had landed upon their coasts. Before commencing hostilities, he issued demands for submission and promises of pardon; but in this the Americans saw only an artifice for sowing disunion among themselves, and they even printed and distributed these English proclamations, in order that the people might be convinced that where *rights* ought to have been acknowledged and confirmed, all they were offered was—*pardon*!

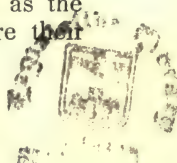
The Americans, however, were obliged every where to retire before the English army, which was well commanded and inured to war; they thus lost New York, Long Island, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and the whole country as far as the Delaware; while in consequence of this misfortune, all order vanished from their ranks, many returned home at the expiration of their stipulated term of service, and whole hosts of inhabitants hastened over to the royal army to seek peace and protection. Congress alone remained active and firm in this most trying juncture of the American war of freedom, and delivered to General Washington, with provident sagacity and noble confidence, the supreme command of the army. He was empowered at his discretion to raise and dis-

band troops, to inflict punishment, levy contributions, award compensations, &c. That such a man as Washington was to be found, and that his worth was duly appreciated, were circumstances highly fortunate and highly meritorious. Without his personal influence and exertions, the American revolution could never have succeeded so admirably; in fact none can succeed where the excited masses are destitute of wise and virtuous leaders.

George Washington was born in Virginia, in the county of Westmoreland, on the 22d of February, 1732, sound and strong in body, cultivated in mind by industry but still more by his way of life, and distinguished as a leader in the war of 1756 to 1763. He had an intellect powerful but not dazzling. Even in the present day in America, happily for the country, merely brilliant qualities are by no means over-estimated, as is so often the case in France; and rectitude, character, and virtue are never regarded as superfluous, unimportant accompaniments. Few men who have earned for themselves a celebrated name in the history of the world exhibit such a harmony, such a concordant symmetry of all the qualities calculated to render himself and others happy, as Washington; and it has been very appropriately observed, that, like the master-pieces of ancient art, he must be the more admired in the aggregate, the more closely he is examined in detail. His soul was elevated above party-spirit, prejudice, self-interest, and paltry aims; he acted according to the impulses of a noble heart and a sound understanding, strengthened by impartial observation. By calmly considering things in all their relations and from every point of view, he became master of them, and was able, even in situations of the greatest perplexity, to choose with certainty that which was best. To the greatest firmness he united the mildness and patience equally necessary in the then state of affairs; to prudence and foresight he joined boldness at the right moment; and the power entrusted to him he never abused by the slightest infraction of the laws.

Although it is impossible that an American can ever again perform such services for his country as were then rendered by Washington, his noble, blameless, and spotless image will remain a model and a rallying-point to all, to encourage the good and to deter the bad. How petty do the common race of martial heroes appear in comparison with Washington! how insignificant especially Lord North, who, while internally wavering, strove after an appearance of decision, feebly pursued measures of violence, and awakened hatred without instilling fear!

The formation of a new and more effective American army was promoted by the insubordination and plundering propensities of many of the English and German soldiery; for as soon as the inhabitants perceived that submission could not ensure their



safety, they rushed to arms ; and country people who had thought but little of the right of taxation, or at least had not interested themselves in the matter, felt the wrongs which the plundering soldiery inflicted on them. Bold attacks were made by Washington on portions of the British army at Trenton and Princeton ; in which he came off victorious, and raised the sunken courage of the Americans to such a pitch, that they encountered greater dangers with intrepidity.

On the 11th of September, 1777, Washington was defeated at the river Brandywine by a superior English force ; on the 26th of September, the victors occupied Philadelphia ; and on the 14th of September, General Burgoyne reached Saratoga with a strong army, on his march from Canada. The great and judicious plan of uniting the northern and southern portions of the English army, of completely hemming in New England, and of then reducing the less zealous colonies to subjection, seemed to have already succeeded ; and there was scarcely an Englishman at that moment who doubted a speedy and happy termination to the war.

But as the danger became more imminent, the activity and resolution of the Americans also increased ; and while Washington watched the southern divisions of the English, they kept collecting in greater numbers to oppose Burgoyne's progress. The latter found the ways nowhere open ; and while he was anxiously awaiting the arrival of his countrymen from the south, they lost time in useless maraudings, and at length turned back when they had already traversed the greater part of the way. In the meantime Burgoyne's army became more closely surrounded, his retreat was blocked up, his stock of provisions exhausted, and there remained no hope of winning a battle against his far more numerous and well posted enemies. Burgoyne was thus compelled, on the 16th of October, 1777, to surrender, at Saratoga, himself and his army to General Gates ;* on condition that all should be allowed a free retreat to England, and promising that they would not again serve against America during the war. The Americans took 5,790 prisoners, 35 pieces of cannon, 4,687 muskets, and many other munitions of war, which were of great use to them.

This great and unlooked for event decided, if not the fate of America, at least the views of the European powers, especially France, concerning the revolt of the colonies. With respect to this, it has been said time and again, "the cabinet of Versailles displayed profound policy and unwonted skill. Nay, it can be affirmed that the French government has never, and on no important occasion, exhibited so much sagacity and firmness."†

* Gates was for a while opposed to and even exalted above Washington by a party. The former, however, was presumptuous, irresolute, and altogether of a mean disposition.—*Life of Hamilton*, i. 124, 127.

† Marten, *Causes Célèbres*, i. 498.

What we are to think of these praises, is shown in the printed correspondence of the American envoys and the unprinted correspondence of the English ambassador at Paris, Lord Stormont.* It deserves to be communicated in this place somewhat at length, since it gives very instructive disclosures respecting the views of the English, the Americans, and the French.

On the 7th of September, 1774, Lord Stormont writes from Paris: "I will not trouble you with the particulars of the reasonings of our philosophers, wits, and coffee-house politicians here; who all, without exception, are zealous *Americans*, and affect to regard them as a brave people, fighting for their natural rights, and struggling to wrest them from the hands of haughty and passionate masters. Their favorite argument is, that since the Americans are not represented in our Parliament, they ought not to render obedience to our laws. This argument they turn about on all sides, and amuse themselves with empty, vague, and general theories, the usual cloak under which men of parts conceal their ignorance. They speak in a way that must surprise every body who is not as well acquainted with this country as your lordship, who knows with what self-conceit the French talk of what they know least about, and how they make up in petulance what they lack in knowledge. Then too there are people here of quite a different stamp, who indeed grant, in general terms, that our right is very clear; but who think, or pretend to think, that it would be better for us to lay it aside and assent to the claims of the Americans, unfounded as they are, rather than bring on an open quarrel in which we must be the losers at last. These say, that by virtue of the natural and inevitable course of human affairs, in the extraordinary increase of the population, power, and trade of North America, a time must arrive when the struggle for independence in all our colonies must become general. Impelled by this spirit and conscious of their own superior power, they would cast off all dependence on the mother-country, and form *an immense kingdom of their own*. This event, it is said, no human prudence can avert; and by the greatest wisdom that which cannot be healed can only be hidden or postponed for a season at the most."

At that time the French ministers said nothing at all respecting American affairs, and even a year later (20th September, 1775) Lord Stormont writes: "The whole tenor of the speeches of M. de Vergennes (and he spoke on this occasion often and decidedly) convinces me that the French will grant no aid to the American rebels with *the consent of the government*." Yet M. de Vergennes had already, on the 7th of August, 1775, written the following to Count de Guines, to be communicated to the Ameri-

* Raumer's Beiträge, v. 209-264.

cans: "We admire the greatness and nobleness of the American exertions, and have no interest in injuring them. On the contrary, we would see with pleasure the time when fortunate circumstances should put it in their power to visit our ports, where the facilities afforded them with respect to their trade would evince the esteem which we cherish for them."

These sentiments hardly remained a secret; nor did the outward show of non-compliance prevent either the ardent friends of the Americans or interested merchants from entering with them into a variety of connexions, which the French government—in accordance with the above—did not feel itself called upon to prevent by force. Yet the important question respecting lawful and illicit trade could even now not be wholly avoided. To English remonstrances, M. de Vergennes replied: "It is not allowed to export powder and munitions of war without permission from the government, which will not be granted. The governors of the French islands shall be ordered anew to afford no sort of assistance to the Americans."

After the actual outbreak of the American war, the state of things became of course still more involved, and apprehensions respecting the mutual positions of France and England still greater. Of this Lord Stormont, on the 13th of October, 1775, gives the following remarkable account: "M. de Vergennes said to me, 'We wish to live in perfect harmony with you, and are far from meditating any thing that could add to the embarrassments of your present critical condition.' He used the words, 'Far from wishing to add to your embarrassments, we regard them with some uneasiness (*avec quelque peine*). What is now happening to you in America is nobody's business (*n'est de la convenance de personne*). I think,' he continued, 'that I perceive the consequences that must ensue, if your colonies should ever gain the independence they seek for. They would at once set about building fleets; and as all possible advantages for ship-building are at their command, they would soon do more than resist the united naval force of Europe. With such a superiority, connected with all the advantages of position, they would be in a state to take both our islands and your own. Nay, I am satisfied they would not stop here, but in the course of time would advance to *South America*, subdue or drive out the inhabitants, and at length would leave no European power a foot-breadth of land in that quarter of the world. All these results indeed will not ensue immediately; neither you, my lord, nor I will live to see them; but they are none the less certain because they are remote. A short-sighted policy may rejoice in a rival's distress, without a thought beyond the present hour; but he who sees further and weighs the consequences, must regard what is be-

falling you in America as a misfortune in which every people that has possessions there bears its share;—and in this light, I assure you, I have always viewed the matter.’

“Maurepas said to me: ‘We are not the people to take an undue advantage of circumstances and fish in troubled waters. Our wish and intention is to live with you in peace and friendship, and to regulate the affairs of our own country as well as we can.’”

About the time of the Declaration of Independence (July, 1776) Mr. Silas Deane arrived in Paris as the secret plenipotentiary of the United States, and received from M. Vergennes the reply: “We cannot openly support the Americans, but will lay no obstruction in the way of their plans for making purchases.”* About the same time Lord Stormont wrote: “Even on the supposition most favorable to us, that the preparations of France are founded merely on prudence and are intended for self-defence, the apparatus at any rate is put in readiness; and even should it not be used as long as Maurepas lives, it will be directed against us the instant it falls into rash hands. I can pass no decisive judgment on the present views and intentions of the French court. When I see their preparations, I think every thing is to be feared. When, on the contrary, I observe the state of the country and of parties in the court, the discontent in the army, the vacillation in their decrees, the exigencies of their finance, the character of the king (who does not possess the spirit of enterprise and thirst for glory from which a fondness for war proceeds), I cannot bring myself to believe that such hostile plans against us really exist as these preparations indicate. Yet there are men of consequence here, who, as I know, cherish hostile sentiments towards us, and who have often declared to their friends, that if they were in the ministry, they would amuse Great Britain with all possible promises of friendship, and then, when she least expected it, would fall on her in order to retrieve the losses of the last war and to revenge the manner in which it was begun. But none of these men are in favor, and as long as Maurepas’s influence lasts, they will not come into play.”

Already, before this account of Stormont’s, M. de Vergennes had written, on the 10th of June, 1776, to the minister Clugny: “It seems to me that our political and commercial interests require us to treat the Americans favorably in our ports. Should they succeed in establishing the freedom of their trade, they will have already become habituated to dealing with our merchants; should they be defeated, they will at any rate have carried on for some time an exchange of commodities evidently advantageous to us. I think, therefore, we must show the greatest favor to the American ships.”

* Diplomatic Correspondence, edited by Sparks, Vol. i. p. 13.

Looking anxiously into the future, M. de Vergennes read, on the 31st of August, 1776, in the presence of the king and of the other ministers, a memorial in which he carefully examined and weighed the reasons *for* and *against* war. The decision he left to the king's wisdom, but laid by far the greater stress on the reasons *for* war. These reasons in favor of war obtained a two-fold weight, when the new minister of finance, Necker (who, as Lord Stormont very justly remarked, saw every thing in the fairest, but on that very account in the most erroneous light), gave in a brilliant account of the state of the French finances; and when *Benjamin Franklin*, in December, 1776, came to Paris, to assist Deane in his labors. Franklin's cheerfulness, simplicity, and sound sense, together with his great knowledge, insured him applause and influence. Yet it has been remarked that he sometimes showed himself cautious, cunning, and even avaricious; or that at any rate he sank in comparison with the spotlessly pure and noble character of Washington.*

To Franklin's propositions the ministers gave the following verbal reply: "As the king is determined to direct his attention to the restoration of the finances and the improvement of the internal administration of his kingdom in all its different branches, he cannot think of embarking in a war. He is inclined to listen to the proposals of the colonies, and to promote their views, as soon as they have given more consistency and stability to their assumed independence; but at the present moment, the king (unless England, contrary to all expectation, should declare war) can merely grant protection and a refuge to those persons who may resort to his country. Moreover, he is resolved not to take part in any way in the present quarrel, but to observe the strictest neutrality."†

These words receive their explanation from what took place. Numberless Frenchmen applied to Deane, to be taken into the American service;‡ Lafayette sailed over, full of youthful enthusiasm and hindered only in appearance, to the land of new blooming freedom; Beaumarchais provided warlike stores of various kinds; and in March, Deane mentions, not without astonishment, that while cannons, muskets, and other munitions of war had been supplied from the king's magazines to be transported to America, the French minister conducted himself towards the American plenipotentiaries as if he knew nothing about it.§ He did every thing possible to keep the English minister quiet, and publicly prohibited what he privately allowed.

* Morellet, i. 290. Grahame's United States, iii. 426.

† Stormont's Report of January 1, 1777.

‡ Diplomatic Correspondence, i. 71, 93.

§ Diplomatic Correspondence, p. 271.

Thus passed the greater part of the year 1777, in mutual accusations, excuses, half measures, diplomatic artifices, and untruths, which it would require too much space to relate in detail. It will suffice to communicate some interesting and instructive passages from Lord Stormont's reports. He thus writes, on the 13th of August, 1777: "M. de Vergennes said to me, 'The predilection for Americans in France is truly a very great and serious evil. Do not suppose that it arises from love to America or hatred against England; *its root lies much deeper, and can easily escape the notice of a superficial observer, but it deserves our greatest and most serious attention.*' Although M. de Vergennes did not explain himself further, it was easy to see that he alluded to the licentious spirit that reigns in France, and is doubtless a chief cause of the enthusiastic delirium in favor of the Americans.

"I said to M. de Vergennes, that for my part I had long perceived the secret cause and public direction of this partiality. 'I assure you,' answered Vergennes, 'the king also perceives it. He made the same remark to me a few days ago; and I replied that it was of consequence by every proper means to restrain and counteract a spirit of whose nature he had formed so correct a judgment.'

"*'I protest by God,' said Vergennes, 'that if you had orders to tender us Jamaica to-morrow, I would vote for rejecting the offer. What should we do with the island? we have more land than we want; our object must be to support our colonies, and improve their cultivation; they are large enough already. Too great colonies are a great evil, and what is now happening to you furnishes a terrible example. Believe me, we have no plans of conquest whatever. Our object is and ought to be, to improve what we possess, to secure the blessings of peace, and to give permanence to our happiness, which is never lessened by your welfare. It is a false, narrow, nay, impious policy, which desires to build up the greatness of one people on the distress and destruction of another. Viewed in a higher light, all are links of one and the same chain; and as the happiness and prosperity of individuals increase the happiness and prosperity of the state to which they belong, so the happiness of one people augments in a thousand ways the happiness of another. This is an evident truth which all men of plain good sense can perceive, when their sight is not obscured by national prejudices, national hate, and lamentable passions, which are so ready at hand to mingle in the affairs of mankind.'*—I told him in reply how heartily I desired that the conduct of the French court would always be as much in accordance with it, as I was convinced our own would be."

Vergennes here certainly enounced in a laudable manner principles which are at once the simplest and the loftiest of all politi-

cal wisdom ; but which a foolish and sinful blindness has but too often caused both conquerors and nations to mistake and to transgress. At that time, too, men could not or would not practise them in their purity. In France louder and more numerous voices constantly asserted, that so favorable an opportunity for weakening England must not be suffered to pass unimproved ; while Lord Stormont insisted more and more decidedly that France must keep true peace with England and leave the Americans to themselves, or henceforward support them and thereby force on a war.

"The behavior of the French ministers," writes the ambassador on the 19th November, 1777, "is now so constantly the same, that it is necessary to suppose they have a fixed, decided plan, viz. : to do us secretly as much harm as possible, and to conceal these ill designs by the strongest assurances of friendship and the greatest apparent attention to our complaints."

It is true Maurepas repeated several times, "There exists no ground of dispute, no reason for a war, and France will certainly not make a beginning." But after the news of the capture of General Burgoyne had reached Paris, Lord Stormont wrote (28th December, 1777) : "The general inclination of the people is more strongly expressed for war than I can ever recollect ; and M. de Maurepas must certainly give way to the current, as so many timid ministers before him have done, who have failed in energetic measures out of mere weakness and indecision. In one word, I now regard the whole French cabinet as inimically disposed towards us, only with different degrees of violence and activity, according to the measure of their different dispositions, characters, and designs."

Lord Stormont was not mistaken. On the 6th February, 1778, a treaty of commerce was concluded between France and America, which premised the latter's independence ; and on the same day a treaty of friendly and defensive alliance was signed, which promised to mutually maintain this independence against England's opposition, and forbade the concluding of a separate peace. On the day when the Count de Noailles produced this treaty in London (13th March, 1778), commands were issued to Lord Stormont to quit Paris without taking leave. War had been decided on.

At that time the majority regarded the assistance of France as absolutely necessary to the liberation of America ; but now this may well be doubted. A separation from the mother-country and an acknowledgment that they had attained their majority, would certainly have been extorted by the colonies at last, without foreign assistance. If they were ever so inclined, it was impossible for the French to sever all connection with America ; and besides it would have been to them a serious injury. This

connection, however, in opposition to the demands of England, necessarily gave rise to numerous disputes ; and that the alliance they had entered into must certainly lead to war, the French ministry were fully convinced.

Although we will not strongly denounce the equivocation, artifices, and subterfuges so often revealed in the history of diplomatic negotiations, and of which France was doubtless guilty on this occasion, as being in a manner established by custom and to be expected also from her opponent,—yet we must not leave unnoticed a censure pronounced from another quarter with great earnestness and weight. “The principle,” it has been said, “of true, eternal right, according to which every disobedience to authority is prohibited by laws both human and divine, should alone have been permitted to decide. France was the first to sanction the principle, that subjects who are discontented with their government, or have reason to complain of it, may renounce their allegiance and revolt.” In this conclusion there certainly reigns the spirit of the school ; that is to say, all is exhibited in a connected, consistent, absolute manner ; but to this abstraction (as I remarked before at the end of the preceding chapter) it is necessary there should be added contemplation and critical examination of the living and the multifarious. In fact human and divine laws equally forbid the tyranny of governments and of popular rebellions ; and the school or schools which are always complaining and striving against the one, while they disregard, and through passion or wilfulness remain ignorant of the other, have scarcely apprehended one half of the truth.

Furthermore, it is historically erroneous to say that France then first gave the example of strengthening or sanctioning a vicious principle. From the assistance with which Athens furnished the Greek colonies in Asia Minor against the Persians, down to the recognition of the independence of Texas, examples are found in history of similar proceedings ; and France and England in particular had already acted in a like manner with respect to the United Netherlands.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND
ENGLAND (1778) TO THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES (1783).

Views in England—Chatham's Death—Disasters of the Americans—Paper Money
—Rochambeau, Arnold, André—Capture of Cornwallis—Treaties of Peace—
Results.

AFTER the disaster at Saratoga, the attacks of the opposition against the government in England became constantly louder, although they were by no means agreed among themselves. Thus one party, with Chatham at its head, wished to treat the Americans justly and put them on a level with themselves, but not to recognise their independence; while the second party, led by Rockingham, declared that this independence must be recognised, and that they must content themselves with an advantageous treaty of commerce. For, said they, North America can no more be conquered again, than Normandy or Brittany; and in no other way is it possible to make a good stand against France, who is certainly about to begin the war.

A plan of reconciliation, which ministers did not propose until France had joined America, was then of course rejected, as it did not include independence. When the Duke of Richmond, on the 7th of April, 1778, declared himself strongly in favor of this recognition, Chatham (who had long been prevented by illness from attending Parliament) determined to make an impressive effort for retaining that quarter of the world which the force of his genius and character had won in the seven years' war. He was dressed in a suit of black velvet, and had to be supported to his seat by his son William Pitt and his son-in-law Viscount Mahon. All the lords rose out of respect, and greeted him as the first and noblest of English statesmen. With the greatest earnestness and eloquence he laid before them his views and convictions. His strength and voice then left him; he fell back, and expired on the 11th of May, in the 70th year of his age. The interest awakened by this event was universal; and bitter was the recollection, on comparing the glory and greatness of Great Britain in the time of his administration with its present deplorable condition.* He was buried at the public expense, and a monument was erected to him in Westminster Abbey;

* Belsham, vi. 365.

moreover, the debts of this disinterested public servant were paid, and a yearly income affixed to the earldom of Chatham.

In America, in the meanwhile, the war was carried on not only against the English, but also amid greater sufferings against the Indians, who for the most part were connected with them. The English shifted the seat of war to the southern states; obtained possession of Georgia and Carolina; and, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, defeated near Camden, on the 16th of August, 1780, the weaker American army under General Gates. This again inspired the British ministry with the fallacious hope of speedily reducing all the colonies to obedience. Lord Cornwallis, too, losing sight of moderation and prudence, ordered that all the inhabitants who had supported the Americans should be punished in the severest manner. And in fact many were banished from the country, their property confiscated, their slaves stirred up against them, and even several of them hanged. By measures such as these the steadfastness of the better sort was confirmed; the timid were forced to be courageous; and the bravery even of the women was excited to such a pitch, that they encouraged their husbands to resistance and dared the greatest dangers.

At the moment when the Americans succeeded by redoubled exertions in arresting the progress of the English, they found themselves afflicted with a new misfortune. Immediately on the breaking out of the revolution, those at the head of American affairs perceived that it was not to be carried through without money. But since there was none on hand, and none was to be obtained from mines and commerce, or to be raised by taxes, it was concluded to issue *paper-money*, to be redeemed at certain intervals in gold and silver, and which at first (in the general enthusiasm and good understanding of the people) every one received willingly and at par. But now, when the war had been protracted beyond expectation, and when, as the promised times of redemption came round, the distress was becoming more and more pressing, and the issues of paper-money kept constantly increasing, its full value could of course no longer be maintained. The evil was augmented by excessive credits, by ignorance and error with respect to money and exchanges, by fraudulent counterfeits of the paper-money, and by its being made in the several states. It gradually became so depreciated in value, that 40, and even from 85 to 110 dollars of currency were given for one silver dollar.* All propositions to pay interest on the paper-money, to reduce it within certain bounds, or to do away with it altogether, failed of accomplishment; partly from want of means, and partly because the proposed amendments were

* Polit. Journal, 1781, pp. 102, 169. Gallatin on Currency, p. 26.

crude and unsatisfactory in themselves.* Just complaints were every where made respecting the rise of prices, the loss of property, and frauds and disputes betwixt creditors and debtors. In this state of embarrassment, Congress came to the erroneous and impracticable conclusion, that the price of labor, of produce, and of merchandize, might be fixed by compulsory laws, or that every one might be prevented from demanding or receiving more paper-money than hard money. Of as little use was the sale of public lands; since long credits usually had to be given, and the paper-money kept sinking in the meanwhile. Unhappily these mistakes and distresses led to carelessness in the fulfilment of engagements; to an habitual disregard of justice, which became almost a law; and to a lack of truth, honor, and good faith in trade and intercourse;—evils which, even in the judgment of Americans, could not be rooted out in many years.

No one was at that time brought into greater embarrassment by this state of things than Washington. With paper-money the troops could no longer be paid; and to purchase any thing with it was still more difficult, since bad harvests and the interruptions to agriculture had produced a dearth of provisions, which, in spite of all orders to the contrary, were sold in preference to the cash-paying English. Washington sought by firmness, patience, and mildness, to diminish as far as possible these great evils; and when a committee of Congress, entrusted with full powers, on coming to the camp confirmed the complaints of the commander-in-chief, and represented in the most forcible manner the want and hardships they endured, many (and in particular the city of Philadelphia) undertook to advance money; and arrangements were made to provide supplies, as also to raise a stronger body of militia, and to increase the army more rapidly.

The courage of the Americans rose still higher when, on the 10th of July, 1780, 6,000 French troops under Rochambeau were landed in Rhode Island, and the French government showed its willingness also to make advances of money.† But the hope of soon effecting any thing of consequence was frustrated in a great measure by the proceedings of the English; who, by means of their naval superiority, shut up both army and fleet in that state, and compelled the Admiral Count de Guise to return to France.

It was almost wholly owing to a fortunate accident that the Americans escaped another great disaster. General Arnold, who had hitherto fought on their behalf with ability and courage, determined to deliver West Point on the Hudson (an American

* Life of Hamilton, i. 244.

† Between 1778 and 1782, France loaned 18,000,000 of livres at 5 per cent. interest, and became joint surety for a loan in Holland.—*Laws of the United States*, i. 100.

Gibraltar of the utmost importance), with all its stores, into the hands of the English. At first he had fought under full conviction against his country's oppressors; but he considered that, in consequence of their defection from England, the wrong was now on the side of the Americans, and that this authorized him to go over to the royalists. Others denied the validity of these excuses, and maintained that his caprices, embezzlements, extravagance, and debts had brought him into such a state of embarrassment, that he adopted this desperate resolution in order to save himself. Invitations to the soldiers to follow his example were without effect. An English major named André—an excellent, talented, amiable man, who conducted the negotiations with Arnold—fell with his papers into the hands of the Americans. Arnold fled, and the treason was now easily frustrated. André, however, notwithstanding all the intercessions of the English in his behalf, was hanged as a spy, on the 2d October, 1780. By some this act was justified, and by others condemned; all however mourned the stern decree which put an end to so valuable a life.

This is not the place to recount the hardships and varying chances of the American war. On the 19th of October, Lord Cornwallis, with 7,000 men (of whom, however, only 3,800 were capable of bearing arms), was forced to surrender at Yorktown to Washington and Rochambeau. This most important victory, which caused the greatest joy throughout all North America, put an end to the southern campaign, and almost to the war itself. It was only against the United States, where the English were in the wrong, that they suffered disasters of every kind. Against the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, who enviously and selfishly hoped to utterly overthrow or at least to plunder that noble kingdom, they defended themselves heroically, and gained glorious victories. They were also able to maintain against the armed neutrality of the northern powers (which originated less in a love of freedom than in intrigues and underhand designs) those principles without which their naval superiority would have been rendered of no avail.

The capture of Lord Cornwallis, the total defeat of the French fleet near Guadaloupe (12th April, 1782, Rodney against De Grasse), and the abortive attempt of the Spaniards against Gibraltar, created in all the belligerent parties a desire for peace. As early as the 27th of February, 1782, General Conway's motion in Parliament against the American war was carried by a majority of 19 votes; sixteen years before, he had moved the repeal of the Stamp Act. On the 19th March, 1782, the ministry resigned; and Rockingham, Cavendish, Shelburne, Camden, Fox, and others took their seats.

The preliminaries of the peace concluded with America on

the 30th of November, 1782, without the participation of France, acknowledged the independence of the United States; and thus by far the most important point was settled. The treaties of peace of the 3d September, 1783, and the 20th May, 1784, between England, France, America, Spain, and the Netherlands, contained many minor provisions; and indeed, as the belligerent powers restored to each other the conquests they had respectively made, the results of those great exertions appear insignificant enough. Among them, however, were the following: 1. *France* received Tobago and Senegal, in exchange for Gambia and Fort James. She obtained a greater share in the fisheries of Newfoundland, and took possession of the neighboring islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. 2. *Spain* retained Minorca, the Floridas, and that portion of the Mississippi valley not belonging to the Americans. 3. *Holland* ceded Negapatam, and permitted the English to navigate all the Indian seas.*

No one at that time doubted that England had suffered an irreparable loss in being deprived of her colonies, and that she was approaching her downfall. Only two men were found to combat these sad forebodings on the one hand, and impious hopes on the other: these were Adam Smith, who was then but little read and understood, and Dean Tucker, who was regarded as a visionary and enthusiast.† France rejoiced at her presumed increase of power in consequence of England's weakness, and forgot the admonitions of Vergennes concerning the principles of an elevated line of policy. Her finances were in a disordered condition; and after the experience of the Americans, gradual progress and improvement no longer satisfied any one. When Tippoo Saib, in September, 1791, sought assistance from Louis XVI., the latter observed, "This recalls to mind America, on which I never think without regret. My youth was then in a manner abused; we are now suffering for it, and that lesson is too severe to be forgotten."‡ There is, however, no greater historical error than to compare the French and American revolutions in respect to origin, progress, events, and issue; and no greater historical injustice, than to set up the latter as a pattern or a warning to present and future ages, and pay no attention whatever to the greater American development. That this development, however, even after the conclusion of the happy peace, had to contend with many impediments, which nothing but the greatest wisdom and moderation could have overcome, is not in the slightest degree doubted by any well informed person.

* Flassan, vii. 353.

† Genz, *Histor. Journal*, 1800, ii. 8.

‡ Mém. de Moleville, vi. 225.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES (1783) TO THE ADOPTION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION (1789).

Loyalists—Consequences of the War—The Army—Washington's Departure—First
Constitution of 1778—New Constitution—Washington President.

GREAT and universal as had been the activity and enthusiasm of the inhabitants of North America on behalf of the independence of their native land, there were still a considerable number who held it to be in accordance with their rights, their duty, and perhaps their interest, to oppose what seemed to them a detestable rebellion against the mother-country. These persons, designated by the name of *loyalists*, suffered greatly even during the war, and at its close they found themselves still more distressed and even maltreated. The English ministers were violently reproached in parliament for not having taken more care of these faithful subjects; which, however, in opposition to the will and power of thirteen nearly independent states, would certainly have been attended with the greatest difficulties. Many loyalists emigrated, not without sacrifices of property, to British America (to Canada, Nova Scotia, the Bahama islands, &c.), where they gradually received indemnification and assistance from the mother-country to a large amount.*

On the victors too the war had been productive of the most various effects. They found opportunities to develop great talents and virtues, to diminish in seasons of distress the jealousies of the individual states, and to compose the vehement disputes between the religious sects. They acquired a more exact knowledge of their native country, pursued at least those branches of science that had reference to war (as *e. g.* that of medicine), and learned to think more correctly and to write better on public affairs. But, on the other hand, there also remained the evil consequences of every war, and especially of a civil war; and it cost much labor to root out the scandalous principles and practices that had sprung up during the revolution.

One of the greatest and most pressing difficulties was occasioned by the army. The government was not in a condition to do any thing of consequence for the troops, or even to disburse the arrears of their pay. This caused great discontent; and the

* Sinclair (ii. 97) says 3½ million pounds.—Belsham, vii. 364.

more violent even devised a plan for compelling the Congress in Philadelphia to accede to their wishes. The wisdom and authority of Washington averted also this threatening danger. By an impressive speech he brought the leaders back to their senses, and rejected with abhorrence the thought that he, the liberator of his country, should become its tyrant or even its ruler. His taking leave of the army, on the 4th of December, 1783, was affecting in the extreme. He drank all their healths for the last time, and wished that their latter days might be as happy as their former ones had been glorious and honorable. He then crossed the North river in a boat, waved his hat once more in the distance, and vanished from their eyes.

The greatest part of the army also returned by degrees to their old employments; but the officers, wishing to remain together in a community of their own, formed the so-called *Cincinnatus Society*, upon which they proposed to confer permanence and dignity by the admission both of natives and foreigners.

This plan, however, met with so much opposition, as an anti-republican order and on account of its aristocratic tendency, that Washington himself had to labor for its dissolution. Jefferson also, whom Washington consulted, opposed it on just grounds.*

Washington wrote to the governors of each of the states, and pointed out to them with all the force of truth and eloquence the necessity of being united, upright, and obedient, and of acting in conformity with the principles which the new state of things imperatively demanded. To Congress he rendered an exact account of his disbursement of the public money; and at a secret session, on the 23d of December, 1783, he resigned his office into their hands. The president replied to his speech with respect, dignity, and gratitude. Washington, the founder of the great American republic, now joyfully repaired to his country-seat, Mount Vernon; devoted himself to agriculture, the improvement of his neighborhood, and his friends; and proved in an affecting and exalted manner that the fame which had been won by the sword, without crimes and ambition, could also be maintained in private life without power or outward pomp. Happier than Timoleon and Brutus, no dark shadows of memory flitted across the cheerful serenity of his existence.

The tasks imposed on Congress were many and too difficult, as *e. g.* the adjustment of the relations with foreign countries and the piratical states of Africa, the regulation of trade, which had been interrupted and was carried on partly at a loss, and above all, the settlement of the finances and the public debt. Not the Union only, but each individual state, had contracted large debts; while nothing satisfactory had been done for discharging them or

* Rayner's Life of Jefferson, p. 207. Tucker, i. 171.

even paying the interest, or for regulating the paper-money. And now, when the people saw that the peace by no means ended all their sufferings, they became turbulent; and this, in some parts of the country, as for instance in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, resulted in lamentable commotions. All able and clear-sighted men came gradually to the conviction, that a principal cause of these evils and sufferings lay in the constitution of the Union, in the Act of Confederation of the 9th of July, 1778.

With regard to this John Adams wrote: "If the union of the states be not preserved, and even their unity in many great points, instead of being the happiest people under the sun, I do not know but we may be the most miserable." And Washington said to Jefferson: "I would willingly assist in averting the contemptible figure which the American communities are about to make in the annals of mankind, with their separate, independent, jealous state sovereignties."*

Each state (as we shall show more particularly in the sequel) had in general a governor and two legislative chambers, who but too often thought only of themselves and their immediate vicinity, and regarded as a loss all that an individual state sacrificed to the whole. Consequently there was every where a want of order, harmony, and union: so many states,—so many systems of finance or attempts at regulating taxes, duties, and trade,—and all opposed to one another, and rendering any judicious management of the whole impossible. The imperfect federal constitution never fulfilled its objects; the independence which had been won by union threatened to turn into dissension, and the confederation to fall powerless to pieces. The new dangers of peace were as great as the former ones of war; and besides bravery, there was now needed above all justice and moderation.

The federal constitution of 1778 declares that all the colonies shall form a federal republic, in which each state shall retain all those rights, laws, jurisdictions, regulations, &c., which are not expressly altered or delegated to the Congress of all the states. They shall defend themselves in common against every power, and establish between themselves freedom of intercourse and of settlement. Each state shall send from two to seven delegates to Congress; where, however, it shall have but one vote, thus giving thirteen votes to the thirteen states. As a general rule, the majority of votes shall determine; but nine votes are requisite to decide with respect to declaring war, making peace, forming treaties, raising land or sea forces, regulating income and expenditure, &c. All expenses for the general welfare shall be

* Sparks's *Diplom. Correspondence*, vii. 100. *Encyclop. Americana*, art. Washington.

defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of the lands and other real estate within each state. Disputes between states shall be decided by Congress according to certain specific regulations. When Congress is not assembled, the general affairs shall be managed by a committee of thirteen delegates, one from each state.

The above are the most important provisions, omitting many other points of less consequence. This constitution, with only one chamber, absurdly conferred as many rights on the smallest as on the largest states; placed no checks on partial tendencies and hasty counsels; and lastly, gave no power to execute the treaties that might be formed, to collect the taxes that might be levied, to regulate trade and customs, to found public credit, to pay debts, &c. Those estimable men, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, who wrote the series of papers called the *Federalist*, and who essentially contributed to the formation and adoption of the new Constitution, say, in speaking of the then state of affairs: "It may with propriety be asserted that the United States have reached the lowest stage of national humiliation. All that can wound the pride or degrade the character of a people, we have experienced. Engagements, to the performance of which we are held by every tie respectable among men, are constantly violated without shame. We have contracted debts to foreigners and to our own citizens, for the preservation of our political existence; and yet no provision has been made for their discharge. A foreign power (England) retains in its possession valuable territories and important posts, to the prejudice of our rights and interests, and contrary to express stipulations. We, however, are not in a condition to resent or to repel these aggressions; for we have neither troops, treasury, nor government," &c.—After depicting thus at length the lamentable state of the country, the writer concludes with these words: "In short, what indication is there of national disorder, poverty, and insignificance, that could befall a community so peculiarly blessed with natural advantages as we are, which does not form a part of the dark catalogue of our public misfortunes?"* The condition of things is described in a perfectly similar strain by President Adams, in his inaugural address: "Negligence of the regulations of Congress, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals but in states, soon appeared with their melancholy consequences: universal languor; jealousies and rivalries of states; decline of navigation and commerce; discouragement of necessary manufactures; universal fall in the value of lands and their produce; contempt of public

* *Federalist*, No. XV., Alexander Hamilton.

and private faith; loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations; and at length discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrections, threatening some great national calamity.”*

The extent and magnitude of this evil were such that it could neither be mistaken nor denied; and the impossibility of longer pursuing the erroneous path hitherto trodden, created additional confidence in the noble men who wished to give to their country a new and more suitable constitution. Washington was placed at their head; and the services which he rendered in this difficult task, by his mildness, prudence, moderation, firmness, and wisdom, were by no means inferior to his former warlike exploits. Indeed the American statesmen of that period have raised to themselves in the new Constitution, adopted March, 1787, a monument of imperishable renown. This Constitution has endured and stood its ground through circumstances the most varied, perplexing, and dangerous, and has wonderfully aided and prospered a great people in its rapid development; while numberless other constitutions, projected in empty pride, have perished after a brief existence, hurling with them the mistaken nations and statesmen to destruction.

Washington was unanimously chosen president of the new and renovated republic. His journey from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia was an unbroken triumphal procession, prepared for him not by vanity, compulsion, or fear, but by sincere gratitude, profound respect, and ardent love. This second founding of the state, this call to the head of a people recent in origin but sensible of true greatness, the modest and unsurpassed merit of Washington, and his solemn oath to support and maintain the Constitution, form one of the brightest and most truly delightful pictures in modern history. “The propitious smiles of heaven,” said Washington in his inaugural address, “can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained.” To this, Ramsay, the worthy historian of those times, adds: “The most enlarged happiness of one people by no means requires the degradation or destruction of another. There can be no political happiness without liberty; there can be no liberty without morality; and there can be no morality without religion.”†

* Messages of the Presidents, p. 66. For similar complaints on the part of Randolph, see the Madison Papers, ii. 730.

† Ramsay, iii. 383.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF 1787.

Representatives and Senators—Rights of Congress—The President—The Judicial Power—General Regulations.

ALTHOUGH the Constitution of the United States of America, of the year 1787, is a well known document, it is requisite that I should here state the essence of what it contains, in order to render my subsequent observations concerning it more intelligible.

The legislative power is vested in two chambers or houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The *representatives* for Congress are chosen by the several states every second year. The electors must possess the qualifications established by each state for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature. Every representative must be at least twenty-five years of age, seven years a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of the state for which he is chosen. On the other hand, no proof of a given amount of property or of a particular religious creed is required. The representatives are elected by districts according to the population (at first one for every 30,000, at present one for every 70,680); and this population is determined by adding to the whole number of free people, three fifths of all other persons (meaning slaves). The enumeration is repeated every ten years, and the number of representatives determined accordingly. Each state sends at least one representative to Congress. The House of Representatives chooses its speaker and other officers by a simple vote.* It also has the sole power of impeachment.

Each state chooses through its legislature two *senators* for six years. Every two years one third of the senators vacate their seats. Each of them has one vote. A senator must be an inhabitant of the state for which he is chosen, nine years a citizen of the United States, and at least thirty years of age. He is not bound to prove any qualification as to property or religion. Each representative and senator has an allowance of eight dollars a day; the speaker of the House and the president of the Senate receive double that sum. The vice-president of the United States is

* Mason, p. 81.

always president of the Senate ; but he has no right of voting and deciding, except when the other votes are equally divided. The Senate tries all impeachments : the concurrence of two thirds of the members present is requisite to a conviction. Judgment in such cases extends only to removal from and disqualification for office ; but it does not exclude a further prosecution according to law.

The legislature of each separate state prescribes the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives ; but Congress has the right to alter these regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators. Congress assembles at least once in every year, and usually on the first Monday in December. A majority of each house constitutes a quorum for the transaction of business. No person holding a public office can be either a senator or representative. None of them are to be responsible elsewhere for speeches made in either house ; and they are exempt from arrest except for treason, felony, and breach of the peace. For the preparation of business, committees are to be chosen in both houses or appointed by the vice-president and speaker.* The committees of the Senate number from three to five, and those of the House of Representatives from five to nine members. All bills for raising revenue originate in the House of Representatives ; but the Senate may propose or concur in amendments, as on other bills. Every bill which has been read three times and has passed through both houses, is presented to the president for his approval. But if he does not approve it, it is sent back with his objections to the house in which it originated, where it is reconsidered. If *two thirds* of that house still agree to pass the bill, it is sent, together with the objections, to the other house, and if likewise approved by two thirds of that house, it becomes a law, even without the president's assent ; but the names of the persons voting for or against the bill are entered on the journals of each house. If the president does not return a bill within ten days, it becomes a law, unless its return has been prevented by the adjournment of Congress.

Very weighty powers are vested in Congress, of which I shall enumerate only the most important. It can lay and collect taxes, but only for the purpose of paying the debts and providing for the common defence and general welfare of the country. All taxes of this kind must be uniform throughout the United States. It can effect loans, regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and establish laws respecting naturalization, bankruptcies, coinage, and weights and measures.

* Mason, p. 84.

It provides post-roads and post-offices, secures to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their productions for limited times, constitutes tribunals inferior to the supreme court, and punishes piracies and other crimes against the law of nations. It has the power to declare war, to raise armies and fleets, and to call out the militia in order to suppress insurrections and execute the laws of the Union. It has the exclusive control and management of all forts, arsenals, and dock-yards, belonging to the United States; and makes all laws necessary for carrying these powers into execution.

Congress can grant no title of nobility, and no person in office can hold any foreign title or dignity.

No individual state can make treaties, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts, grant titles of nobility, lay duties on imports or exports, introduce any duty of tonnage, keep troops in time of peace, &c.

The executive power is in the hands of the *president* of the United States. He is chosen for four years, and is always re-eligible without any legal restriction.* He must be a natural-born citizen, at least thirty-five years of age, and fourteen years a resident of the United States. The day for choosing the president is determined by Congress, and is the same throughout the Union. Each state appoints, according to the forms prescribed by its legislature, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives which the state is entitled to send to Congress. This choice is made within thirty-four days before the first Wednesday of December,† in most states by the entire body of qualified voters (by a general ticket), in some by the legislatures, and in two by districts. No person holding office under the United States, and no member of Congress can be an elector. The electors chosen in the above-mentioned manner from all the states now vote by ballot, usually on the first Wednesday of December. With respect to property and religion, no qualifications are demanded or conditions prescribed. The names of the persons voted for, with the number of votes for each, are transmitted to the president of the Senate, who opens the certificates in the presence of both houses, and counts the votes. If any person has a majority of all the votes, no matter how small, he is president; but if no one has such a majority, the House of Representatives chooses the president out of the three that have the greatest number of votes. But here the represen-

* Of the first eight presidents, five were chosen a second time. None laid claim to a third election.

† According to new regulations, on the same day.

tation from each state has only *one* vote, and a majority of all the states is necessary to a choice.

The election of vice-president is conducted in precisely the same manner; only in the last case of doubt, an absolute majority of the Senate decides between the two that have the most votes. In case the president's office becomes vacant, its duties devolve on the vice-president, and after him on the speaker of the House of Representatives. The president receives \$25,000 a year, and the vice-president \$5,000, by way of salary or compensation; which however is scarcely sufficient to meet their unavoidable expenses. The president has the following powers: he is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and also of the militia when called into the actual service of the United States. He assembles Congress on extraordinary occasions, requires and receives reports from all the departments, appoints (under certain regulations) most of the officers of the United States,* makes treaties with the concurrence of the Senate, receives ambassadors and other public ministers, submits to Congress surveys of the state of the Union, and recommends such measures as he judges necessary. He can grant pardons for public offences except in cases of impeachment, and sees in general that the laws are faithfully executed. He loses his office, like all other civil officers of the United States, on conviction of treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanors.

The judicial power is vested in a *Supreme Court* for the whole United States, and such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time establish. The president nominates the judges of this court by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. They hold their offices during good behavior, and their compensation must not be diminished during their continuance in office.

The judicial power of the Supreme Court extends to controversies between citizens of different states, between a state and citizens of another state, and between two or more states; this jurisdiction is partly original and partly appellate, but does not extend to criminal cases. It decides in general all controversies relating to or arising under the laws of the United States, disputes of ambassadors and consuls, and cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction. It has the right to interpret the Constitution so far as it has reference to legal relations, and the authority to overrule such decisions of individual states as may be contrary to the Constitution.

The trial of all criminal prosecutions, and all civil suits where the value in dispute exceeds twenty dollars, is by jury. The citizens of one state are entitled to all the privileges of citizens in the other states. New states may be admitted by Congress into

* The Senate can reject nominations, but cannot appoint officers itself.

the Union. But Congress cannot join two or more states into one, or erect a new state within the limits of an old one, without the consent of the states concerned. The United States guarantees to every state a republican form of government, and protection against invasion and domestic violence. No religious test is required as a qualification to any public office. Congress must make no law establishing or prohibiting any religion, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; nor must it deprive the people of the right peaceably to assemble and present petitions to the government. The people have the right to bear arms, without which no efficient militia can be established. Soldiers are never to be quartered on citizens in time of peace, nor even in time of war except according to prescribed regulations. No searches of houses or papers can take place without very weighty reasons and proofs. No person can be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or be compelled in a criminal case to testify against himself. No private property can be taken for public use without full compensation. Excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel punishments are prohibited. All the powers which the Constitution has not delegated to Congress or to others, are reserved to the states respectively.

Amendments to the Constitution may be proposed by two thirds of both houses, or by a convention called for the purpose on application of two thirds of the states; and when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, they become a part of the corrected Constitution.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

The Territories.

THE constitutions of the several states form to that of the whole United States, of 1787, a corresponding half of equal importance. It is only by uniting them together that we obtain a connected and closely interworking whole. But as it would not be proper in this place to enumerate the slight differences that prevail in each

state, I will state here only what is most general and uniform, and leave many of the particulars for a synoptical table.*

Even before the independence of North America, it was held an established maxim, that to the colonists, as far as circumstances permitted, belonged all the rights of Englishmen born. Yet the constitutions of the several states had no inconsiderable influence on the extent to which these rights and privileges were enjoyed.

First, there were the so-called charter governments, to which belonged the right of legislation and taxation within their boundaries; as Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

Secondly, proprietary governments, where the crown had granted extensive rights to the first acquirers, as Lord Baltimore and William Penn.

Thirdly, provincial governments, where great powers were given to the king's commissioners or governors, such as a negative on the assemblies' proceedings, the appointment of public officers, &c.

Yet, from the beginning there was an endeavor, which was by no means without its effects, to extend their restricted rights either amicably or by refractoriness; whence it ensued, that on the breaking out of the revolution, the internal regulations of the several states, and their relations to each other, were in fact more similar than they had been in former times. With the declaration of independence all controversies respecting the extent of the public law and the application of private law naturally had an end, and each state made such further regulations as it pleased.

The following principles, however, respecting the general rights of men and citizens, are acknowledged by all the states.† The objects of establishing, supporting, and administering a government, are to ensure and protect the existence of the civil partnership, and also to procure for the different shareholders the power of enjoying their natural rights and the blessings of life in security and peace. If these great objects are not attained, the people (with whom is the supreme power, and from whom it proceeds) have a right, by observing the legally prescribed forms, to change the government, and to adopt such measures as may be necessary for their safety, happiness, and prosperity. All men are born free and equal; and have natural, essential, and inalienable rights, to enjoy and defend their lives and liberties; to acquire, possess, and defend property; and in general to seek and obtain

* See Appendix I. To the twenty-six states indicated in this Appendix, two new ones, Florida and Iowa, have since been added. The addition of Texas and Wisconsin will raise the number of the states to thirty.

† See the Statutes of Massachusetts, and most of the constitutions.

safety and happiness. There is no nobility, no hereditary or family prerogatives, no exclusive rights and monopolies, no censorship of the press, no standing army, no quartering of soldiers, no banishing from the country, no confiscation of property, no established church, no tithes, no religious compulsion of any kind. Each ecclesiastical communion has the right to choose its own ministers, and to raise and expend money for religious purposes. All public officers are responsible. Every one must contribute with his person and property to the public good, but only in such manner as has been lawfully determined on. Every one is to be tried by jury and according to the laws. No one is bound to inform or testify against himself. It is permitted to assemble peaceably, to present petitions, and to bear arms; but every where the military remains subordinate to the civil power. No taxes without a grant, no disbursements of money without consent and rendering a public account, no retro-active force or suspension of the laws, no impeachment for what is spoken in the legislative assemblies, &c.

The legislative power in all the states is entrusted to two chambers, a senate and a house of representatives; the executive power is in the hands of a governor. This latter retains his office for from one to four years; and his re-election is permitted, or prohibited for a certain time. He is chosen only in four states by the legislative assembly, in all the others by the people. His powers are not every where equally great: thus he fills more or fewer offices, has an absolute or only a postponing veto, is restricted by a special council or is not.

In most of the states every male settler of twenty-one years of age has a right of voting; or else the amount of property and of taxes paid is so small, that no one scarcely is excluded. No religious test is ever required; clergymen are excluded from all political offices and employments. Senators remain in office from one to four years, representatives from one to two years. From the former are usually required a greater age, a longer residence, and in some states also a larger property, than from the latter. In most of the states, on the contrary, no questions are asked respecting the property of senators and representatives. It is only in a few states that the choice of the former is left to the legislative assemblies; both chambers are usually filled by popular elections. In three states the elections are public and open; in the others, by ballot. Money and taxation bills mostly originate in the house of representatives: indeed, according to many of the constitutions, all bills must originate there; while according to others, any bill can begin in either house. Impeachments come from the representatives to the senate, and are decided by two-thirds of the votes. The judges are appointed by the

governors, or the two houses, or the people, for a greater or less number of years, mostly during good behavior, and there is no want of provisions for the case of their removal.

The number of senators varies from 9 to 90, and that of representatives from 21 to 350. Their allowance varies from one and a half to six dollars a day; and a governor's salary from \$400 (in Rhode Island) to \$7,500 (in Louisiana). The legislatures usually meet every year; in some states, however, they meet every two years, and in Rhode Island half-yearly.*

In addition to the twenty-six states, three other territories (Florida, Wisconsin, and Iowa) are growing up and soon to enter their ranks; while the District of Columbia, containing Washington, the seat of the general government, is in circumstances wholly peculiar to itself.

As soon as a territory numbers 60,000 inhabitants, it obtains the rights of a state and draws up its constitution. It is herein restricted, however, by certain general provisions; as for instance, that its constitution must be republican. The president of the United States appoints the governors of the territories; but the inhabitants possess very extensive rights, and are trained to political action. Thus there are even here two legislative bodies, and each territory sends a delegate to Congress; though he has no vote, but only a voice in the debates.

After this brief abstract of the federal and state constitutions, it would at first seem most natural to let the general observations and reflections immediately follow. But as these would have reference only to the forms of public law, without respect to countless other co-operating circumstances, it would be impossible to avoid both incompleteness and indistinctness. Hence it is more advisable to pursue still further the thread of historical development, and take into view the other material and spiritual conditions; and then, after extending and clearing up the circle of vision, to embrace the whole of the public relations, and to consider especially the value and efficacy of the republican form of government.

* Mason's *Elementary Treatise*, pp. 27, 206.

CHAPTER X.

THE PRESIDENTSHIP OF WASHINGTON AND OF J. ADAMS (1789-1801).

Washington's Presidency—The French Revolution—Genet—Foreign Relations—Washington's Farewell—Washington's Death—John Adams—Dispute with France—Alien and Sedition Bills.

By the new federal Constitution of 1787 many hopes were necessarily deceived, many prejudices wounded, and many selfish plans rendered abortive. The power of truth, however, had gradually prevailed, and induced even those states to receive it who had been the loudest in their opposition. But as the instruction and support derived from long experience were as yet wanting to the new institutions, it was hardly possible that all should be of a like mind respecting the unknown future. Many feared the too extensive, and some the too restricted power of Congress. The president, many complained, will soon change himself into an unlimited monarch, the Senate will introduce aristocratic privileges, the House of Representatives will favor an unruly democracy, and the supreme court will interfere with the operations of the legislative power.

As long as these doubts and objections sprang up on American soil, and grew out of American circumstances, they were rather warning and profitable than exaggerated and dangerous. But on the breaking out of the French revolution, principles and views were developed which, without respect to time, place, or national peculiarities, were held up as perfectly new and unexceptionable models, whose universal applicability was stoutly and presumptuously asserted. The new apostles announced also to the North Americans, that their political leaders had paid greatly too much attention to the defective course of the earlier historical development, and by far too little to the eternal truths of science, and consequently had not attained their object, but had stopped when only half-way. The almost childish beginnings of the Americans, a patch-work of accidents and mutual concessions, must be rooted out with a bold hand and thrown aside; while the new political wisdom of the greatest people on earth must be cordially and thankfully received, and defended with united powers against all opponents in every part of the world.

Although it was natural that nations groaning under the despotism of kings, nobles, and priests, should greet the commencement of the French revolution as the dawn of a cloudless day; although the sympathy of the North Americans with the fate of a friendly people seems praiseworthy; yet there was no reason for depreciating the advantages of their own position, and recommending a hasty imitation of this foreign, uncertain, vacillating, untried system, while they themselves had already obtained more without extravagance and violence.

When citizen *Genet* landed at Charleston, in April, 1793, as French plenipotentiary, he met with the most brilliant reception; his journey through the United States resembled a triumphal procession, and not a few united themselves into clubs in the French manner to pursue political objects. This caused Genet's vanity, insolence, and presumption to rise to such a height,* that he had ships fitted out against England in American harbors, made preparations for an expedition against Louisiana, treated Washington in an unseemly manner, and exhorted the American people to disobedience against his government. Washington, who wished not to injure France, and hoped that the wanderers would soon return to the right path, acted at first towards Genet with great moderation and forbearance; but as soon as he saw that this only led to new intrigues and slanders, he proceeded with firmness and energy, compelled Genet to be recalled, and became a third time the savior of his country.† The narrow and evil-minded calumnies of those times have long since been forgotten; and the victory of the American Constitution and of American liberty in the trying ordeal of a struggle with the flames of revolutionary principles, was the strongest proof of their worth and vital power.

With the greatest good sense Washington opposed all participation in the unhappy quarrels that devastated Europe; and on the 27th of October, 1795, he concluded a treaty of commerce with England,—who it is true did not grant all that was reasonably desired, but as much as was any way attainable under existing circumstances.

When on this occasion the House of Representatives transgressed the bounds of their authority, and wished to interfere with that of the president in the management of foreign affairs, Washington mildly and firmly declared, that the treaty was valid by virtue of the Constitution, without the participation of the

* "Genet," says Jefferson, "was hot-headed, all imagination, no judgment, passionate, disrespectful, indecent towards the president," &c. Tucker's Life, i. 444.

† Barbé-Marbois, *Histoire de Louisiane*, p. 168. Janson, *The Stranger in America*, p. 74.

House of Representatives, and that his duty forbade him to comply with their requests.*

As soon as his first presidential term of four years had expired, Washington considered it his duty to resign this high dignity to another. But worthy friends and even prudent opponents, judging correctly of the state of affairs then existing, called upon him to sacrifice his personal inclinations to his country's good. Thus Thomas Jefferson wrote to him: "The confidence of the whole Union is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to charm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and South will hang together, if they have you to hang on; and, if the first corrective of a numerous representation should fail in its effect, your presence will give time for trying others not inconsistent with the union and peace of the states. I am perfectly aware of the impression under which government affairs lays your mind, and of the ardor with which you pant for retirement to domestic life. But there is sometimes an eminence of character on which society have such peculiar claims, as to control the predilection of the individual for a particular walk of happiness, and restrain him to that alone arising from the present and future benedictions of mankind. This seems to be your condition, and the law imposed on you by Providence, in forming your character, and fashioning the events on which it was to operate."†

By 132 votes out of 135, Washington was a second time elected president, and labored till March, 1797, in a beneficial manner to promote the tranquillization and the improvement of his country. The letter in which Washington on laying down his office took leave of the American people, exhibits an admirable impress of his noble nature and mode of thinking. He calls to mind all the happiness and all the advantages that God had conferred upon the country; exhorts in the most dignified and impressive manner to order and unity; and shows that morality, virtue, and true religion, are necessary both to individuals and to states, and determine their true value. May the Americans ever regard this most noble, comprehensive, and important political testament of a good man as their model, their guiding star; for then will they never fall into adversity, arrogance, or degeneracy. I cannot refrain from extracting at least a few passages here.

"The unity of government," says Washington, "is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly

* Hinton, i. 425.

† Sparks's Washington, i. 480.

prize. Towards this union, therefore, you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

"You must seek to avoid the necessity of forming and supporting over-grown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are peculiarly hostile to a free republic.

"In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable.

"Unfortunately the spirit of party is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists, under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

"As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible. Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel

example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

“Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake ; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.

“The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us, to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

“Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest. Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.”

The last hopes of this noble man were fulfilled. He left only once more for a short time his peaceful rural abode, to defend his country against the pretensions of France. On the 14th of December, 1799, he died a peaceful, happy death, in the 67th year of his age. Congress resolved to solemnize the event of his decease by a large funeral procession and by wearing mourning for a month, and to erect to him a marble monument,*—resolutions both appropriate and laudable ; although the admiration with which Washington was regarded by all civilized nations, showed him to be one of the few among mankind to whom is given an immortality more durable than brass or marble, and whose spotless and beneficent memory is cherished to the latest posterity.

* Laws, iii. 401.

In the year 1797, *John Adams* was elected president in the place of Washington, receiving 71 votes;* and Thomas Jefferson vice-president, with 68 votes. The former was born in 1735, in the state of Massachusetts, was member of the first congress, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, ambassador to France, and author of a new constitution for Massachusetts. Although Adams was known to be upright, well-informed, and skilful in business,† yet many feared that his administration would assume a one-sided, Anglo-aristocratic character. His inaugural address to Congress, however, tranquillized the minds of most persons. After acknowledging and enumerating the defects of the first federal constitution, he spoke in terms of praise of the new one. Far from wishing or urging any alteration in it, he declared that, as in duty bound, he would protect it, would respect the rights of the individual states, never exhibit local preferences, maintain every where peace and quietness, do justice, and show partiality to no foreign nation.

Complaints on this latter head could hardly be wanting during the wars between France and England, and the vehement partizanship of almost all their contemporaries, extending even to America. Thus it was said that the commercial treaty concluded with England was injurious, and that that country molested and ill-treated American shipping far more than France. But the position of the United States towards this latter power soon underwent a change. In the opening speech of his second congress, Adams complained, with great reason, that France showed herself very arrogant both in word and deed, that she had declared and sought to produce an opposition between the American people and the American government, and had sent back a new American ambassador. America wished to preserve peace every where, would readily acknowledge and repair errors, and institute fresh negotiations. There are bounds however beyond which a free people cannot suffer affronts, but must arm and defend itself. Congress agreed on all points with the president, and the French failed in producing either divisions or dastardly compliance.

The French Directory feigned to be exceedingly wroth at the president's very moderate speech; allowed the American envoy to wait for months in Paris; and then required that America should buy of them thirty-two millions of worthless Dutch paper, pay a large sum to Talleyrand by way of a gratification,‡ and whatever other unseemly demands their dishonorable agents had the audacity to propose.

When this became known in America, all exclaimed in right.

* Wood's History of the Administration of J. Adams.

† Inchiquin's Letters, p. 68.

‡ Jefferson's Writings, iii. 385.

eous indignation, "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute!*" Thus in the year 1798, a war was brought about with France, and peace was not restored till after the downfall of the Directory, in September, 1800. Among the very many stipulations then made, this at least is worthy of mention, that free ships make free goods.

During the dissensions in France and the excitement exhibited in America, two laws were promulgated, entitled the Alien and Sedition Bills. The former allowed the president to send away suspicious foreigners who could give no security for their good behavior, and granted the right of American citizenship only after a residence of fourteen years. The Sedition Law was directed against unlawful unions, malicious publications, libels on the government, &c., and raised the penalties therefor to 2,000 dollars, or two years' imprisonment. While many approved of these laws as adapted to present circumstances, others termed them injudicious and tyrannical; and the great opposition between parties and tendencies, between federalists and republicans, assumed continually a clearer and more important position in the foreground.

Adams stood at the head of the former, and Jefferson at the head of the latter party. Yet Jefferson declares: "Adams was the chief support of the Declaration of Independence in Congress, and its most able defender against numerous attacks. Not captivating or elegant, not always fluent in his public speeches, he yet came forward with such power, both of thought and expression, that he moved us all. Never did a man of more perfect eloquence issue from the hands of the Creator."

Such is the testimony to the second president of the American republic, as furnished by his greatest opponent!

* Hinton, i. 431.

CHAPTER XI.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Birth, Descent, and Education—Declaration of Independence—Jefferson in Paris—Jefferson President—Jefferson on Freedom of the Press—Jefferson on Christianity—Jefferson on Plato—Federalists and Republicans—Jefferson's Principles—Jefferson on Slavery—Jefferson on Political Union—Jefferson's Administration—Jefferson's Message—Louisiana—Contest with the Maritime Powers—Jefferson's Private Life—Jefferson, Adams, and Washington—Jefferson's Death—Jefferson's Fame.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, the eldest of eight brothers and sisters, was born on the 2d of April, 1743, at Shadwell, in Albemarle county, Virginia.* His father's education had been neglected in youth; but as he was gifted by nature with a strong mind, he acquired by after industry a considerable share of knowledge. His early death prevented him from effecting much towards forming the mind of his son; but he left the latter sufficient means wherewith to procure himself an independent position. Thomas Jefferson was as destitute as Washington and Adams of those qualities which are often over-estimated on account of their superficial brilliancy; but on the other hand, he possessed that industry, firmness, constancy, and force of will, which he needed throughout life. An ardent fondness for philosophy, art, and classic antiquity, furnished and enlarged his mind in many ways. He spoke and wrote admirably, and obtained a reputation at the bar, although his bodily powers were hardly adequate to severe exertion as a speaker. Jefferson's conversation was fluent and instructive, and he won almost every one that came near him by the affability of his address. This dexterity and versatility, however, never impaired his firmness and resolution; and those opposite qualities of his mind were found equally necessary and beneficial, on the breaking out of the quarrel with England. From the beginning, Jefferson cherished the most fixed conviction, that a reconciliation with the mother-country was advisable only on the broadest foundations and with the most satisfactory concessions.† "I steer my bark," said he, "with hope in the head, leaving fear astern."‡ The stormy sea of *liberty* was the element on which

* See Rayner's and Tucker's Lives of Jefferson; the *Encyclopædia Americana*; but above all, his most highly instructive Memoir and Correspondence, published in four volumes.

† *American Review*, vi. 497.

‡ Jefferson's Writings, iv. 271.

he sailed more boldly and further than ever man did before; without injury to himself, and—who can now deny it?—to the advantage of his contemporaries and of posterity. “From Him,” was the motto of his seal-ring, “comes liberty, from whom the spirit comes” (*ab eo libertas, a quo spiritus*); and “resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.”

Jefferson was a principal founder of the associations for the preservation of the rights of North America; and of these he drew up a summary view in so convincing a manner, that Burke furnished it with additions and had it printed in England. The idea of the naturalness, justice, and necessity of the complete independence of North America was first fully developed by him;* and Congress properly appointed himself, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, to consult respecting it in close committee. By the choice of these his friends, (or should we not rather say, by the gracious election of God?) Jefferson was appointed to the task of drawing up the Declaration of Independence of North America; with which a new period in the history of social relations and human development begins.

That Jefferson was not thus brought into the list of men of undying reputation by any undeserved piece of good fortune, is shown by the ideas and plans which he propounded and to a great extent executed, as member of the legislative assembly (as early as 1769), and afterwards (in 1779) as governor of Virginia. Among these were: the abrogation of all restrictions on the free use of property, the abrogation of the right of primogeniture, freedom in matters of religion, no taxes or tithes in support of other creeds, the abolition of the slave-trade, the gradual abolition of slavery,† abolition of capital punishment (except for treason and murder), a simpler code of laws, provision for general education, &c.‡

After the independence of the United States had been established and acknowledged, so that the principal object was attained, Jefferson went, in May, 1784, as minister plenipotentiary to Paris, and remained there until October, 1789. The people who had joyfully greeted the birth-day of a new quarter of the world, or rather the day in which it came of age, and who had contributed to bring about the event, were now zealously employed in breaking the chains of effete customs and partial rights, and in founding for themselves a new and more happy existence. The coldest and dullest natures, as has been said, could not resist the enthusiastic feelings which this new dawn of liberty inspired;

* Rayner, p. 72.

† The proposal for the abolition of slavery did not succeed.

‡ The Statute Book, consisting of 90 folio pages, was prepared (1779—1785) chiefly by Jefferson and Madison.

how then could the American republican Jefferson, placed in the midst of that brilliant horizon, keep himself from sympathy and even predilection, and not share in the glowing anticipations whose fulfilment was already shown in happy America! Accordingly he speaks often and vehemently against the king, nobles, and priests; looks for the best from all innovations; finds nothing scarcely but injustice and misery in old France; and entertains none or but little fear of errors and excesses.*

By Lafayette and other friends of weighty improvements, Jefferson was respectfully and confidently applied to for advice—advice, however, which they rarely or never pursued. In the beginning of June, 1789, he sketched a Charter of Rights for France, the main contents of which were: The States General shall have the right of levying taxes and making laws, with the consent of the king. Every person shall be treated in conformity with the existing laws; and the military shall be subordinate to the civil authority. The press shall be free, but answerable for publishing false facts and libels. The States General shall now separate, and meet again on the first day of November next.†

These propositions of Jefferson's seem very moderate. He also wrote on the 3d of June, 1789, on the occasion of sending this sketch to St. Etienne: "If you obtain this, you will carry back to your constituents more good than ever was effected before without violence, and you will stop exactly at the point where violence would otherwise begin. Time will be gained, and the public mind will begin to ripen and to be informed."

As soon as the king conceded more than the majority anticipated, Jefferson expressed himself in favor of *not* demanding more, but of securing what had already been obtained. In a letter relative hereto, written on the 14th of February, 1815, to Lafayette, he says: "My dear friend, your letter of August the 14th has been received and read, again and again, with extraordinary pleasure. The newspapers told us only that the *great beast* was fallen; but what part in this the patriots acted, and what the egoists, whether the former slept while the latter were awake to their own interests only, the hireling scribblers of the English press said little or knew less. A full measure of liberty is not now perhaps to be expected by your nation; nor am I confident they are prepared to preserve it. More than a generation will be requisite, under the administration of reasonable laws favoring the progress of knowledge in the general mass of the people, and their habituation to an independent security of person and property, before they will be capable of estimating the value of freedom, and the necessity of a sacred adherence to the principles on which it rests for preservation. Instead of that

* Jefferson's Writings, ii. 45, 63, 224.

† Writings, ii. 472.

liberty which takes root and growth in the progress of reason, if recovered by mere force or accident, it becomes, with an unprepared people, a tyranny still, of the many, the few, or the one.

"Possibly you may remember, at the date of the *jeu de paume* (June 20th, 1789), how earnestly I urged yourself and the patriots of my acquaintance, to enter then into a compact with the king, securing freedom of religion, freedom of the press, trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, and a national legislature (all of which it was known he would then yield), to go home, and let these work on the amelioration of the condition of the people, until they should have rendered them capable of more, when occasions would not fail to arise for communicating to them more. This was as much as I then thought them able to bear soberly and usefully for themselves. You thought otherwise, and that the dose might still be larger. And I found you were right; for subsequent events proved they were equal to the constitution of 1791. Unfortunately, some of the most honest and enlightened of our patriotic friends (but closet politicians merely, unpractised in the knowledge of man) thought more could still be obtained and borne. They did not weigh the hazards of a transition from one form of government to another; the value of what they had already rescued from those hazards, and might hold in security if they pleased; nor the imprudence of giving up the certainty of such a degree of liberty under a limited monarch, for the uncertainty of a little more under the form of a republic. From this separation of the republicans from the constitutionalists flowed all the subsequent sufferings and crimes of the French nation. Let the restored dynasty read a lesson in the fatal errors of the republicans; let them be contented with a certain portion of power, secured by formal compact with the nation, rather than, grasping at more, hazard all upon uncertainty, and risk meeting the fate of their predecessor or a *renewal of their own exile*."*

From what is here communicated there will be seen at once the essential difference between the American and French republicans. "If science," says Jefferson in another place, "bears no better fruits than tyranny, murder, robbery, and destruction of the morals of the people, I would rather wish that our country should remain as ignorant and honorable as the neighboring savages."

Jefferson left France shortly before the unhappy days of October, 1789, and was appointed by Washington secretary of state. Differences of views already manifested themselves; but Washington knew how to hear with calmness and decide with firmness.† When Genet attacked Washington and the government in the presumptuous, rude, and unlawful manner already related,

* Jefferson's Writings, iv. 246.

† Writings, iv. 161.

Jefferson conducted the correspondence and negotiations, like an American patriot, with impartiality and effect.*

From 1793 to 1797, Jefferson lived in modest but not inactive retirement; in the year 1797, however (having received the greatest number of votes next to Adams), he was chosen vice-president of the United States. In the year 1801 he received for the office of president 73 votes; while Colonel Burr also had 73, and Adams 65. The decision was thus left to the House of Representatives; and after thirty-six ballottings, ten states declared themselves for Jefferson, and four for Burr. These votes show the great power of the two parties standing opposed to each other, as also the zeal and obstinacy of the electors and representatives. But passion rose to a much greater height beyond this constitutional sphere; and never was a man on earth so violently attacked by an unbridled press, and so shamefully calumniated, as Jefferson.† He was by no means insensible to such treatment; but he never descended to refutations or wordy disputes, rightly trusting that the power of truth would prevail, and that his public life would set him in his true light before the world. To his friend Norwell he afterwards thus expressed himself in relation to these experiences: "To your request of my opinion of the manner in which a newspaper should be conducted, so as to be most useful, I should answer, 'by restraining it to true facts and sound principles only.' Yet I fear such a paper would find few subscribers. It is a melancholy truth, that a suppression of the press could not more completely deprive the nation of its benefits, than is done by its abandoned prostitution to falsehood. Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this state of misinformation is known only to those who are in situations to confront facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day. I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow-citizens, who, reading newspapers, live and die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing in the world in their time; whereas the accounts they have read in newspapers are just as true a history of any other period of the world as of the present, except that the real names of the day are affixed to their fables. General facts may indeed be collected from them, such as that Europe is now at war, that Buonaparte has been a successful warrior, that he has subjected a great portion of Europe to his will, &c. &c.; but no details can be relied on. I will add, that the man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them; inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors. He

* See Writings, iii. 267, 269, 279, 280. † Tucker's Life of Jefferson, ii. 109, 120.

who reads nothing will still learn the great facts, and the details are all false.

"Perhaps an editor might begin a reformation in some such way as this. Divide his paper into four chapters, heading the 1st, Truths. 2d, Probabilities. 3d, Possibilities. 4th, Lies," &c.

"Defamation is becoming a necessary of life; insomuch, that a dish of tea in the morning or evening cannot be digested without this stimulant. Even those who do not believe these abominations, still read them with complaisance to their auditors, and, instead of the abhorrence and indignation which should fill a virtuous mind, betray a secret pleasure in the possibility that some may believe them, though they do not themselves. It seems to escape them, that it is not he who prints, but he who pays for printing a slander, who is its real author."*

Such are the just exclamations of this noble man. Yet his bitterest experiences could not bring him even to wish for a restraint upon the press. He said, "He who wishes fire and warmth also needs a chimney; and erroneous opinions can be borne with, where reason is left alone to combat them."† In his inaugural address to Congress, Jefferson said, with equal truth and impressiveness: "Let all bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate, would be oppression. Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind, let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection, without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions."‡

Improper as it would be even to mention here the common falsehoods and low slanders which were propagated respecting Jefferson, it is still necessary to state and examine the accusations that have been raised against his religion, philosophy, and statesmanship.

First of all, it has been said that he was no Christian, but an infidel, an atheist. Let us hear how he expresses himself in confidential letters on this topic. "I promised you," he writes to Dr. Rush,§ "a letter on Christianity, which I have not forgotten. On the contrary, it is because I have reflected on it, that I find much more time necessary for it than I can at present dispose of. I have a view of the subject which ought to displease

* Writings, iv. 80.

† Messages, p. 92.

‡ Statutes of South Carolina, i. 306.

§ Jefferson's Writings, iii. 442.

neither the rational Christian nor deist, and would reconcile many to a character they have too hastily rejected. I do not know that it would reconcile the *genus irritabile vatum*, who are all in arms against me. Their hostility is on too interesting ground to be softened. Certain delusions with respect to a clause in the Constitution gave the clergy a very favorite hope of obtaining an establishment of a particular form of Christianity throughout the United States; and as every sect believes its own form the true one, every one perhaps hoped for his own, but especially the Episcopalians and Congregationalists. The returning good sense of our country threatens abortion to their hopes, and they believe that any portion of power confided to me will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly: for I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

"The Christian religion, when divested of the rags in which they have enveloped it,* and brought to the original purity and simplicity of its benevolent institutor, is a religion of all others most friendly to liberty, science, and the freest expansion of the human mind." "My views of the Christian religion are the result of a life of inquiry and reflection, and very different from that anti-Christian system imputed to me by those who know nothing of my opinions. To the corruptions of Christianity I am indeed opposed; but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself. I am a Christian, in the only sense in which he wished any one to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines, in preference to all others; ascribing to himself every *human* excellence; and believing he never claimed any other. It is to be regretted that Jesus himself wrote nothing, and that his doctrines have come to us mutilated, mis-stated, and often unintelligible. He corrected the deism of the Jews, and taught the most pure and perfect system of morals that has ever been announced on earth. It embraces all mankind, gathering them into one family, under the bonds of love, charity, peace, common wants and common aids. But even from the time of the Apostle Paul, the simple doctrines of Jesus Christ have been sophisticated and perverted. Every Christian sect too gives a great handle to atheism by their general dogma, that without a revelation, there would not be sufficient proof of the being of a God. Christ teaches: that there is one only God, and he all perfect; that there is a future state of rewards and punishments; that to love God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself, is the sum of religion. Calvin on the contrary teaches: that there are three Gods; that good works, or the love of our neighbor, are nothing; that faith

* Writings, iii. 463, 468, 506. iv. 321. For a more-circumstantial, rationalistic criticism of the New Testament writings, see vol. iv. 326.

is every thing, and the more incomprehensible the proposition, the more merit in its faith; that reason in religion is of unlawful use; that God from the beginning elected certain individuals to be saved, and certain others to be damned; and that no crimes of the former can damn them, no virtues of the latter save. Now which of these is the true and charitable Christian? he who believes and acts on the simple doctrines of Jesus; or the impious dogmatists, as Athanasius and Calvin?"*

Jefferson was no theologian by profession; but though from these declarations some may acquit and others condemn him, he certainly took up the right position as a practical American statesman, and his constant and powerful influence for a long time put an end to all ecclesiastical tyranny. Had it not been for him, perhaps a dominant church would have been smuggled in, or its introduction at least ventured on, through a civil and religious war. In fact, hardly had the attempt been made to expel from the university founded by Jefferson its alleged infidelity, when (at least so it is said), four nominally pious sects came in, contended for the supremacy, and anathematized one another. As regards the fulfilment of the chief commandment of Jesus Christ, that peace should be and remain upon earth—certainly no statesman has ever more ardently enforced it, with all the powers of his heart and soul, than Jefferson.† Although the dogmatist may judge otherwise and according to another standard, the historian must place rulers fond of persecution and conquest below the American president, and present to him, in return for the proffered olive-branch, the laurel crown.‡

The philosophers must condemn Jefferson still more strongly than the theologians, when they hear what he says about the divine Plato.

"I have been amusing myself," he writes to John Adams, "with reading seriously Plato's Republic. I am wrong, however, in calling it amusement; for it was the heaviest task-work I ever went through. I had occasionally before taken up some of his other works, but scarcely ever had patience to go through a whole dialogue. While wading through the whimsies, the puerilities, and unintelligible jargon of this work, I laid it down often to ask myself, how it could have been, that the world should have so long consented to give reputation to such nonsense as this? How the *soi-disant* Christian world indeed should have done it, is a piece of historical curiosity. But how could the Roman good sense do it? And particularly how could Cicero bestow

* Writings, iv. 349, 363.

† See Writings, ii. 13.

‡ "Mr. Jefferson, instead of being obnoxious to the charge of impiety, was probably one of the most sincerely religious men in the community."—Everett's America, p. 318.

such eulogies on Plato? Although Cicero did not wield the dense logic of Demosthenes, yet he was able, learned, laborious, practised in the business of the world, and honest. He could not be the dupe of mere style, of which he was himself the first master in the world. With the moderns, I think, it is rather a matter of fashion and authority. Education is chiefly in the hands of persons who, from their profession, have an interest in the reputation and the dreams of Plato. They give the tone while at school, and few in their after years have occasion to revise their college opinions. But fashion and authority apart, and bringing Plato to the test of reason, take from him his sophisms, futilities, and incomprehensibilities, and what remains? In truth, he is one of the race of genuine sophists, who has escaped the oblivion of his brethren, first, by the elegance of his diction, but chiefly, by the adoption and incorporation of his whimsies into the body of artificial Christianity. His foggy mind is for ever presenting the semblances of objects which, half seen through a mist, can be defined neither in form nor dimension. Yet this, which should have consigned him to early oblivion, really procured him immortality of fame and reverence. The Christian priesthood, finding the doctrines of Christ levelled to every understanding, and too plain to need explanation, saw in the mysticisms of Plato materials with which they might build up an artificial system, which might from its indistinctness admit everlasting controversy, give employment for their order, and introduce it to profit, power, and pre-eminence. The doctrines which flowed from the lips of Jesus himself are within the comprehension of a child; but thousands of volumes have not yet explained the Platonisms engrafted on them: and for this obvious reason, that nonsense can never be explained. Their purposes, however, are answered. Plato is canonized; and it is now deemed as impious to question his merits as those of an apostle of Jesus. He is peculiarly appealed to as an advocate of the immortality of the soul; and yet I will venture to say, that were there no better arguments than his in proof of it, not a man in the world would believe it.* It is fortunate for us, that Platonic republicanism has not obtained the same favor as Platonic Christianity; or we should now have been all living, men, women, and children, pell-mell together, like the beasts of the field or forest.†

Jefferson, many will say after these extracts, is still less of a philosopher than of a theologian; and yet the practical statesman, who was to call into new life half a world, was quite right, and it was very natural for him to declare Plato's doctrines of privileged

* Perfectly similar sentiments are found in a sermon by Mason.—National Preacher, i. 6.

† Writings, iv. 241, 325.

guardians, community of goods and women, great barracks for rearing children, petty republics, &c., to be both silly and utterly useless and impracticable. Aristotle entertained the same opinion; and the beau ideal which Jefferson wished to realize (and which in spite of all opposition was carried into effect) had not the slightest resemblance to Platonic dreams.

The oft repeated assertion that, by mere force of thinking *à priori*, the best laws might be found out and every where uniformly applied, was contrary to all Jefferson's convictions. On the contrary he says, "In so complicated a science as political economy, no one axiom can be laid down as wise and expedient for all times and circumstances."* To this proposition all Jefferson's practical opponents would doubtless have assented; but the chief point in dispute was: What laws and regulations were possible and best in the existing state of American affairs? Two parties were gradually formed in reference thereto; and Jefferson was the decidedly efficient leader of that which called itself the republican party. No one complained more than he that the increasing violence of party-spirit disturbed so many relations and broke off so many friendships.† "Men," says he, "who have been intimate all their lives, cross the streets to avoid meeting, and turn their heads another way, lest they should be obliged to touch their hats." Jefferson himself, it is retorted by his opponents, was the chief originator of this sad state of things;—a groundless, unjust accusation! The strife was unavoidable; for it related to the most important objects, the entire futurity of a whole continent. Both parties, or at least their noble leaders, acted conscientiously and according to the best of their knowledge; and for that very reason, after the removal and suppression of disturbing elements, their mutual exertions were productive of the most excellent fruits.

Jefferson's position, however, was the most arduous of all; for all the great men of the war of independence, including Washington, Hamilton, Adams, Marshall, and many others, stood on the side of the federalists; and declared themselves in favor of order, moderation, strict law, and a strong federal government. They regarded with veneration, or at least with great interest, the institutions of Europe, or rather of England, which had been brought to a praiseworthy state of perfection by centuries of severe labor and profound meditation. The English constitution was held to be the *non plus ultra* of human attainment; and laments were uttered over the impossibility of transplanting the whole of it to America, which made it necessary to put up with something imperfect and inferior. Hamilton proposed that the president and Senate should be elected to serve during good

* Writings, iv. 282.

† Writings, iii. 362.

behavior, that is to say for life ; and that the former should have the appointment of all the governors in the individual states.* He spoke contemptuously of all popular governments, remarking that they were "but pork still, with a little change of sauce;" and wished to bring the American constitution continually nearer to the English. Mr. Sherman, in the debate on the new constitution, declared that the people should have as little to do as may be about the government. They want information, and are constantly liable to be misled.† Washington said to Jefferson: "I foresee that sooner or later we shall be obliged to adopt a constitution nearly related to the English, and I wish to prepare the minds of the people for it." And even the American people of that day, going beyond their leaders, fell into the way of thinking which, in spite of fifty years' contradictory experience, has characterized nearly all the English writers of travels. The United States in their eyes are of no account at all, or else are something quite preposterous ; inasmuch as they have no king, no nobility, no house of lords, no rights of primogeniture, no established church, and—to crown all—their judges have no wigs. It seemed as if Jefferson, who was opposed to all this, longed only for what was unreasonable and impossible, and went far beyond Plato with his whims and dreams. What the whole history of the world had never yet exhibited, nay, what after so many unhappy attempts had been branded as madness, was now the aim of all his exertions, of his whole life. Thirteen (now become twenty-six) sovereign democracies were to govern themselves, keep themselves in order, and form together a great republic of immeasurable extent ; while the means for exercising a stricter sway, for setting up a stronger power (which the federalists recommended and regarded as salutary while in the distance), were to be forever banished, proscribed, destroyed.

The following extracts from Jefferson's writings and correspondence will explain his views and intentions more clearly: "The parties of whig and tory are those of nature. They exist in all countries, whether called by these names, or by those of aristocrats and democrats, *côté droite* and *côté gauche*, ultras and radicals, serviles and liberals. The sickly, weakly, timid man, fears the people, and is a tory by nature. The healthy, strong, and bold, cherishes them, and is formed a whig by nature. The tories are for strengthening the executive and general government ; the whigs cherish the representative branch, and the rights reserved by the states, as the bulwark against consolidation, which must immediately generate monarchy.‡ An omnipotent assembly becomes too easily dangerous to liberty ; and an elective despotism

* Register, ii. 1, 375. Madison Papers, ii. 888, 892, 893.

† M'Gregor's America, i. 36. Madison Papers, ii. 753.

‡ Writings, iv. 384, 385.

was not the government we fought for.* What is not expressly granted to the federal government is reserved to the individual states. The former is not, as a general rule, to have immediate control over whatever exceeds the bounds of a state; it must not employ at will for this purpose the powers of the whole. The federal government is not superior to the states' governments, neither are the latter superior to the former. Each has its proper position, and decides what belongs to it. In case of a dispute, no one alone, but only a peaceable and constitutional assembly of delegates called for the purpose, can decide."†

"Before the establishment of the American states, nothing was known to history but the man of the old world, crowded within limits either small or overcharged, and steeped in the vices which that situation generates. A government adapted to such men would be one thing; but a very different one, that for the man of these states. Here every one may have land to labor for himself, if he chooses; or, preferring the exercise of any other industry, may exact for it such compensation as not only to afford a comfortable subsistence, but wherewith to provide for a cessation from labor in old age. Every one, by his property, or by his satisfactory situation, is interested in the support of law and order. And such men may safely and advantageously reserve to themselves a wholesome control over their public affairs, and a degree of freedom which, in the hands of the *canaille* of the cities of Europe, would be instantly perverted to the demolition and destruction of everything public and private. The history of the last twenty-five years of France, and of the last forty years in America, nay, of its last two hundred years, proves the truth of both parts of this observation."‡

"A just and solid republican government maintained here will be a standing monument and example for the aim and imitation of the people of other countries. I hope and believe that they will see, from our example, that a free government is of all others the most energetic. We shall satisfactorily refute those who discountenance all advances in science as dangerous innovations, and endeavor to render philosophy and republicanism terms of reproach.§ It is untrue that no improvements of our present institutions are henceforth possible. The elective franchise should be extended and made more general, representation more uniform, the country more suitably divided, &c. So too the administration of justice must be independent; but the judges should not have too much control over the mutable electoral bodies, or decide on constitutional questions."||

* Notes on Virginia, p. 195.

† Writings, iv. 230.

|| Writings, iv. 289.

† Statutes of South Carolina, i. 267.

§ Writings, iii. 454, 461.

Against *slavery*—which Plato approved of—Jefferson declared himself in the most decided manner; yet his wishes, his endeavors, his eloquent exhortations, were thwarted not only by selfish opposition, but also by the very formidable difficulties of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. In the year 1769, Jefferson, as member of the Virginia house of representatives, made an effort for the emancipation of the slaves; but it was defeated. Seven years later, he inserted in his draft of the Declaration of Independence a passage from which the liberation of the slaves must have ensued; but it was struck out, to prevent a separation of the southern from the northern states.* In the year 1778, Jefferson succeeded in effecting the abolition of the slave-trade in Virginia.†

As early as 1781 he writes in a paper drawn up respecting this state: "There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what others do. He must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances; and with the morals of a people, their industry is also destroyed. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution in the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."‡

In another place Jefferson exclaims: "What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery, than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose! But we must await with patience the workings of an

* Writings, i. 14.

† Jefferson, it is true, owned slaves himself; but, as is related by a well informed person, they seemed to belong to his family, were warmly clothed and well fed. — Warden, ii. 206.

‡ Janson's *Stranger in America*, p. 381.

overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality.* In another letter to Mr. Cole, Jefferson says: "Come out for the abolition of slavery in the public councils, become the missionary of this truly Christian doctrine, advocate it with moderation but with firmness, associate others to your endeavors; and when the phalanx is formed, bring forward your proposition, and advocate it firmly until accomplished.—The idea, however, of a sudden general liberation of all, comes from such as possess neither knowledge nor experience in the matter." With regard to the Indians, Jefferson cherished no less the principles of true justice and wisdom. Thus he wrote in the year 1803 to the governor of Indiana: "Our system is to live in constant peace with the Indians, and to gain their sincere good-will; while we, as far as reason permits, do every thing for them that is right, just, and liberal, and actively protect them from outrage on the part of our own people."†

Nobly and enthusiastically as Jefferson expresses himself in his general observations on these topics, he was too much of a statesman ever to lose sight of the possible and practicable. He always retained the conviction that white men and Indians could not live at liberty together in one and the same country; since nature, custom, and public opinion, had essentially separated them. Jefferson held the peaceful continuance of the great North American union to be the highest and most sacred of objects, and by no means thought it allowable to go beyond the forms of the Constitution, and, with a false democratic, or universally philanthropic enthusiasm, attempt to carry pretended laudable undertakings into effect. On this subject he speaks his mind repeatedly, and especially in a letter to Jedediah Morse, of the 6th of March, 1822, which is so characteristic, that a communication of its contents seems almost indispensable for this and some ensuing chapters.

"I have duly received," he writes, "your letter of February the 16th, and have now to express my sense of the honorable station proposed to my ex-brethren and myself, in the constitution of the society for the civilization and improvement of the Indian tribes. The object, too, expressed as that of the association, is one which I have ever had much at heart, and never

*Raynor's Life of Jefferson, p. 142. † Hall's Notes on the Western States, p. 153.

omitted an occasion of promoting, while I have been in situations to do it with effect ; and nothing, even now, in the calm of age and retirement, would excite in me a more lively interest than an approveable plan of raising that respectable and unfortunate people from the state of physical and moral abjection to which they have been reduced by circumstances foreign to them. That the plan now proposed is entitled to unmixed approbation, I am not prepared to say, after mature consideration, and with all the partialities which its professed object would rightfully claim from me.

“ I shall not undertake to draw the line of demarcation between private associations of laudable views and unimposing numbers, and those whose magnitude may rivalize and jeopardize the march of regular government. Yet such a line does exist. I have seen the days, they were those which preceded the Revolution, when even this last and perilous engine became necessary ; but they were days which no man could wish to see a second time. That was the case where the regular authorities of the government had combined against the rights of the people, and no means of correction remained to them, but to organize a collateral power, which, with their support, might rescue and secure their violated rights. But such is not the case with our government. We need hazard no collateral power, which, by a change of its original views, and assumption of others we know not how virtuous or how mischievous, would be ready organized and in force sufficient to shake the established foundations of society, and endanger its peace and the principles on which it is based. Is not the machine now proposed of this gigantic nature ? It is to consist of the ex-presidents of the United States, the vice-president, the heads of all the executive departments, the members of the supreme judiciary, the governors of the several states and territories, all the members of both houses of Congress, all the general officers of the army, the commissioners of the navy, all presidents and professors of colleges and theological seminaries, all the clergy of the United States, the presidents and secretaries of all associations having relation to Indians, all commanding officers within or near Indian territories, all Indian superintendents and agents ; all these *ex-officio* ; and as many private individuals as will pay a certain price for membership.

“ Observe, too, that the clergy will constitute nineteen-twentieths of this association, and, by the law of the majority, may command the twentieth part, which, composed of all the high authorities of the United States, civil and military, may be out-voted and wielded by the nineteen parts with uncontrollable power, both as to purpose and process. Can this formidable array be

reviewed without dismay? And even the chosen functionaries of the government, in whom I otherwise cherish the most implicit confidence, here leave their official duties, act not by the laws of their station, but by those of a voluntary society, having no limit to their purposes but the same will which constitutes their existence. It will be the authorities of the people and all influential characters from among them arrayed on one side, and on the other the people themselves deserted by their leaders.

"It will be said that these are imaginary fears. I know they are so at present. I know it is as impossible for these agents of our choice and unbounded confidence to harbor machinations against the adored principles of our Constitution, as for gravity to change its direction, and gravid bodies to mount upwards. The fears are indeed imaginary; but the example is *real*. Under its authority, as a precedent, future associations will arise with objects at which we should shudder at this time. The society of Jacobins, in another country, was instituted on principles and views as virtuous as ever kindled the hearts of patriots. It was the pure patriotism of their purposes which extended their association to the limits of the nation, and rendered their power within it boundless; and it was this power which degenerated their principles and practices to such enormities, as never before could have been imagined. Yet these were men; and we and our descendants will be no more.

"Is there no danger that a new authority, marching independently alongside of the government, may not produce collision, or wrest the object entirely from their hands? And might we not as well volunteer to assist in the management of their foreign, their fiscal, and their military, as for their Indian affairs?† And how many societies, auxiliary to the government, may we not expect to see spring up in imitation of this? In a word, why not take the government out of its constitutional hands, associate them indeed with us, but insure them to be our own by allowing them a minor vote only? Sincerely as I am convinced of the integrity of its views, and highly as I respect many of its intended members, I am bound to say, that, as a dutiful citizen, I cannot in conscience become a member of this society."*

All these statements and extracts were necessary in order to convey a more exact knowledge of Jefferson's character, and to show how exaggerated were the fears and how intemperate the attacks of his opponents when he first obtained the office of president. Undisturbed by all this clamor, he adhered with firmness and moderation to the path he had prescribed for himself. His exertions were every where directed to the practice of economy,

* It was on similar grounds that so many declared their opposition to the anti-democratic tendencies of free masonry.

† Writings, iv. 345.

the diminution of the public debt, the suppression of unnecessary offices, the reduction of the standing army, and the formation of a militia,—all in the true republican spirit. When, after the savings that had been introduced and a stricter supervision of the administration of the finances, the revenue from the customs sufficed to pay all the expenses of the federal government, all the inland taxes were abolished. It caused no regret to Jefferson, that by the suppression of many offices his own patronage was diminished; and in the same spirit he lived with simplicity, avoided external show, held no so-called levees, and even made no speech in Congress, but contented himself with written messages.

During the four years of his continuance in office, Jefferson had shown so little assumption, his firmness and mildness had so thoroughly won the confidence of his fellow citizens, and moreover his views respecting the further true course of development of the United States had met with such general acceptance, that in the year 1805, on his being chosen president a second time, 162 votes were cast in his favor, and only 14 against him.* As before, in his excellent inaugural address, he recommends moderation and unity and the calming of the passions. “During this course of administration,” he says, “and in order to disturb it, the artillery of the press has been levelled against us, charged with whatever its licentiousness could devise or dare. These abuses of an institution so important to freedom and science are deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as they tend to lessen its usefulness, and to sap its safety. They might, perhaps, have been corrected by the wholesome punishments reserved to and provided by the laws of the several states against falsehood and defamation; but public duties more urgent press on the time of the servants of the public, and the offenders have therefore been left to find their punishment in the public indignation. Nor was it uninteresting to the world, that an experiment should be fairly and fully made, whether freedom of discussion, unaided by power, is not sufficient for the propagation and protection of truth; whether a government, conducting itself in the true spirit of its constitution, with zeal and purity, and doing no act which it would be unwilling the whole world should witness, can be written down by falsehood and defamation. The experiment has been made: you have witnessed the result. Our fellow-citizens have looked on cool and collected. They saw the latent source from which these outrages proceeded. They gathered around their public functionaries; and when the constitution called them to the decision by suffrage, they pronounced their verdict, honorable to those who had served them, and consolatory

* Writings, iv. 33. Kufahl, iii. 117.

to the friends of man, who believe that he may and ought to be trusted with the control of his own affairs. No inference is here intended, that the laws provided by the states against false and defamatory publications should not be enforced. He who has leisure renders service to the public morals and public tranquillity, in reforming these abuses by the salutary coercions of the law. But the experiment is noted to prove that, since truth and reason have maintained their ground against false opinions in league with false facts, the press calls for few legal restraints. The public judgment will correct false reasoning and opinion, upon a full hearing of all parties; and no other definite line can be drawn between the inestimable liberty of the press and its demoralizing licentiousness.”*

These internal conflicts would certainly have exhausted many another man to such a degree as to make him lose sight of the future amid the pressure of daily cares. But not so Jefferson; he saw with prophetic eye the inevitable advancement, the lofty destiny of his country, and he determined to establish and secure it by all the means at his command. All the state taxes levied in the interior of the country were abolished as early as 1802, the expenses of the war department greatly diminished, the detested Alien and Sedition Laws repealed, thirty-three and a half millions of debt liquidated, the entire expenditure reduced a million and a half, and fourteen millions collected into the treasury.† Let this be compared with what was done in Europe at the same time.—Jefferson knew how to make a prudent use of the ill state of affairs there. In the year 1783, the United States had been wholly excluded from the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico; and there were Americans who rejoiced at these natural, insurmountable barriers. Not so Jefferson and the inhabitants of the south-western states, which were continually becoming more active and powerful. If Spain or France were to close the Mississippi, and England the St. Lawrence, what means of communication would be left between the states of the interior, and what outlet would there be for their daily increasing surplus produce? What Peter I. did for Russia, must also be done for North America; the great water communications must be secured, and to attain this object it would be necessary not even to shun a war, for which the American dwellers on the Mississippi were already making preparations on their own account.

Louisiana, or the region extending from New Orleans to St. Louis, and from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, equal in size to all the states of the Union taken together, must, Jefferson asserted with equal courage and firmness, be gained for the North American republic; its boundaries being thus established

* Frances Wright's *View of Society and Manners in America*, p. 373.

† Warden, iii. 489.

unalterably and for perpetual peace, it will present the greatest and most magnificent theatre for the industry of centuries. Many federalists, opponents of Jefferson, inveighed against the idea as foolish and chimerical, declared its execution impossible, and lauded moderation, contentment, a praiseworthy self-restraint, and a holding fast to former simplicity and to what had already been obtained; they prophesied the wasting of powers already insufficient for the great country they inhabited, unjust and unhappy wars, &c. &c.

Jefferson did not allow himself to be disturbed in the least by this short-sighted and malevolent opposition; but sagaciously watched the course of events, and boldly seized on the opportunities that presented themselves. Louisiana, originally a French settlement, became in 1763 English, in 1783 Spanish, and in 1800 was given up to the conquering Bonaparte. Hereupon Jefferson declared, that the United States could in no wise suffer this, but must be masters of the Mississippi. If France should adhere to the plan of founding a great dominion in these regions, it would lead sooner or later to a war with that country and to the closest connexion with Great Britain. Jefferson wrote to Monroe, the American envoy in Paris: "On the results of your negotiations depend the future destinies of this republic. If we cannot make this acquisition in a peaceful way, we must prepare ourselves for war; it cannot be far distant."* Bonaparte perceived that he could not protect Louisiana at a distance; he wanted money, and he thought, too, that by a sale he would involve the Americans in a bitter war with the English. For sixty millions of francs the former obtained, in the year 1803, the second half of North America. Never were great wars averted in a more peaceful manner; never for so comparatively small a sum had such wholly inestimable advantages been secured.† The objection of Spain, that, as Bonaparte had not fulfilled all the conditions, he had no right to make a further disposal of the country, was at first not attended to, and afterwards removed. Exploring expeditions were judiciously despatched by Jefferson into the newly obtained and in part wholly unknown western territory, and these confirmed his views and prophecies for the future.‡

Meanwhile the naval war between England and France, or rather the principles on which both of them acted with regard to neutrals, inflicted incalculable injuries on the Americans. "We consider," said Jefferson, "the overwhelming power of England

* Barbé-Marbois, Louisiana, 261. Laws of the United States, i. 140. Writings, iv. 7.

† In the Senate 24 were for, and 7 against the acquisition. Of the Representatives, 89 were for, and 23 against it.

‡ Lewis's Travels. North American Review, li. 96. Murray, i. 487.

on the ocean, and of France on the land, as destructive of the prosperity and happiness of the world, and wish both to be reduced only to the necessity of observing moral duties. We believe no more in Buonaparte's fighting merely for the liberty of the seas, than in Great Britain's fighting for the liberties of mankind. The object of both is the same, to draw to themselves the power, the wealth, and the resources of other nations."*

An incredible number of American vessels had been seized by both the belligerent powers;† and by the English every seaman found in those ships and not born in America, had been pressed into their naval service. Remonstrances against the unrestrained exercise of despotic power of every kind, had no effect either in London or in Paris;‡ to throw the American power into the scale of one or the other party, by making war, seemed unreasonable; and to quarrel with both of them together, would certainly have been still more senseless. The decrees of Berlin and Milan, as also the English orders in council, rendered the trade of neutrals henceforth impossible; and in this extremity of grievance, Congress resolved by a large majority, on the 22d of December, 1807, to lay an embargo on all ships, and thus put a temporary stop to trade. This measure, it is true, inflicted great injury on the belligerent powers; but they were not restrained by it from carrying out their vindictive plans. The stoppage of trade during the revolutionary war was indeed a similar measure; but the extent of the intercourse, as well as the wants and circumstances of the country, had since become changed, and what was then regarded and performed as a noble sacrifice, was now looked upon by many as an abortive expedient, and created an opposition that compelled Jefferson's successor, Madison, to adopt other measures.

With the same cheerfulness and gladness as Washington, Jefferson, after the expiration of his second presidential term, retired into private life, and confuted all who had complained of and dreaded his unbounded, indomitable ambition. With respect to this he writes: "Never did a prisoner released from his chains feel such a relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles of power. Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight. But the enormities of the times in which I have lived, have forced me to take a part in resisting them, and to commit myself on the boisterous ocean of political passions. I thank God for the oppor-

* Writings, iv. 173.

† Barbé-Marbois says (p. 397) that 2500 vessels were lost by the Americans in eight years!

‡ "France declared that we suffered the robberies of England with more patience than her own, and England that she alone had a right to plunder us." Brackenridge's *History of the Late War*, p. xix.

tunity of retiring from them without censure, and carrying with me the most consoling proofs of public approbation. I leave every thing in the hands of men so able to take care of them, that if we are destined to meet misfortunes, it will be because no human wisdom could avert them.”*

“I have given up my newspapers,” writes Jefferson another time to his predecessor Adams, “in exchange for Tacitus and Thucydides, for Newton and Euclid; and I find myself much the happier.” But he by no means so withdrew himself from public affairs as no longer to take an interest in them. The foundation in particular of the University of Virginia, in Charlottesville, was the object of his most zealous exertions.

The difference in political opinions which had separated him for a time from Adams lost its keenness; their ancient friendship returned, and the correspondence between these two noble and venerable men is equally instructive and affecting.

Jefferson had also dismissed his former misgivings respecting Washington’s leaning towards England and English aristocracy since he himself had gained the day on contrary principles, and had proved his superior confidence in the people.† Far from cherishing an overweening self-esteem, Jefferson says of Washington: “His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever seen; no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was indeed, in every sense of the word, a wise, a good, and a great man.”‡

With these men was associated Jefferson’s faithful friend of fifty years’ standing, the wise *Madison*, the fourth president of the young and blooming republic. They cordially reciprocated each other’s sentiments; and the difference in their political views, which in less generous natures would have led to a destructive, selfish enmity, had here a salutary influence in promoting the prosperity of their country and countrymen in manifold ways.

With his friends and relations Jefferson lived in cheerful social intercourse on his estate of Monticello. To one of the latter he communicated, between jest and earnest, the following ten rules of practical life:

1. Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.
2. Never trouble another for what you can do yourself.
3. Never spend your money before you have it.
4. Never buy what you do not want because it is cheap; it will be dear to you.

* Writings, iv. 126, 169.

† Writings, iii. 328, 358. iv. 185, 493.

‡ Sparks’s Washington, i. 545.

5. Pride costs us more than hunger, thirst, and cold.
6. We never repent of having eaten too little.
7. Nothing is troublesome that we do willingly.
8. How much pain have cost us the evils that have never happened!
9. Take things always by their smooth handle.
10. When angry, count ten before you speak ; if very angry, a hundred.

Until the eighty-third year of his age, Jefferson enjoyed uncommon health and strength of mind and body. But now they evidently declined, and the physicians foretold his speedy dissolution. When he expressed the wish that he might survive till the 4th of July, 1826, they declared that it would be impossible. But his ardent desire and his force of will wonderfully sustained him ; so that he lived till one o'clock on the 4th of July, 1826,—the same day and the same hour in which, fifty years before, he had signed in Congress the Declaration of Independence of the United States, drawn up by himself. On the same day, a few hours later, died, in his ninetieth year, John Adams, his companion in labors, dignity, and age. On the same day, in the year 1830, died James Monroe, a third president of the United States, and fifth in the order of succession.

Jefferson died poor. Some unmerited misfortunes and a hospitality moderate in its character, but frequently claimed by admirers and friends, had consumed his property.* Greater than the consuls of Rome, who despised riches only while the republic was poor, Jefferson (like many a noble American of the same stamp) showed himself at the head of the greatest of all republics, according to Thucydides' expression used by Pericles, stronger than all possessions, and superior to wealth. When the government of Louisiana, a state to whose prosperity he had given a powerful impulse, heard of the circumstances just related, they passed the following act: "Thomas Jefferson, after a life devoted to the service of his country and of human nature, has died, leaving to his children, as their only inheritance, the example of his virtues and the gratitude of the people whose independence he has proclaimed to the universe. The legislature of Louisiana, a state acquired for the Union by his wisdom and foresight, owes to him her political and civil liberty ; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of her profound respect for the talents and virtues of this illustrious benefactor, it is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of Louisiana, in general assembly convened, that ten thousand dollars be transmitted to Thomas Jefferson Randolph, for the benefit of the family of

* Register, 1827, p. 166. Tucker, ii. 488.

Thomas Jefferson.”* A like resolution was passed by the legislature of South Carolina.

The entire progress of mankind is never committed to the hands of an individual; but hardly ever has *one* man ventured and performed as much in this way as Thomas Jefferson. The veneration felt for the experience and institutions of Europe, the natural inclination towards what is customary and known, and the dread of what is unknown and unheard of, would perhaps have caused America (notwithstanding the essential difference in her circumstances) to permit herself to be forced or talked into adopting the worn out institutions of old Europe. The opposition raised by Jefferson and his friends excluded this possibility for ever, and put an end to the strife. Then, and not till then, was a new world for the historian and statesman really created; and Jefferson remains the greatest, most active, and most peaceful republican of all that history has recorded.

CHAPTER XII.

THE RACES OF MANKIND AND SLAVERY.

Slavery in general—Justification of Slavery—Aristotle—Hobbes—Races of Men—Negroes, Mulattoes, Quadroons—Mind and Morals of Negroes—History of Slavery—Arguments for and against Slavery—Condition of the Slaves—Madison's and Jefferson's Slaves—Ills of Slavery—Backward condition of the Slave States—Liberia—St. Domingo—Abolitionists—Channing—Laws of the States—Abolitionists—Emancipation, Indemnification—Jefferson's views—Partial Emancipation—Defence of the Colored Men—Antilles—Arguments in favor of the Slave States—Congress—Missouri and Columbia—Internal Slave Trade—Manumissions—Labor of Whites and Blacks—Ascription to the Soil—Subjection to Tribute—Dangers and Prospects.

WERE it my intention to write a history of the United States, I should be obliged still to confine myself to the order of time. Their development however has not been, like that of so many other states, chiefly in an external direction and for the most part impeding and destructive, but has been, on the contrary, an internal, promotive, and truly progressive one—in a word, one which, with slight interruptions, has proved essentially *peaceful*. Hence,

* Barbé-Marbois, Louisiana, p. 474. It is so much the more to be lamented that Jefferson's simple monument at Monticello should be in such a neglected and even ruinous condition.

after having described the liberation and founding of the United States, the further account of them may be more suitably arranged according to *subjects* than by years or the changes of presidents. It is only after our survey has been more widely extended, and when the state of things both material and spiritual has become better known, that the dramatis personæ will also appear to us in their true light and be more easily understood.

No question is taken up by the friends of the United States with more anxious concern, or by their enemies with more reproving wrath, than that of *slavery*; and now, after so much has presented itself to us in a brilliant light, it is necessary to examine into this dark or rather black side of American affairs, to explain its origin, ascertain its present condition, and contemplate its future prospects, before we can prudently and safely proceed further onward. It will not answer either to condemn slavery unqualifiedly beforehand and demand its unconditional abolition, or to look upon the fact as one which is natural and unalterable. On the contrary, the fact that slavery extends throughout the history of the world, compels us not to confine our observation to North America alone, but to set out from general principles, and to ask ourselves whether and in what manner that which is local and temporal can be regulated and judged thereby.

Differences in mental vigor, moral dignity, and outward possessions, found and justify dominion and dependence among men. But since these differences never destroy personality, and convert a man into a mere thing,—and since every one is entitled and bound to social relations, and is not excluded therefrom like the brutes,—it follows that no man should have unlimited disposal over another, or, in other words, that slavery is unnatural and rests on force alone. It is a relation in which all reciprocity is wanting; where the rights are all on one side, and the compulsory obligations on the other; and where no means of dissolving this obligation is afforded or indicated by the law.

This view is said to be contradicted by: 1st, history; 2dly, the teachers of law; and 3dly, many of the most esteemed philosophers. We reply:

To objection 1st. From the mere historical existence of slavery, it by no means follows that it is either natural or just; otherwise all the follies, crimes, and sinful practices that have crept into society, might be justified in a like manner. History shows us rather, that cruelty and wrong ever meet sooner or later with their just punishment. The revolts of slaves are more natural than slavery itself.

To objection 2d. The Roman law seeks to establish and justify slavery in three ways:

a. By the *jus gentium*. According to the law of nations, pri-

soners of war become slaves. But this so-called national right is now allowed on all hands to have been a national wrong; and from the right of putting to death, which is founded only on imminent peril, no right of reducing to servitude can be deduced after the danger is past.

*b. By the *jus civile*.* According to the civil law, he becomes a slave who sells himself to me as a slave. But for freedom and life there is, in the first place, no suitable price; and every transaction of this sort involves an enormous wrong (*læsio enormis*). Secondly, the purchase-money, according to the notions of slavery, usually goes at once to the master; so that in fact no compensation whatever is made. Thirdly, a man has even still less right to grant to another a despotic power over his life than he has to kill himself. Fourthly, none but a *person* can make a contract; but slavery destroys personality, and consequently it cannot proceed from a contract.

*c. By the *jus naturale*.* It is said, Some are born slaves. If the two preceding props of slavery are unsound, this falls away of itself, and there is left no mode of origin but through force and injustice.

To objection 3d. Aristotle says: "Wholesome as it is that the soul should rule the body, so wholesome is it that the master should rule the slave; for the difference between the two is almost like that between the soul and the body. The master stands by nature pre-eminent in excellence, mental powers, and virtue; while the slave uses only his body, and has merely sufficient intellect to comprehend that it is good for him to be governed."* I reply:

The soul's dominion over the body is by no means an unlimited one; on the contrary, there exists a reciprocity, a mutual influence exerted by the one upon the other. Neither is there an immeasurable difference as regards excellence between man and man. But even granting this to be the case, it would then be necessary to keep up a constant valuation of these differences, the results of which would to-day transport the slave into a master, and to-morrow the master into a slave.

Aristotle goes on to say, that he is by no means a defender of despotism and tyranny; that where dissension exists between master and servant, the natural slavery maintained by him (which can manifest only friendship) does not exist; and moreover, that a man of worth taken prisoner of war is not in his opinion a true slave at all.

Now as this presupposed friendship scarcely ever exists, Aristotle's theory of slavery falls wholly to the ground. Nay, he in fact admits as much himself, when he says in another place: "If

* *Politica*, i. 4.

there be virtue among slaves, wherein consists the fundamental distinction between them and the free? And how can there be no virtue among slaves, seeing that they are still men and reasonable creatures?"

This dilemma should have revealed to Aristotle in the first place the unnaturalness of slavery; moreover, he was by no means blind to the actual evils that arise from it. Plato also makes mention of these evils and of the unnaturalness and danger of this relation; but he calls for no abolition of it, but merely for a mild treatment of slaves.*

It has been maintained that the Bible and the Christian religion nowhere prescribe the abolition of slavery. But the existence of slavery among the Jews furnishes no model whatever for imitation in our times; and if the New Testament contains none of the doctrines of the violent abolitionists, still less does it advocate the cause of the slave-dealers. How the command, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," is to be reconciled with slaveholding, it is not easy to conceive.

It was the common opinion of the ancient world, that the greater the freedom possessed by some, the less must be that enjoyed by others. But with Christianity, the right and the recognition of personal freedom in the state, and of equality in the sight of God, were brought forward in so decisive a manner, that slavery can only continue to exist in opposition to the new doctrine that claims a release from it.

Hence, too, the pretended arguments in favor of slavery brought forward by modern philosophers, are less consistent and appropriate than those of the ancients.† Thus Hobbes makes slavery originate in a contract, but allows to the master only, and never to the slave, a right to dissolve it. He contends that an injury can never be done to the slave by the master, since he has voluntarily subjected himself to the latter, and *volenti non fit injuria*. And along with this sophistry he has a large chapter on born slaves. Again, he maintains that if men should imprison and fetter their slaves, so as to show that they were not slaves willingly and by agreement, the latter would have a natural right not only to escape, but even to slay their masters!

Many other doctrines of modern law-teachers go no deeper into the subject: as for instance that virtue in slaves is indeed more difficult, but then it is so much the more meritorious;—consequently in order to produce such virtue, all the other institutions of the state should be so adapted as to render virtue difficult. So, too, the maxim, that it is good to have slaves and so keep them out of war, because war is thus made less sanguinary, would lead us rather to turn all the citizens into slaves,

* De Legibus, vi. 177.

† De Cive, viii. 4-8.

and thus after a novel fashion introduce perpetual peace into the world. Lastly, they say that the slave is better off than the freeman, inasmuch as he is released from many of the duties of citizens;—but then cattle are better off still, and why not tie men up to the ox-crib at once?

It is not a subject of the slightest doubt for the philosopher, statesman, historian, and Christian of our day, that slavery and serfdom (the tyranny of the minority over the majority) are to be condemned, and that a quiet and suitable dissolution of these relations is possible. This assertion, however, holds good in the first place only for men *of the same stock, of the same race*. But now arises the very important and very difficult question, whether it is also applicable to men of a different stock, of different races, or whether in this case other principles and another mode of proceeding can be justified.

The view of some theologians, who connect the diversity of human races with the doctrine of original sin and a greater or less declension from God, can be of no practical use to us, inasmuch as the speculative questions respecting the *how* and the *wherefore* of this condition always remain unanswered. There is somewhat more precision in the question, whether or not all mankind descend from *a single pair*. The affirmative, which accords with the biblical narration, is usually held to be the most pious and religious. Naturalists, however, have very properly not allowed themselves to be deterred by this supposition from independent investigations. But while Rudolphi opposes the idea of a single Adam, and denies the degeneration of one race into others,* Prichard and Johannes Müller assert that all men are only varieties of one and the same stock, and that differences of color, size, &c. are never of so much weight and influence as to form separate *species* either among men or animals.

Much depends, in the first place, on what is meant by *species*. If the power of inter-reproduction is sufficient to determine this idea, then doubtless all men belong to one species; but this again does not establish *à priori* that God might not have created several pairs, whose posterity would be capable of reproduction with one another.

The doctrine of mankind's descent from *several* original pairs does not by any means deny the *unity* of the human race; any more than the descent from a *single* pair can disprove the existing *diversity* between men, or demonstrate their perfect corporeal, mental, moral, civil, and political equality. Many, especially theological writers, have sought to find a blasphemy, an impeachment of the goodness and justice of God, in the assumption of a great and essential diversity in the races of men. But when they

* Physiologie, i. 50-53.

assume, on less satisfactory testimony, that God has created I know not how many classes of angels, why should there not be several classes of men? Swans are different from geese; cats cannot be trained like dogs; by the noblest charger stands a wretched hack;—and all without detriment to the wisdom and justice of God.

Let us then leave the mazes of intangible and unfounded hypothesis, to seek for aid and instruction in historical facts. In so doing we find that only the white race of men, and not the black and red, who here come under consideration, possess a history in the higher sense of the term; and that, although among individual white men and white nations great differences prevail, yet far greater ones are discovered between whites, negroes, and Indians. These latter have never formed a leading, dominant state, that filled and enlarged the history of the world; only in a few solitary cases have negroes reached that height to which, as a general rule, every white man is capable of being raised. The physical difference, moreover, by no means consists in the color merely (when a white man paints himself black, it does not make him a negro); but also in the essentially different conformation of the head and of several other parts of the body; so that a nobility graduated according to the color and form of the body has a far more natural foundation than the separating and opposing of men of the same stock on the mere ground of ancestry. Again, this diversity of race is shown no less in the mind than in the body. The negro, along with an uncontrollable sensuality, has less memory, foresight, and understanding than the white man, and single exceptions do not destroy the rule.

If now we consider the physical and moral nature of the *colored* people, i. e. the mulattoes, &c.,* this mixture of two races cannot in the first place be termed wholly unnatural; the *horror naturalis*, or natural aversion, cannot be said to be wholly unconquerable. On the contrary the question suggests itself, whether a sort of men inferior in body and mind is actually produced by this mixture of races, and whether the new variety thus arisen may not also have its own peculiar value. By combining together the various characteristics of each race, might not a truly perfect whole be produced, and thus their several defects be obviated?† Did perhaps Adam occupy a middle place between

* The several gradations of color are: 1. Whites; 2. Negroes; 3. Indians; 4. Mulattoes, from whites and negroes; 5. Mestizoes, from whites and Indians; 6. Samboes, from negroes and Indians; 7. Terzeroons, from a white man and mulatto woman; 8. Quarteroons, from a white man and a terzeroon; 9. Quinteroons, from a white man and a quarteroon.—In Mexico the law places all classes on an equal footing; but in fact almost all the power is in the hands of the creoles, or American descendants of Southern Europeans. Mühlenpfordt's Mexico, i. 200–204. Encyclopædia Americana, art. Mexico.

† Almost all travellers praise the corporeal beauty and mental amiability of the

white and black, and did that which was united in him afterwards become separated among his posterity into harsh contradictions ?

It is certain that the mulattoes, although by reason of their white fathers they possess a mental superiority over the blacks (being squeezed in as it were between the two races), hold an unnatural and far from satisfactory position, which impels them to discontentedness and vice. Above all, experience shows that it is a delusion to think of ennobling the races by mixing and crossing them ; for the white race loses at least as much as the black gains. The mixture of races, too, which is common in Central America, where it is considered a mere matter of taste, has not produced the slightest improvement.*

The aversion between negroes and mulattoes is in general not less than that between blacks and whites†. Mulattoes also seldom have children. That there are fewer lunatics and deaf and dumb among the slaves than among the free negroes is far from well attested, inasmuch as slaves who suffer from these infirmities are seldom placed in public institutions. Neither is it satisfactorily proved that slaves live longer than white men ; for the year of their birth is often uncertain, and they purposely make themselves out to be older than they are, in order to escape hard labor and excite compassion. Still, moderate labor, want of care, and simple food, contribute to keep them in good health ; while so many whites perish from dyspepsia, which prevails in America to a greater extent than in any other country.

With respect to this asserted difference of races, it is objected : " If it be possible for the negro to be as *moral* as the white man, he can also make equal advances in knowledge. Somewhat more or less cannot decide on this possibility and on the general position which should be granted according to reason and equity." To this it is replied : " Negroes can certainly attain to the morality (or at least it should be required of them) which the laws prescribe for private life ; but of the grand morality of public political life they have no conception, and in this respect they stand even much more in need of guardianship than women and children. The greatest gain for them, on the contrary, is their

quaterrooms, especially in Louisiana. Other writers testify, on the contrary, that they are neither as handsome nor as well bred as the whites. But as custom and prejudice exclude them from honorable marriage, many of them (at least those of the poorer sort) are driven to a course of life which seeks to throw the appearance of mental culture over their levity in other respects, and usually charms the ennuyé traveller. The social connection into which many quaterrooms enter with the whites is very defective and blameable from the very fact that it can be dissolved at pleasure on the part of the man, and the children are always regarded as illegitimate.

* Stephens, i. 12.

† Poussin, *Richesses Américaines*, ii. 412.

subjection to a race of men of greater mental development and whose vocation it is to rule over the earth. Wherever different races of men have come in contact, this aristocracy has existed; it is more natural, wholesome, and necessary, than the domination of priests, nobles, and soldiers."

Even from these brief intimations it will be seen, that where masters and slaves (or serfs) were of the *same* race, as in ancient times and in Europe, the too long delayed amelioration or even abolition of this evil state of things, was a perfectly easy matter in comparison with the United States of North America, where *different* races have become involved in these difficulties.

Let us begin with the history. Negro slavery in North America by no means proceeded from republican forms, neither does it stand in any connection therewith, as is seen from the fact that one half of the twenty-six states are free; on the contrary, it was brought thither by Europeans, and England thought she had achieved something allowable and even great and praiseworthy, when she obtained from the king of Spain, by the Assiento treaty of 1713, the exclusive right of supplying his colonies with slaves, and obliged him to be content with taking some shares in this detestable trade.* Even while the number of negro slaves in the North American settlements was still small, many perceived the lasting wrong and increasing danger of this traffic in human flesh; but no proposition, no bill of the individual colonies for taxing, impeding, diminishing, or abolishing it, received the sanction of the mother-country.

On the 6th of April, 1776, Congress prohibited the importation of slaves; an example not imitated elsewhere till a long time after. This decree, it is true, was not put into immediate execution in such a manner as to stop the introduction of slaves from Africa altogether; although it has now for years had that effect. So much the greater was the increase of the negroes in the slave-states themselves. An opposition arose between those states which condemned slavery on moral grounds, and regarded it as unnecessary in a politico-economical point of view, and those states which laid greater stress on the natural differences between the races of mankind, and which declared slavery to be indispensable, because otherwise large tracts of land would remain untilled, and the most profitable kinds of cultivation must cease. It was declared, too, that it was above all impossible to carry on the cultivation of cotton, rice, and the sugar-cane, in the southern states of the Union by the labor of whites; that here the connection between the two races was necessary beyond a doubt; and that the white man must guide and govern the black. —In reply it was alleged (although it had not yet been proved

* Bancroft, iii. 232, 411, 415. Grahame, iv. 326.

by long continued experiments) that white men might also be successfully employed on cotton and sugar plantations.* It is certain that every white man dies who in summer passes only a night in the rice-swamps of Georgia and Carolina, while the negroes never get sick there; and my own experience has convinced me that the heat, even in the more healthy regions of the South, is so great, that white laborers must very soon perish. So, too, the white girls in a factory at Columbia, South Carolina, looked very sickly and miserable; while the negroesses on the contrary were healthy, strong, and sprightly.

While the opponents of slavery, in order to strengthen their cause, detail a long series of instances of wanton tyranny and cruelty, the defenders of the system do not deny that such horrors have really occurred in individual cases, especially in former times; but they assert that a great deal is owing to pure invention, that some are raked together from times long past, and that self-interest and fear (even if not very noble inducements) cause the owners of slaves to treat them in the main so well and mildly, that, as their increase of itself demonstrates, they are in a healthy, comfortable, and contented condition.†

A slave in Columbia, South Carolina, said to me in private: "There are good and bad masters, easy and hard labor; on the whole the treatment is milder than formerly, and the slave of a good master is far better off than the free negro who is left to himself. Religious principles and humanity are of more consequence than general precepts, while there are so many obstacles to prevent their being carried out."

If we compare the condition of the negroes in Africa and in North America, it cannot be doubted that on the latter continent they are both physically and mentally improved, and are in a far better condition than in their primitive home. Even where no mixture with the whites has taken place, the form and character of the head,‡ as also the whole carriage and movement of the body, are improved; while their manner of life, employment, intercourse with the whites, the learning of a far more perfect language, &c. are not without an elevating and salutary influence: and thus Dr. Skinner says truly, in writing from Liberia, "Slavery exists in Africa in a far more dreadful form than in the United States."§—There are certainly found here, especially

* Hinton, *Topography*, ii. 205. Wappius, *Die Republiken von Südamerika*, p. 147.

† *Southern American Review*, October, 1843. Latrobe, ii. 15. Flint, *Mississippi*, i. 528. Vigne, ii. 33. It is said that the French, the Irish, and planters newly arrived from the North, are severer masters than the native, habituated Southerners, or the moderate Germans.

‡ Perhaps because a stop has been put to the deforming compression of the head.

§ Wilkeson's *History of Liberia*, p. 59.

among the house-slaves, instances of the greatest fidelity and the fondest attachment, such as scarcely ever exist between masters and free servants. Many have refused the offer of freedom, or, after being set at liberty, have voluntarily returned to their old quiet and secure condition. When Madison, an excellent master by the by, formed the noble design of giving liberty to all his slaves, they begged him to remain their protector, and not to change their ancient relations.—Respecting the reception of the much calumniated Jefferson on his return to Monticello from Paris, an eye-witness relates: “The negroes discovered the approach of the carriage as soon as it reached Shadwell, and such a scene I never witnessed in my life. They collected in crowds around it, and almost drew it up the mountain by hand. The shouting, &c. had been sufficiently obstreperous before; but the moment the carriage arrived on the top, it reached the climax. When the door of the carriage was opened, they received him in their arms, and bore him into the house, crowding around, and kissing his hands and feet—some blubbering and crying—others laughing. It appeared impossible to satisfy their eyes, or their anxiety to touch and even kiss the very earth that bore him. They believed him to be one of the greatest, and they knew him to be one of the best of men, and kindest of masters. They spoke to him freely, and applied confidently to him in all their difficulties and distresses; and he watched over them in sickness and in health; interested himself in all their concerns; advising them and showing esteem and confidence in the good, and indulgence to all.”*

Although these justifications or excuses have their weight,—and that there is even much that is praiseworthy is not to be denied,—still the question returns, *Should* the slave be contented with a condition founded on unlimited obedience; and *ought* he not rather to be educated for a higher existence? The whole tendency of the age, the greater publicity, and many other causes, doubtless conduce to a constantly milder treatment of the slaves. The wounds and scars too, spoken of in descriptions, are not always produced by the masters, but are owing, as several physicians testified to me, to fights, scrofula, and contagious diseases. But the alleged harshness and cruelty cannot be wholly denied, for the very reason that where despotism is permitted, it will also be practised more or less. Besides, the grand question is not respecting the good or bad dispositions of individual masters; but has reference to the general laws of several slave states, which are prejudicial to the negroes, while they give the masters a literal right to the exercise of despotism in various ways. Thus, for instance, the power of the masters to inflict

* Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 302.

chastisement is usually very great, and the right of trying, judging, and punishing, is often confined to themselves; while but few means are granted to the slaves of legally prosecuting their rights. In many places they are not allowed to testify against a white man, and are often still more severely punished for such an offence, together with every other kind of inequality and injustice. Still there are some few states whose constitutions make it a duty to treat the slaves mildly, and where the white man is punished as well as the black.* The practice of despotism and injustice certainly blunts the feelings and natural sense of right of the masters; while reliance on the industry of others easily leads to indolence, love of pleasure, and extravagance. So that the question very naturally suggests itself, whether the whole system does not tend to debase and corrupt the masters even more than the slaves themselves.

If we compare the condition of the free with that of the slave states,† we see at once that in a material point of view the latter remain far behind. The negroes multiply, it is true (though in this there is more of the dangerous than the agreeable); but neither rich nor poor whites emigrate to a slave state, for the latter do not wish to be mixed with slaves, and the former are unwilling to be entangled in a false position in other respects.

In 1790, the population of the free states amounted to	1,930,000
“ “ slave states “	1,394,000
In 1840, “ free states “	9,782,000
“ “ slave states “	4,793,000.

From 1830 to 1840, the population increased :

in the slave states 23 per cent.

in the free states 38 “

in Virginia 2 “

in New York 39 “

Arkansas (slave state) had in 1830, 30,000; in 1840, 97,000

Michigan (free state) “ “ 31,000; “ 212,000

Alabama (slave state) “ “ 191,000; “ 337,000

Illinois (free state) “ “ 147,000; “ 476,000

Kentucky (slave state) “ 1790, 61,000; 1810, 325,000

1840, 597,000

Ohio (free state) in 1790 a wilderness, had in 1810, 230,000; in 1840, 1,549,000.

Kentucky sent in 1802, 6 representatives; and in 1842, 10 representatives.

Ohio “ “ 1 “ “ 21 “

These results, it is true, are produced by a variety of causes, as for instance, climate, fertility of soil, &c.; but the most important, without doubt, are the contrary influences of slavery and freedom. Many complain that the African is every where

* See, for instance, the Constitution of Georgia, iv. 12; of Alabama, vi. Slaves, 3; of Kentucky, Art. 7; and of Mississippi.

† Thirteen states are now free from slavery: Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.

America's evil genius, and causes a state of things to spring up which is less suited to the times and more to be condemned than that which existed in the states of antiquity before the birth of Christ. The rapid increase of the slaves, in which short-sighted persons discern perhaps only an addition to their capital, enhances the danger. The opposition between the attackers and defenders of slavery daily augments, and with it the impatience of the slaves, the suspicions of the masters, the danger of dreadful revolts, of foreign interference, and of a dissolution and breaking up of the Union.

We shall be better able to consider and comprehend what the slaveholders bring forward by way of correcting and mitigating these reproaches, when we have enumerated and closely examined the schemes that have been proposed for abolishing the evils denounced. At first we will mention a plan formed by some benevolent men for founding a colony in *Liberia* in Africa, as a place of settlement for free and liberated blacks from America. To this it was objected, that negroes would be as little capable of self-government in Africa as in America. There, too, it was said, they must remain essentially dependent on the whites, or else destroy one another. It is certainly no benefit, but a hardship, to transport well kept American negroes to Africa, where they will suffer from want of every kind, and find themselves worse off than before. The entire plan is deceptive, ensnaring, impracticable, and dangerous; for even were it possible in the shortest space of time to transfer any where a population of two millions of people, one half the United States would become a waste, while the white inhabitants would be completely stripped of their property and reduced to beggary. After all their exertions for twelve years past, they have been able to transport only about 2500 negroes to Liberia, while during the same time 700,000 have been born in America; which single circumstance is sufficient to characterize this well meaning plan as one entirely inefficient, and, as before said, incapable of being carried out.*

Although these objections are for the most part well founded, the attempt cannot be called altogether a failure. On the contrary, a beginning has been made towards introducing into Africa a higher civilization, order and laws, and the Christian religion; and also to supplant the slave-trade, by a commerce laudable in itself and at the same time more profitable for all parties. All attempts to root out this shameful traffic by guarding the *sea*, have failed of success. It is on the *land* therefore that the struggle must be brought to a victorious close; and if the locality of Liberia is too unhealthy for whites, the free negroes and men of color will take the firmer root. Since these have no

* Statutes of South Carolina, i. 276. Abdy, i. 49. ii. 360, 390.

prospect of ever obtaining consideration and fair treatment in the United States, they will perhaps become desirous of going to Liberia, as soon as the already favorable reports have become more widely spread, and so well authenticated that no doubt of their perfect accuracy can any longer be entertained.* But all the American negroes can never be transplanted in this manner to Africa; indeed the majority of them will not consent to quit their new home. The attempt at sending negroes to St. Domingo has met with no approval or success in either country. Another idea, that of sending away all the young negresses, and thus leading to the extinction of the blacks, no one (to say nothing of its impracticability) can recommend as either natural, mild, or human. So too the placing of difficulties in the way of marriage, would only increase the number of illegitimate children.†

In view of these experiments and the difficulties attending them, the slaveholders have declared with redoubled warmth, that the whole system of slavery has been historically, rightfully, and lawfully established for thousands of years; and that above all it is so interwoven with the entire condition of the slave states, that it must remain unaltered as it is. Hence, they say, it has been *unanimously* agreed to by *all* parties since the founding of the Union, that Congress should not interfere at all in the slave question, but must leave its solution entirely to the slave states. Men can never be suddenly converted by general laws; it is only through persons, through the masters, that the slaves can be beneficially operated upon.

These circumstances and assertions of themselves necessarily incited and irritated the opponents of slavery more and more; but their anger burnt still fiercer when slavery was introduced into the new state of Missouri, and retained in Washington and the District of Columbia, while the right of petition for abolishing it was denied as illegal and conducive to strife. All these reasons led to the union of the *abolitionists*, who demanded an immediate, unconditional abrogation of slavery and a complete equalization of blacks and whites, and who determined to carry out their views by every possible means. They adopted, as they said, the eternal principles of right and the holy doctrines of Christianity as the guiding star of their endeavors; but many in fact paid not the slightest regard to existing circumstances, opinions, and difficulties, and were wholly destitute of prudence, mildness, and tact. While they meddled with the internal affairs of the several slave states,

* Report on African Colonization, 1843.

† To the marriage of negroes the legal consent of the master is not in all cases absolutely necessary; although it is usually obtained, and (so it is said) is only refused in cases where a father could also refuse his consent. The children go with the mother, and the husband is allowed to pass his evenings and nights with his wife. The negroes are often more faithful to their masters than to their women.

they printed and distributed an astonishing number of papers and tracts, and set up the doctrine, that in the prosecution of so sacred an object no regard whatever should be paid to consequences; by this means they naturally excited the anger and apprehensions of the slaveholders, whom they represented as robbers and criminals, and thus made the condition of the slaves—now looked upon with double suspicion—worse instead of better.

With regard to the excesses of many abolitionists, Channing, himself an ardent opponent of slavery, says: "They have fallen into the common error of enthusiasts, that of exaggerating their object, of feeling as if no evil existed but that which they opposed, and as if no guilt could be compared with that of countenancing or upholding it. The tone of their newspapers has often been fierce, bitter, and abusive. Their imaginations have fed on pictures of the cruelty to which the slave is exposed, till they have seemed to think that his abode was perpetually resounding with the lash, and ringing with the shrieks of agony. They have sent forth their orators, some of them transported with fiery zeal, to sound the alarm against slavery through the land, to gather together young and old, pupils from schools, the ignorant, the excitable, the impetuous, and to organize them into associations for the battle against oppression. Very unhappily they preached their doctrine to the colored people, and collected these into their societies. To this mixed and excitable multitude, minute, heart-rending descriptions of slavery were given in the piercing tones of passion; and slaveholders were held up as monsters of cruelty and crime."

In this state of things the planters, threatened with the loss of life and property, regarded every means as allowable that could help to ward off the threatened danger; and the fanaticism in favor of slavery became as wild and unrestrained as that for freedom. This is shown by many, mostly recent, laws of the slave states; on which account I will here furnish from them a few extracts.

In *Georgia*, the legislature can pass no law relative to the manumission of slaves without the consent of their owners.

In *Maryland*, the abolition or modification of slavery can be proposed only by a *unanimous* resolution of both houses of the legislature,* and can never be carried into execution without full compensation to the masters. Free negroes are not allowed to settle there, and liberated slaves must leave the state; though this last decree has not been put in force.

In *Kentucky*, the legislature has no right to command the manumission of slaves, without obtaining the owners' consent, and making them compensation. The latter may liberate their slaves,

* American Almanac for 1839, p. 167.

under reservation of the rights of their creditors, and on giving security that the freedmen shall never become a burden to the state. As other states command the *emigration* of free negroes, here their *immigration* is forbidden. Neither is it permitted to bring slaves as merchandize to Kentucky. No free colored person can sell spirits to slaves: no negro or mulatto can testify against a white man. Slaves are to be treated with humanity; they have a right to an impartial trial by jury. Slaves cruelly treated may be sold to another master, on information by a person well advised of the fact.*

In *South Carolina*, a knowledge of its evils caused them to prohibit the importation of slaves from Africa as early as the year 1787, and afterwards also that from other states. Neither can free negroes or colored people immigrate into the state; or if this for special reasons is permitted, they must each pay fifty dollars a year. Free negroes that leave the state must not return. Manumission from slavery is allowed; but it must be effected through a magistrate, and proof must be given that it is not done to get rid of the care of those who stand in need of assistance, and also that the liberated slaves are in a condition to support themselves. A person emigrating to South Carolina may take with him the slaves belonging to him for his own use; but he must not bring slaves for sale, otherwise he will have to pay a fine of one hundred dollars for each slave, and the slave will be declared free. Whoever purchases negroes contrary to the legal regulations, must pay for each a fine of \$500. Every free negro must furnish a surety for his good conduct;† otherwise he will not be tolerated, but will be considered as a lawless vagabond and sold. No one can buy cotton, rice, maize, or wheat from a negro, under penalty of 1000 dollars and one year's imprisonment. No negro can possess fire-arms. Assemblies of negroes and colored persons must never be held with closed doors or between sunset and sunrise. Any one that distributes writings inciting the slaves to rebel, shall pay a fine of 1000 dollars and be imprisoned for one year. Negroes must not be taught to read or write. A white teacher will be fined 100 dollars, and be imprisoned for six months; a colored teacher must pay 50 dollars, and receive 50 lashes. Congress has no right to extend its legislation to the means that may be used for bettering the condition of the slaves.

I was repeatedly assured in South Carolina, that the laws respecting reading and writing, which had been passed in times of terror and excitement, had for the most part become a dead

* Laws of Kentucky. Milder laws were passed by Louisiana in the year 1806, respecting the food, clothing, hours of labor, and punishments of slaves.

† Statutes of South Carolina, vii. 331-468. vi. 239, 516.

letter, and that even children and the members of families gave instruction to the negroes. When too the president of the United States wished to prohibit the transmission of violent publications through the post, Calhoun himself opposed it, because it would involve an unconstitutional restriction of the liberty of the press. He maintained that it must be left to each state to adopt the measures necessary to its safety; among which indeed the imposing of restrictions on an unbridled press might come to be included.*

In many free states slavery is not only prohibited, but must never be introduced by any alteration in the constitution. Security, however, must be given for every freedman, that he shall not fall a burden on the community.

It was certainly a gross piece of injustice that, according to the old laws of some states, a white man who had had intercourse with a black woman was let to go unpunished; while every black man who committed the offence with a white woman, *with her own consent*, was condemned to death.† In a like spirit (and perhaps with reference to dogmatic and Old Testament views) there is elsewhere a talk of abominable intermixture and an impure posterity.—In Massachusetts marriages of this sort are indeed allowed, but none are contracted; and it is said that the black women have applied to the courts to have this to them injurious permission revoked. In this non-amalgamation of the races there is presented an insurmountable obstacle to political equalization.

Time and experience have cooled down the immoderate zeal of both parties: only a few planters hold to the doctrine that their laws and institutions, which they assume to be altogether faultless, must be preserved without any alteration whatever; and only a few abolitionists venture to prefer violence and civil war to a gradual, mild, and voluntary amelioration. One of the most moderate and worthy of the abolitionists writes to me on this head: "A few years ago a split took place among the opponents of slavery, and the society no longer possess unity of feeling or of organization. Of the 1350 auxiliary societies which were scattered throughout the United States, probably nine tenths are formally dissolved or have gradually come to an end;—yet their influence lasts even to the present day. During their existence, they effected a great alteration of public opinion in the country; and they ceased chiefly because their wish was accomplished, and because among so large a number differences of opinion naturally arose which prevented consistent and harmonious action. But the principal question which separates them is one of use and expediency; namely, whether or no it is advisable to form a third political party, and give support to no candidate for office who is not an abolitionist."

* Calhoun's Speeches, p. 189.

† Laws of Kentucky, ii. 53.

After these necessary statements, let us return again to a consideration of the propositions which have been made with respect to the abolition of slavery. One of the first and most important questions here was, How are the masters of slaves to be indemnified? Some zealots indeed were of opinion that, as no man can be the property of another, they had no claim whatever to indemnification at all, but must be glad if they were not punished as godless robbers. But as the planters, according to the existing and recognized laws of their country, were in possession, and it seemed senseless to attempt to carry out this view by force, they found it necessary to enter more accurately and moderately into the matter. If we estimate the value of a slave at only 500 thalers on an average,* that of two millions (and their number has now risen to two millions and a half) will amount to the sum of 1,000 millions of thalers. To take these thousand millions at once from the owners, would be the greatest robbery ever recorded in history, and would inflict an indelible stain on the whole transaction. The next proposal, viz. that the slave owners should raise that sum and indemnify themselves, seems either a silliness or a mockery. If, on the other hand, it were desired to lay this enormous burden on the free states, it would not only be a horrible injustice, but would surpass all their present and future powers. The only expedient then that remains is, for the slaves (that part of them who gain their liberty) to pay off the capital of this indemnification money, or discharge the interest of it at stated periods, or give labor in return. But as this oftentimes proved very difficult for the serfs of Europe under more favorable circumstances, the American negroes, for many peculiar reasons, would thereby be brought into a still worse condition than before; in fact it is wholly impossible to suddenly impose upon them this load of a thousand millions of thalers† in any way whatever.

Since then the liberation of the slaves without indemnification to the masters would unjustly inflict utter ruin upon the latter, while an indemnity of a thousand (or as some say, two thousand) millions is not in any way to be procured, it seems to follow incontestably that the present state of things must continue. This clear conviction, as many assert, has at least this advan-

* In the extreme south indeed, in consequence of the increasing demand, a slave is worth from \$1000 to \$1200; and the traffic thither from the more northern states is very profitable. Buckingham's Slave States, i. 235, 249. In the property-tax, on the contrary, the slaves are estimated at a much lower value; e. g. in Baltimore,

a man	between 14 and 45, at	\$125
a woman	" 14 and 36, at	80
a child	" 8 and 14, at	40.

† A dollar is equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ thalers.—T.R.

tage, that it casts aside all the nostrums commended and thrust forward by political and theological quacks.

Before examining whether this wholly negative conclusion is actually the final and inevitable one, let us consider how emancipation (supposing that by some miracle the pecuniary difficulties had been surmounted) would operate in a political respect, and what consequences must ensue. To grant freedom, say the abolitionists, without full rights of citizenship, would in America be doing things by halves, and would by no means satisfy the negro freed from the fetter and the lash. In this manner, too, there would be created nothing but a countless rabble. We reply, that to bestow suddenly on the negro, who for the most part is incapable of self-control, not merely the civil rights of a European, but all the political and legislative rights of an American,—involves such an immeasurable leap, such a *saltum mortale*, as to render it as impossible as it would be for the indemnification money to rain down from heaven.* Such a political experiment could be better attempted with all the white women than with the negroes. Nay, if all the rights and duties of American citizens were suddenly conferred on the citizens of the most civilized European countries, they, from a greater or less want of habituation to the exercise of political rights, would fall into many errors and mistakes; but the presentation of this gift to negro slaves, would prove to them the box of Pandora, which destroys both giver and receiver. It would be then far more difficult than now, to maintain peace and order; and there would arise imminent danger that the most perfect condition of the whites would be made a sacrifice to the idolized blacks. Nothing can be more untrue, nothing more unjust, than to ascribe the non-liberation of the slaves solely to ill will, prejudice, and selfishness; and to pay no regard whatever to the objections made by the most free-minded men on the score of the difficulties which present themselves to their view.

Thomas Jefferson (a greater republican than most of the opponents of slavery, and long an advocate for improving their condition) writes with respect to other crude and hasty attempts: "The real question, as seen in the states afflicted with this unfortunate population, is, Are our slaves to be presented with freedom and a *dagger*? For, if Congress has the power to regulate the conditions of the inhabitants of the states within the states, it will be but another exercise of that power, to declare that all shall be free. Are we then to see again Athenian and Lacede-

* Great praise is bestowed on Mexico for abolishing slavery; but the number of negroes there is small, and there are far more Indians than creoles. The labor of the Indians is cheap with respect to the wages; but dear in reference to the work done. Stephens, ii. 306.

monian confederacies ?—to wage another Peloponnesian war, to settle the ascendancy between them? Or is this the tocsin of merely a servile war?***

These declarations of Jefferson, it is true, seem to recommend the retention of the former state of things; he was, however, by far too philanthropic and practical a man, not to have taken a look beyond the past and the present.† He says with reference to the above: "The coincidence of a marked principle, moral and political, with a geographical line once conceived, I feared would never more be obliterated from the mind; that it would be recurring on every occasion, and renewing irritations, until it would kindle such mutual and moral hatred, as to render separation preferable to eternal discord."

Since then a sudden and general emancipation presents such great difficulties with respect to property and political rights, many have proposed a partial, gradual manumission, or have advised that the new-born children of the negroes be considered freeborn.—But to this it has been objected, that where the labor of negroes appears neither necessary nor profitable, or where people wish to rid themselves of the old, the useless, and the infirm, emancipation may meet with little difficulty, or rather with approbation; but that elsewhere it will always involve a considerable loss, which should not be imposed or forced upon any one. The same holds true of the emancipation of new-born infants; besides which it would have the evil effect of creating a contrast and division between the parents and children, and many emancipations would doubtless excite the discontent of those not set at liberty, and increase the dangers of the white population. Lastly the free negroes, in consequence of the prevalent opinions and of the aversion entertained towards them, would be much worse off than those who were not liberated; they would be mere *slaves without masters*, for whom no one would care. To this must be added, that after liberation they discard all foresight, and have neither the will nor the ability to take care of themselves. Hence Henry Clay exclaims: "Of all classes of our population, the free people of color are the most vicious."‡

To this it may be replied, that, when even in most of the free states a free negro or colored man obtains the rights of citizenship only under very hard conditions; when he is almost everywhere refused admittance into society, and is excluded from theatres, stage-coaches, and steamboats—nay, even in churches (excepting the catholics, who are more tolerant in this respect) is thrust aside as unclean; when hatred, scorn, and tyranny pursue him, and all this is considered as natural and necessary as the position and treatment of the Pariahs in India;

* Hinton, i. 471.

† See above, pp. 99, 100.

‡ Speeches, i. 282.

—what right have we to charge cunning, deception, laziness, malice, and crime solely on the black or mixed blood? On the contrary, both reason and experience go to prove that these faults are for the most part the consequences of the civil institutions, laws, and manners of the country. Between the granting of all political rights, and the refusal of every legal and social favor, there could be discovered many intermediate degrees. And if this be not done, it is certainly just as natural for the free negroes and people of color to die off, as for the slaves to increase; or for the former to emigrate to Canada, where laws and prejudices are less opposed to them.*

The Americans have very often set before them (especially by Englishmen), as a model and example, what has been done for the slaves in Jamaica and some of the Antilles. It should not however be forgotten, that the circumstances of America and England are essentially different. In the former country over two millions of slaves are living in the midst of the whites, whereas England is thousands of miles distant from Jamaica; there too not only civil equality but also the grant of political rights is demanded for the negro, which rights the dominant class of Englishmen in their own country deny to the greater part of their *white* fellow-citizens.

Notwithstanding this discrepancy, and although experience as to the utility and recent effects of these measures is still partial and unsatisfactory, it would certainly be a great error, nay, it is impossible, to thrust it all aside and close one's eyes against it.† Thus it is attested that the free negroes are willing to labor for moderate wages, that their moral condition is improved, that they are admitted into the society of the whites, and even appear with advantage among the civic and provincial authorities. In an official report on the negroes of Jamaica, Sir Charles Metcalfe says: "I think that no peasantry in the world have as much independence, comfort, and enjoyment. Their conduct is peaceable, and in many respects admirable. They willingly attend divine service, contribute to the erection of churches, send their children to the schools, and provide adequate support for their ministers. Their morals have improved, and their temperance is remarkable."‡ On the other side it is asserted, that emancipation has proved a complete failure, in so far that incomparably less is now produced by the free and often indolent negroes than before.§

Although this bright picture may also have its dark side, although a humane sympathy may have represented much in too

* Poussin, *Puissance Américaine*, ii. 211.

† Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies*, pp. 48, 55, 62, &c.

‡ Report on *African Colonization*, 1843, p. 1043.

§ "The labor of the negroes has proved far less productive, without offering the consolation of having improved their condition."—*President's Message*, 1844, p. 42.

favorable a light, it still leaves a more agreeable impression on the mind, than when we hear it asserted, that slavery is absolutely necessary to the attainment of a high degree of civilization and freedom. The *advantage* obtained by the masters is less than the *injury* done to the slaves; and the sum of civilization and of political activity amounts to less than where *all* are free and at liberty to exert themselves. The following toast therefore, which is said to have been actually given, is opposed both to correct theory and to historical experience: "*Southern liberty and southern slavery!*—like the Siamese twins, inseparably united, and mutually dependent on, and necessary to the existence of each other."*

The allusion to the unhappy and unhealthy existence of the Siamese twins, speaks but little in favor of slavery and its boasted union with liberty; but instead of going into an examination of this and similar coarse and trivial sayings, it is just that we should show how even the opponents of slavery have elevated their views to a higher sphere and have corrected or at least made them intelligible.†

Thus says the zealous preacher of abolition, Channing, in a letter to the defender of slavery, Henry Clay: "Nothing decides the character of a people more than the form and determination of labor. Hence we find a unity at the South unknown at the North. At the South too the proprietors, released from the necessity of labor, and having little of the machinery of associations to engage their attention, devote themselves to politics with a concentration of zeal which a northern man can only comprehend by residing on the spot. Hence the South has professional politicians, a character hardly known in the free states. The result is plain. The South has generally ruled the country. It must always have an undue power. United, as the North cannot be, it can always link with itself some discontented portion of the North, which it can liberally reward by the patronage which the possession of the government confers. The free states have no great common interest, like slavery, to hold them together. They differ in character, feelings, and pursuits. They agree but on one point, and that a negative one, the absence of slavery. In some districts it is hard to find representatives for Congress, so backward are superior men to forego the emoluments of their vocation, the prospects of independence, for the uncertainties of public life."

Some of the Coryphæi of the South speak with still greater boldness. Thus Calhoun says: It is only in the non-slaveholding states that there exist *parties* (of about equal strength) that

* Abdy's United States, i. 381.

† Vierteljahrsschrift, 1838, iii. 113; and Murhard in Pölitiz Jahrbücher:—excellent articles.

advocate the cause of labor or capital against each other; whereas the slaveholding states are of one and the same mind. To dissolve the relation hitherto existing between blacks and whites, would be to destroy both. It conduces by no means to their unhappiness, but to their happiness; and in thousands of years the black race has not made such physical, moral, and mental advances, as it has within a short period through its American position with respect to the whites, and that too without the latter's having sunk or degenerated. In view of the undeniable corporeal and mental differences between the two races, the present position of the negroes is for themselves and their masters no evil, but a good. Ever since the dawn of history, one part of mankind has been obliged to labor for the other; and among us the relation is more patriarchal and mild than in a thousand other places. Our so-called slaves are certainly better off than most of the nominally free factory operatives or the poor who are shut up in workhouses.*

With respect to the negroes, say others, we do indeed form an aristocracy; but amongst ourselves there is only one class—that of planter. We form the purest democracy that has ever existed; and we alone (since we are both consumers, and by means of our slaves producers, at the same time) are in a position to make laws in favor of the working classes of the North, who can never come into competition with us. A manufacturer or merchant of the North, who advocates the cause of wages or defends the poor, speaks against his own interest. The democrat of the South is not afraid of confounding himself by too great a freedom of speech with the laboring classes, or of even being outvoted by them.† The producers of the South are dumb, and their reward is increased only in proportion to their obedience. Until now, only southerners have operated in favor of freedom; and with the exception of Van Buren and the two Adamses (which latter, without the opposition of the South, would have destroyed the Union in a few years), all the presidents of the United States have been southerners; nay, what is still more, the peculiar heroes of the revolution, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, and others, were slaveholders.

The liberty of the descendants of Africa in the United States is incompatible with the safety and liberty of the offspring of Europeans. And beneath the ruins of the Union would be buried, sooner or later, the liberty of both races.‡

You laboring classes of the North, who pay your wages but

* Speeches, pp. 220, 230.

† "A more humane, generous, and high-minded class of men does not exist than the southern planters." Kennedy's *Texas*, i. p. xxv.

‡ Clay's Speeches, ii. 418.

the slave states? Who protect you against taxes and monopolies, but we? And if you doubt our sincerity, come to us, and convince yourselves, that there are no paupers and no populace amongst us; and that our slaves lead a happier and more contented life than (to say nothing of wretched Europe) your own day-laborers and factory operatives, who toil for two-thirds of their existence that they may not starve the remaining third! On our estates we are patriarchs, in Congress the champions of unbounded freedom. Without us, you had long ago become slaves to your banks and speculating companies. The factory system of the North is a greater enemy to liberty than the slavery of the negroes. Among us there is no hatred like that of the poor laboring classes against the rich; but sympathy and union. Our slaves are, so to say, members of our families, and we care for them as a part of ourselves. You, who labor fourteen or fifteen hours a day, and then sink exhausted to bed, do not know the value of liberty. You *feel* merely when you are *oppressed*, when you are in want of the commonest necessities of life. We, on the contrary, know its entire value, are as free from degrading compulsion as from depressing cares, and have higher views for a nobler sphere of action. We never enter into jealous competition with you, or tender you (like the brokers of New York and Boston) a niggardly recompense for severe toil. We willingly grant you equal rights with ourselves; we are the best members of a republican commonwealth. We need not to enrich ourselves with the sweat of your labor; we slaveholders are the only unselfish democrats in the Union!

Such are the representations of the lordly masters, in the bold, grand style and feeling of the ancient classical world. But while they make an impression, and cast light into a region not before known or observed, the shadows which were spread over other portions of the picture are not diminished. We feel that a counter statement is possible on the side of the slaves; that the noblest of all republics can no longer be founded on slavery *par excellence*; and that even those who are averse to all dogmatic influences and disputes, cannot here deny that Christianity has a power and might of wholesome efficacy which tends to universal emancipation.

When I now look back on what I have here stated as impartially as I could, I feel as though I had been wandering about in a labyrinth, and had attempted to draw others uselessly into it. And have not the Americans indeed been for fifty years winding and unwinding this Ariadne's clue, without making any progress in advance? and has all the talking and disputing been any thing else than a for the most part inefficient accompaniment to what the tremendous force of circumstances has produced and is daily still

producing? But does mere letting alone ever lead to satisfactory results? Is not every one who takes a hearty interest in these matters almost irresistibly impelled, in view of the past, the present, and the future, to ponder them again and again, and to cast about—with or without success—for correctives? Let me too then be permitted to make such an attempt.

If we begin by taking a look at the forms of the Constitution, we see that the entire legislation respecting slavery is vested in the individual states; and subsequently a resolution was adopted by a majority of votes (although lately again repealed) to the effect that Congress had no right to discuss or determine any question relative to slavery. With respect to this, Calhoun observed: "No one disputes the general right of presenting petitions to Congress; but Congress has both the right and the duty to reject them beforehand, when they contain matters on which it cannot decide at all."* But since slavery is a state of things not confined to any *single* state or shut up within its limits; since even the free states are affected by it, while the laws passed in consequence (e. g. respecting emigration, immigration, settling, &c.) contradict one another and lead to hostile divisions,—is not the formal and real *nullity* of Congress as great an *injury* and an *evil*, as if, on the contrary, it had been intrusted with the *sole* decision of all questions thereto belonging, with a complete disregard of the rights of the single states? Would not the interpretation of the laws of the Union or an explanatory addition for extending the powers of Congress have turned out differently, had the slaveholders supposed that it would join in and support their views?

That a new-born state like Missouri should blindly embrace the curse of slavery, that a few slaveholders should be able to extend it over all posterity, that Congress itself on the birth-day of the new state should proffer the gift and not dare to withhold it, although aware of its deadly nature,—all this shows an unsound and evil state of things, which all counter arguments and reasons may explain, but cannot restore to a healthful condition.

So too it is not a mere incidental contradiction (*contradictio in adjecto*); it remains a substantial stumbling-block,—a grating, unresolved discord,—that slaves in Washington, as they are dragged away by the dealers in human flesh, should chant in piteous mockery, "Hail Columbia, happy land!" that the District of Columbia, the seat of the noblest and greatest of republican governments, should be condemned by a resolution of Congress to remain a grand slave-mart to all future time.† Here the indi-

* Speeches, p. 200.

† The city of Washington grants licenses (according to Mason, p. 174) for the slave-trade, for 400 dollars.

vidual parts have obtained a false preponderance over the central, vivifying power of the Union, and, instead of promoting gradual ameliorations, have rendered them impossible.

Just as little consistency is there in the fact that Congress regulates the traffic in general, and stigmatizes the African slave-trade as a *capital crime*; while it suffers the American slave-trade under its very eyes, and holds this outrage to be right and just, because definitions are placed above eternal laws. Not only are the free states shocked at this circumstance, but even several of the slaveholding states have passed restrictive laws with respect to it;* union and unanimity, however, are nowhere to be found. Even admitting that the *holding* of slaves is not to be interfered with, it does not follow that the *sale* of them should be permitted; and in general the practice is not found to exist where, as in South Carolina, all the young slaves can still be employed and made use of. Where on the contrary, as in Virginia, their natural and irrepressible increase far exceeds the demand, and is extremely burdensome to their owners, the latter rejoice at the newly opened market in the southwestern states, which enables them to make money by selling human beings, and at the same time to get rid of a superfluous and dangerous population. That this is the best way of wholly freeing Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland from slavery, is true only in case the breeding of slaves *for sale* is not regarded as a profitable business, and purposely carried on; neither can the sale of individual criminals—a sort of transportation—be confounded with the trade in innocent slaves, or serve to justify it.

Every where slave-dealers are hated and despised, and excluded from virtuous, respectable society; for amid all the horrors and sufferings of slavery, the worst and bitterest is this heartless separation of families, whereby parents and children, brothers and sisters, are sold off into the remotest parts of the world, so that at the close of the auction they must all look upon each other as dead.† By doing away with this iniquity, the most heart-rending and inhuman of slavery's practices would be put a stop to, *without ever materially affecting property, or giving rise to political dangers*. With this correct feeling, the constitutions of some of the states (as e. g. Mississippi) distinctly intimate that, and prescribe the time when, this internal trade shall have an end. Far more difficult is it (and that we saw) to interfere with the *holding* than it is with the *selling* of slaves; and above all it would seem utterly impossible to procure indemnification to the

* In Kentucky, for instance, the importation of slaves as merchandize is prohibited.

† It is preposterous to liken these sales to the voluntary separation of members of a family.

amount of 1000 or perhaps 2000 millions of thalers. And yet it is very probable that the slaveholders themselves will be driven by degrees to a point where this bugbear will lose the greater part of its terrors, and where their interests will coincide for the most part with the wishes of their opponents.

When in several of the European states, and especially in Prussia, an alteration was discussed in many of the relations and burdens of serfs, tenants, vassals, and the like, a party advocated the retention of the existing state of things without alteration, on the ground of the immensity of the loss and the impossibility of raising the emancipation or indemnification money. And still the thing was accomplished, to the satisfaction of all parties. Might not the same or at least something *similar* be possible in America?

An important question which here arises, is that respecting the relative cost and value of the labor of blacks and whites. Statistical writers have calculated the time when the latter, in consequence of the increasing population and competition, must become cheaper than the former; and have joyfully predicted that then will slavery be wholly and easily abolished. To me, on the contrary, it seems that the difficult problem would by no means be fully solved with the occurrence of that event. For though I willingly allow that the free white man labors, produces, and accumulates more than the slave; and though for the present I lay aside the important question, as to whether white men are able to perform every kind of work in all climates; their successful introduction into the slave states would leave nothing decided respecting the future fate of the two millions of blacks. If these do not work *more* than before, the slaveholders will be ruined; if the masters diminish their reward and maintenance, the slaves will find themselves worse off than before. If they let them go free as soon as they change from a valuable property into an expensive burden, the so-called freedmen will stand in a deplorable position towards the shrewder and more dexterous whites.

As soon as the slaveholder, in consequence of an increasing white population, reckons and must reckon among his outlays the capital and interest of the purchase money, the cost of food, lodging, and clothing, the care of the infirm and aged, the absconding of the refractory, the value of slave as compared with that of free labor, &c., the holding of slaves will no longer appear so cheap and advantageous as it is usually assumed to be.—Very gradual was the enlightenment of European masters in similar circumstances; those, however, who first became aware of the truth managed by far the best, and served to the rest as an example.

The experiments made in the Antilles, where, it is said, real

estate rose greatly in value on the abolition of slavery, and the indemnification seemed almost a gift;* the vast progress made by the free states of the West; the far slower development noticed for some years in many of the slaveholding states; these and the like facts, will have the effect of directing a constantly increasing attention to the subject, and of suggesting ameliorations, which should be at the same time reasonable and beneficial.

As in the abolition of the internal slave-trade I behold the first great means towards an essential improvement of the existing state of things; so too I regard as the second, not by any means a sudden, forcible, and in fact impossible equalization of blacks and whites,—but, what is already in many places begun,† a gradual and voluntary grant of property in the soil. Offensive as it may sound, the introduction of a sort of serfdom, or *glebe adscriptio*, appears to me a measure which, while it avoids sudden social and political leaps, includes in itself a better condition, and prepares for one better yet. The former slave is then no longer a mere chattel, without any recognition of or regard for his personal rights, but stands on solid ground; he is no longer a piece of moveable property to be sold at pleasure like a brute, but there is opened to him the possibility of acquiring something for himself: in fact, a man *bound to the soil* is in many respects better off than he who is *bound to a machine*.

The objection, that by this means a feudal system, a feudal nobility, a new sort of property, would be established, seems to me of no great weight. For there is here no question of the oppressive prerogatives of great feudal barons, but only of the salutary and useful relations of patron and client; and if our feelings are opposed to institutions of this sort, still more are they to that of slavery properly so called.

In conformity with these views are both the means and the objects proposed in a law of Kentucky, which says: Every proprietor is at liberty to determine, that his slaves and their posterity shall descend to his heirs and their posterity, as a part of his freehold estate.‡

Another improvement connected herewith, and of the highest importance, has already been adopted in several cities, amongst others in Charleston. The masters namely allow many of their negroes to seek free employment for themselves, and to pay them out of their earnings a certain monthly sum. This forms the transition to emancipation connected with the obligation to pay tribute, and forms a counterpart to rural settlement. It is certainly not necessary that the boasted patriarchal relation should be put

* Gurney, p. 54. Madison Papers, iii. 1263.

† M'Gregor's America, i. 423. Martel's Briefe, p. 64.

‡ Statutes, p. 1478.

an end to by the establishment of a better social condition for the slaves. Perhaps along with the grounds of discontent, the difficulty of supervision and the danger of a revolt will also be diminished. With mild and humane treatment, the present and future condition of the slaves can never be as dangerous to the United States as many imagine. From exorbitant demands and selfish refusals, men will fall back to a middle, practicable course. The dissolution of this great Union on the score of the slave question would certainly be the grossest folly and the bitterest of misfortunes; for both parties mutually need assistance from, and protect each other.

It is certainly true, as I have already remarked, that the European abolition of the dependent relations between men of one and the same race was an easy matter, in comparison with the task which the Americans have to perform. But if, on the one hand, this task carries with it many cares, pains and sufferings; on the other hand the necessary instruction and guardianship of the blacks, and their final reconciliation with the whites, offer an employment so noble, influential, and sublime, that the Americans should testify with awe and humility their gratitude to Providence for intrusting them with this duty also, in addition to the many others of the greatest importance to the progress of the human race. Were its performance really impossible, it would never have been imposed by an all-wise and all-gracious Creator upon his too feeble creatures.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INDIANS.

Nature and Origin—Property of the Indians—Indian Characteristics—Whites and Indians—Indolence of the Indians—Cherokees—Future Prospects.

SEVERAL questions which we have already touched upon with regard to the negroes, recur on directing our attention to the *North American Indians*.^{*} Whether we assume that all mankind are descended from one or from several pairs, it is certain that the

^{*} We do not speak here of the civilized Indians in Mexico and Peru, who mostly practise agriculture. Kennedy's Texas, i. 249. The monuments of Copan and other cities of Central America testify to the existence and industry of a race who far surpassed the savages of North America. These monuments, however, should not be over-rated: they are mostly without variety, tasteless, hideous, and superstitious.

Indians are corporeally and mentally so very different from the whites and blacks, that naturalists and historians have properly designated them as a peculiar race. For although the different tribes bear their own national appellations, and make war upon and persecute each other in the cruellest manner; and although they can be distinguished apart by those accurately acquainted with them; still on the whole the same physical and moral character runs through them all, and there are found amongst them no such complete and characteristic distinctions as are exhibited among the nations of the Caucasian stock.

Every where we observe among the Indians the copper color, the coarse, straight, black hair, the brown eyes, and the prominent cheek-bones. The white nations, it is true, have also adopted for the purpose of embellishment a great many tasteless and ugly fashions; these, however, relate mostly to dress, and there is now nothing but the use of corsets that stands on a level with the practices of savages. The means of embellishment adopted by the latter apply, almost without exception, immediately to the body. For this purpose they press their children's heads into a pointed or flat shape; paint their faces green, yellow, red, or black; tattoo the other parts of their bodies; bore holes through their noses, lips, and ears; and draw the latter by means of weights down to their shoulders.* There is every where revealed among them such an entire want of feeling for true beauty and art, that they even transform the admirable gifts they have received from nature into the vilest caricatures.

Whether the Indians are autochthones sprung from the soil, or are immigrants from Asia; whether a more civilized people preceded them, and whether the latter retired voluntarily or through compulsion towards the south,—on these topics much may be conjectured, but very little proved. At any rate their degree of culture is so low, that it may well be indigenous; and even in the grave-mounds raised by them or by older tribes, there are found only bones, shells, and stone weapons; but nothing of iron or other metal. †

The numerous and often apparently independent languages of the Indians have been reduced by modern investigations to three essentially distinct mother-tongues. ‡ They all exhibit a lively perception of the sensual, but are destitute of the finer development for the spiritual. Some letters are wanting in one, and some in another, as for instance *v, f, m*.

* Lewis's Travels, ii. 33: The portraits in the Travels of Prince Von Neuwied recall to mind the Jews; yet no connection whatever can be proved.

† Long's Expedition, i. 64. [In some of them articles of copper and even of silver have been found. See Trans. of Amer. Antiq. Soc., i. 161, 169. Trans. of Amer. Ethnol. Soc., i. 400.—Tr.]

‡ The Iroquois, Lenape, and Floridian—Collections of the New York Histor. Society, iii. 187.

As the Indians occupy themselves almost exclusively with the chase, and are attached to it alone, their domestic life is on that account necessarily disturbed and interrupted. Moreover polygamy is allowed and practised among them, and their treatment of their one or many wives exhibits in general nothing of the fancied mild and happy relations of mere children of nature. On the contrary, the women are forced to do the hardest work, and are treated like slaves. They see to bridling and feeding the horses, putting up and taking down the tents, packing and unpacking the effects, and cutting up the game that has been taken. They must dress the skins, make the clothes, and attend to the cooking; while the men, except hunting and fighting, do nothing at all! Most of the tribes know nothing of bread, salt, or spices; drink no milk; and have, excepting a few most necessary articles, no property.

And yet teachers of law and philanthropists are accustomed to assert that all North America is the property of the Indians, from which they have been driven by force and fraud. It is true that the titles to possession often set up by the whites—to wit, the first seeing and discovering of a country, the erecting of a flag, publishing in newspapers, and the like—are of very slight importance, and have always lost their efficacy when opposed by a better right or a stronger power. But in fact it is difficult to perceive why the Indian title should be regarded as better founded; why an entire continent should be and become the property of a few savages, because they have perchance hunted, and perchance not, over immeasurable tracts! In such wise, by such a distant and momentary taking of possession, a single man might have converted the whole earth into his pretended property, and thus have rendered all settling and all progress impossible. Wild men and beasts must of right retreat before civilized man; and the former have still left for their scanty numbers a limitless space, on which hundreds of millions of industrious men could dwell and support themselves. God, say some semi-theologians, has given the whole land to the Indians; to which it may be replied in like manner, God has taken it away from them. The land in truth was no man's land, a *res nullius*, inasmuch as it was by no means made a suitable use of; industry and labor are found in the long run to be the only true means of founding and retaining property.

As disgust at the defects and excesses of European civilization, or rather perversion, called forth animated eulogies on the South Sea islanders, so the interest taken in the outward fate of the North American Indians has produced a like effect. Praises have been lavished on their self-command, their hospitality, their simple energetic language; in bodily endowments they have been represented as superior to the whites, and as almost equal to them

in mental capacity.* Others say more truly, that the germs of human capabilities are found equally amongst the whites and the Indians;† but their smaller quantity among the latter is shown not only in individuals, it springs from their entire organization, and is characteristic of the whole race. More general and louder are the accusations of others, that the self-control of the Indian arises chiefly from insensibility; and that a deep and durable feeling is exhibited only in the forms of hatred, revenge, and savage ferocity.‡ And not only are these feelings entertained towards the whites who may have injured and defrauded them; but their devouring and destroying fury is directed still more strongly if possible against their fellow-tribes. To scalp men and steal horses, is considered among them the greatest glory of a man, or Indian brave.§

It is an unjust reproach, to affirm that the whites are chiefly answerable for the degeneration of the Indians. The latter have learnt a great deal from the former; and if they have not profited more, it is owing to their constant aversion to the use of foresight and regular industry, to settling down on the land, to cultivating the earth, and to social connections. No where else is there so clearly exhibited the truth of the proverb, that Idleness is the mother of want, vice, and misery.|| One may, and with justice, censure the whites for defrauding the ignorant Indians,¶ and selling them (in spite of severe prohibitions) ardent spirits, which moreover are often mingled with unwholesome ingredients; but their unbridled passion for drink is *their own* fault, and if the whites on the contrary were to suffer themselves to be seduced into vicious practices by Indian productions, they could by no means be held guiltless on that account. Unhappily the laws against the traffic in ardent spirits are often but a dead letter: since there are no means for putting them into execution and seizing the spirits; while to have recourse to the law is usually without effect, on account of the distance at which the courts of justice are situated, and the difficulty of procuring witnesses and proofs. A shirt received from the government and which costs three dollars, is often bartered away by the Indians for a bottle of brandy!

One may extol the Indians' love of independence and the cir-

* Reise des Prinzen von Neuwied, ii. 134.

† Bancroft, iii. 302.

‡ Buckingham's Slave States, i. 253, 525. Murray's Account, i. 408. Schoolcraft, p. 98. Cox's Columbia River, ii. 382. Townsend's Sporting Excursions, ii. 14.

§ Long's Rocky Mountains.

|| The Indians of Mexico, who are altogether of a higher grade, are far more industrious than those of North America. Mühlensfordt, i. 238.

¶ In many states there are strict and excellent laws for protecting the Indians against frauds of every kind; yet they have not proved sufficient.



cumstance that they can never be enslaved.* But to them every regular government seems like slavery,† and their untameable disposition is but a very partial advantage; whereas the domesticated and laboring negro occupies a higher ground, and readily adapts himself to a change of circumstances. The conditions of both these races of men involuntarily remind us, if the comparison be admissible, of untameable and tameable animals; at least here also the natural consequence ensues, that the number of the Indians diminishes, and their complete annihilation is foretold, while the negroes are daily increasing, and many white men are laboring for their emancipation and regard them as capable of a higher social existence. Even if many other causes might not be assigned for these phenomena, the obstinate adherence of the Indians to the hunter-life would explain the impossibility of a numerous, thick-settled population.‡ If again we doubt, as some do, that the number of Indians is very much diminished in comparison with former times, they have at any rate not profited by their contact with civilized nations sufficiently to improve their own condition and adopt new ways of life. Thus, for instance, while fire-arms, which were formerly unknown to them, were found useful in hunting, they also gave additional effect to savage feuds; and scarcely ever was the beneficent plough placed by the side of the destructive rifle. As time advances, however, the implement of peace becomes constantly more powerful than the partially used weapon of war; and to the exaggerated complaints on the subject of driving back the Indians, we may oppose the question, What would have been gained for mankind, had they prevailed in America? The answer is certainly simpler and clearer, than if one had to decide between the Romans and Carthaginians, the English and the French.

If any people belonging to the white race had ever come into contact with one more highly civilized, how quickly would they have appropriated whatever was new and useful, what advantages would they not have derived from the mutual intercourse! With the Indians, however, trade has been a means of improvement only by way of exception, while as a general rule it has proved the pathway to degeneracy. They became acquainted with new wants, without becoming willing to satisfy them by increased exertion; and while corporeal enjoyments and sensual passions acquired a greater prominence, the mind remained stationary at its former low stage of development, or even sank deeper still.

* Many Indians even hold slaves themselves.—Brackenridge's History of the War, p. 91.

† Schoolcraft's *Oneóta*, i. 14.

‡ Bancroft, iii. 253. According to another summary, the Creeks number 24,000, the Choctaws 15,000, the Cherokees 25,000, &c. About 168,000 lived beyond the Mississippi, and 89,000 have been transplanted thither.

Wild hunters surrounded by husbandmen must either turn husbandmen themselves or perish. While the former are striving to be independent and regard themselves as such, they are the most dependent beings in existence, and without protection even against hunger and cold. Labor alone makes independent. But this the Indians regard as vile and slavish; and one of their commonest curses or denunciations is, May you be forced by hunger to till the ground!

Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans, Catholics and Protestants, Jesuits* and Methodists, have labored in the most praiseworthy and devoted manner to introduce Christianity among the Indians;† but for the most part without any real and lasting effect. They usually accepted all that the missionaries related to them, but required equal credence for their own traditions and precepts. It certainly was injudicious to wish to initiate the Indians into the niceties of conflicting dogmas, and even to place before their eyes the unchristian brawls of the different sects. The Indians needed an entirely different preparation for introducing them to genuine Christianity; and we will willingly hope that new and more judicious attempts may meet with greater success than heretofore.‡ This applies also to the instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic; which is of but little use to the Indians, and along with which quite other employments should be introduced and required. The endeavor to educate young Indians in schools and gymnasia has failed; even those who made good progress at first, either could not or would not change their untameable dispositions, and fled back to their native forests.

When the very considerable sums which the Indian tribes receive from the United States according to former treaties shall have been exhausted, their wretchedness must redouble, unless they relinquish their present indolence.§ The whole number now living beyond the Mississippi is reckoned at from 300,000 to 332,000; these can no longer disturb the internal quiet of the states, but may threaten them with a border war.||

Respecting the above mentioned facts and observations the Americans are mostly of accord; but a difference of views and convictions was produced (as in the dispute on negro slavery) when the *Cherokees* quarrelled with the state of Georgia, within whose boundaries they resided. The *Cherokees* distinguished

* Mühlentfordt says (i. 226) of the Indians of Mexico: "Until now the introduction of the boasted civilization of Europe, with the Catholic form of the Christian religion, has been to them of but little use; and even now there is hardly here and there to be discerned a trace of progress towards bettering their condition."

† M'Gregor's America, ii. 331, 97.

‡ Long's Second Expedition, ii. 246.

§ State of the Finances, 1842, p. 12.

|| Finance Report for 1838, p. 18.

themselves essentially from the rest of the Indian tribes, and had unexpectedly made great and surprising advances in civilization. They cultivated the ground, made cotton stuffs, had stone houses, laws, magistrates, printing-presses, newspapers, schools, and churches.* They demanded to be recognized for the future, as they had been long before, as an independent people living on the soil which had descended to them from their forefathers; and to be protected by the government of the United States. Georgia, on the other hand, maintained, that to her alone belonged the right to regulate her internal affairs; she could not endure the formation within her boundaries of an independent, every where obstructing, inimical state; the Cherokees must adopt the institutions of Georgia and submit themselves to her laws, or emigrate.

The Cherokees now sought assistance from the Supreme Court of the United States.† Georgia, they said, has arbitrarily and of her own power abolished all our laws, institutions, customs, &c.; she declares our possessions, which were guarantied to us by the treaty of Holston, in the year 1791, to be her property; she neither displays to us the justice due to a foreign state nor to fellow-citizens; she rejects all former provisions, according to which any changes that might be requisite were to be introduced in a kind and peaceable manner; she does not allow an Indian to testify against a white man; she prohibits our holding lawful assemblies, under penalty of four years hard labor; and the same threat is held out to prevent us from working on our gold mines.

Georgia, according to some statements, repealed a few of her harshest decrees, or postponed their strict execution;‡ she adhered, however, on the whole to the above demands, and denied the right of the Supreme Court to decide the dispute in question. The court annulled some of Georgia's decisions, but could not agree on the main question.§ Investigations and discussions were gone into, to determine whether the Cherokees formed a separate, foreign state, or whether they should be regarded as a state of the Union; whether similar circumstances had ever occurred in history before; how they ought to be treated, &c. At length it was declared, by a majority of the members of the court, that, according to *form*, they were not entitled to pronounce a decision, and must dismiss the appeal of the Cherokees; although they did not intend hereby to express any opinion on the merits of the case. The minority (among whom were Chancellor

* It is asserted, however, that all power was in the hands of a few educated chiefs, and that the masses were worse off than before. Register, 1830, p. 1120.

† North Amer. Review, xxx. 62; xxxi. 139, 423. The Case of the Cherokee Nation, p. 282.

‡ North American Review, xxxvii. 284. § Kent's Commentaries, iii. 383.

Kent and Judges Thomson and Story) maintained on the contrary, that it was necessary to go beyond the doubtful letter, to explain it in the right spirit, and not to sacrifice material right to unimportant forms. Georgia by her decrees broke all the treaties between the Cherokees and the United States; and the constitution and legislation of the Union must be miserably defective, if they afforded no relief against open despotism. When General Jackson asserted that the federal government could not assist the injured party, he was in error; and the Supreme Court was by no means under the necessity of referring to his opinion, but was itself the proper place of first and last resort. Suppose the Cherokees are not a foreign state, suppose they are a corporation, or whatever else you will; in no case are they destitute of rights, or subject to mere arbitrary power.

To the remark of Judge Johnson, that he had nothing to do with the morality of the matter, as the discussion was only concerning a question of law, it may be replied, that the question of law cannot be separated from considerations of morality, and that the immoral acts which had been committed (the violation of treaties and invasion of the rights of property) were likewise unlawful. Or if the formal reply of the court be approved of as such, the task of ascertaining what was right and just fell to the legislative power, to Congress; for in the courts of Georgia, and against the will and superior power of that state, the Cherokees could obtain no redress whatever.

President Jackson, in his message of 1831, expressed a noble sympathy on behalf of the condition and fate of the Indians: but their condition was not to be changed with words; a legal decision or an open feud would perhaps have interrupted many an arbitrary proceeding, but could never have transformed the general state of things. All parties, from Jefferson to Van Buren, have been unanimously of opinion, that a complete amalgamation of the Indians and whites, owing to the countless differences between them, is wholly impossible;* and a mere outward commingling, or living together, would only prolong and aggravate the evil, to which a decided separation or transplanting of them would put an end. "They have," said President Jackson, "neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire of improvement, which are essential to any favorable change in their condition. Established in the midst of another and a superior race, without appreciating the causes of their inferiority, or seeking to control them, they must necessarily yield to the force of circumstances, and ere long disappear."†

As the European settlers had relinquished their original seats,

* Amer. Quarterly Review, viii. 109.

† Message of 1833. Annual Register, p. 424.

so could the Indians do likewise, and all the more easily, inasmuch as they left no monuments, works of art, historical recollections, &c. behind. Beyond the Mississippi were immeasurable tracts of land; there the requisite possessions should be secured to them, the expenses attending their removal provided, advances granted to them, their support for the first year attended to, schoolmasters and ministers procured, &c.—The Cherokees, for 9,492,000 acres of land, received 13,554,000 beyond the Mississippi; and in addition thereto a compensation of \$5,600,000 and \$1,160,000 for provisions and other necessities. From 1829 to 1838 the United States have fairly acquired from the Indians 116,349,000 acres of land,* and have paid or laid out therefor in many different ways \$72,560,000—a sum that fully equals, nay, exceeds the value of the land, but which has often benefited only the Indian chiefs and their white associates.†

Whether the Cherokees, like many other Indian tribes now settled beyond the Mississippi, will fall back into utter barbarism or become extinct, or will gain for themselves a separate independent existence by virtue of the advantages above described, it is difficult to determine beforehand.‡ However the latest official accounts speak more favorably than before. According to them, the Creeks, Choctaws, and Cherokees may now be regarded as husbandmen; and in consequence of this important change in their way of life, there are gradually introduced among them laws, courts, juries, schools, and even political forms imitated from the American. The temperance societies already count many members; and since the time when doctrinal subtleties have not been exclusively pressed upon their attention, but have been brought into connection with other means of culture, they exhibit a regular progress in various directions. Bigoted clergymen, however, are still here and there to be found, who complain that the bulwarks of religion are utterly overthrown, because the Indians—play at ball of a Sunday!

But there are other and weightier defects, which cannot remain concealed from the impartial observer. Many tribes adhere to their repulsive rudeness and beastly intemperance. The high annuities which the American government pays for surrendered lands (as for instance \$92,000 per annum to 2183 Foxes) seduce them into laziness and extravagance, and lead to frauds on the part of the chiefs against their tribes. Many improvident or dissolute whites marry Indian girls in order to share their income, the amount of which to their joy increases, as intemperance diminishes the number of the Indians.

* The conduct of the Americans has certainly been milder and more peaceable than that of the French in Africa.

† Calhoun's Speeches, p. 441.

‡ Van Buren's Message of 1838. Casswall, p. 360. *American Review*, xi. 4. Buckingham's *Slave States*, ii. 101.

While some, in view of the constant savageness and unsociability of the Indians, prophesy their gradual extinction; others conclude, from advances they have already begun to make, that they will yet attain to perfect civilization. The most unbiassed observers distinguish between the different tribes; they regard the destruction of the more savage tribes as inevitable, and deny that—praiseworthy as the progress of the better tribes may be—they will ever be able to raise themselves to an equality with the whites.

CHAPTER XIV.

IMMIGRANTS.

Nationality of the Americans—Immigrants, their Origin and Character—Germans and Irish—Native American Party—European Governments—Whither Emigrate?—Advantages of the United States—Number of Immigrants.

It is an established fact for the present and perhaps for all future times, that the negroes and men of color can never amalgamate or coalesce with the Americans into one people. Sometimes however the nationality even of the white Americans is disputed; because they have no long magnificent past, no antiquity to look back to; and because a conflux of many nations, a *colluvies gentium*, excludes the possibility of a finished, independent, peculiar character. To this it may be replied: The European past belongs also to those who have transferred themselves to America; it is the foundation, the pervading thread of their civilization, and they take with them to the new world whatever is worth the taking. But in truth that weak and idle predilection in favor of a dead antiquity, which is so widely spread only because it is indifferent to the present and no longer trusts to the future, is wholly foreign to their ways of thinking.

Again, it may be asked, Does not the mixture of several nations enlighten partial patriotism, prepare the way to higher forms of human development, and smoothe down rugged contradictions, by its salutary and instructive influence? Servility, arrogance, and hatred (e. g. among the Christian sects) are doubtless then repressed; and the highest wisdom is no longer sought in greatly prizing these feelings, but instead thereof union and

mutual support in state and church spring up into a new and higher existence, and with a power and a moderation hitherto unknown.

To those who believe that in this way no progress is possible, we reply that the inhabitants of the North American republic are of *one* stock, the Germanic. For to the vast majority of English are to be added the nearly related Germans; and the French and Spaniards are so few, that they cannot impart a different direction or form to the mass. The same holds true of the immigrants; for great and increasing as is their number, the population receives much larger accessions by domestic births, and the new-comers are soon blended with the majority.

The number of emigrants from England to the United States was :

in the year 1825,	5,500 persons,
“ 1835,	26,700 “
“ 1836,	37,700 “
“ 1837,	36,700 “

Next to the emigration from England and Ireland, that from Germany is by far the greatest.* The whole number of new-comers amounted

in the year 1833, to	59,513,
“ 1844, to	84,764;

and, according to Tucker's estimates,† within the ten years from 1830 to 1840, to about 631,000; of whom, however, many emigrated again to Texas and Canada. Within fifty years, the population has increased by immigrants and their descendants about a million. The whole number of Germans in North America is stated at 4,886,632.

Complaints have been made against the morals and character of many of the immigrants; and a fear has arisen that they will convert North America into a sort of Botany Bay.‡ It is true that many criminals, idlers, malcontents, and the like, seek here a place of refuge; but their number is proportionably very small, and bitter experience or punishment forces them to begin a new life in the new world.§

The United States proffer to immigrants the noblest moral and political education; and he who rejects it, who proudly considers himself above it, who trusts more to luck than to prudence and sagacity, who thinks to become rich without exertion, or perhaps to renovate and revolutionize mature America with superficial

* There left Bremen in 1837, 14,700; in 1838, 8,934; in 1839, 12,421; in 1840, 12,650; in 1841, 9,505.—Soetbeer, *Hamburgs Handel*, i. 174; ii. 121.

† Report for 1833, p. 33.

‡ “ America is a great vortex; it draws all the straws and chips, and floating sticks, driftwood and trash into it.”—*The Clockmaker*, p. 39.

§ *American Almanac* for 1841, p. 82.

theories—will soon and rightly find himself deceived in his foolish anticipations.

On the whole the German settlers are highly commended as industrious, moral, persevering, and averse to novelty and change. Hence they are useful as a restraining, tranquillizing counterpoise to the unquietness of other inhabitants. But unhappily there are exceptions to this rule also. One German traveller relates how he was deserted and cheated by some of his countrymen to whom he had shown kindness; and another mentions that a German clergyman in America said to him: "The German teachers here, like many of their countrymen, have acted like complete rogues. One ran away with a foster-daughter of mine; and another, a music teacher whom I had recommended, made off, after cheating a number of people and leaving many debts behind him: so that one is almost ashamed to speak German or to bear a German name."*

While for my own part I heard no complaints against the Germans and nothing but praises of them, the reproaches cast upon the Irish were loud and frequent. The blending of this foreign stock with the Germanic, in America as in England, is certainly very difficult; still even those who dislike them cannot deny that on the whole they are industrious and contented, and in the second generation are scarcely to be distinguished from those of a different origin. Where, too, one considers what an immense leap it is from Irish bondage to American citizenship, one ought to hold them excusable, if in excess of joy at their newly acquired freedom they fall into a few errors and extravagances. It is complained that they suffer themselves to be led and dictated to by their priests; but it may be questioned whether this influence is more hurtful than that of many other demagogues.

Still more numerous than the rogueries of immigrants are the follies which they enact to their own hurt; as for instance when one goes to America to teach Sanscrit, and another to get for himself the situation of butler to a prince, and for his wife the care of the plate.

The laws respecting the naturalization of immigrants are not quite the same in all the American states: as a general rule, the renunciation of titles of nobility and a blameless residence of five years, are sufficient to make one a citizen of the Union. In several states however a shorter period of settlement (e. g. in Vermont a year, in Connecticut six months) suffices to acquire the citizenship of the place and state.† Every new-comer is at once permitted to purchase real estate.

* Martel's Briefe, pp. 40, 186. Streckfuss, *der Auswanderer nach Amerika*, i. 58. M'Gregor's *America*, ii. 449.

† American Almanac for 1838, p. 85. Jefferson (*Messages*, p. 100) was opposed to all excessive and tedious restrictions in this respect.

In recent times a party has been formed, chiefly in some of the sea-port towns, which takes to itself the name of Native Americans. Their object is to throw difficulties in the way of immigration, and they wish to prevent naturalization until after a residence of twenty-five years; because, as they say, no immigrant can acquire the necessary knowledge in a shorter time, and a too early qualification of foreigners abridges and undermines the rights of native citizens.*

Even granting the truth of the loudly proclaimed and probably too well founded censure, that these views and doctrines proceed mostly from business jealousy, and religious intolerance (towards the Irish catholics), they still require a satisfactory investigation, and the movement might more properly be termed a European than a truly American one. When even in the dangerous times of the French revolution, the Alien Law was rejected as imprudent, unjust, and un-American, how can it now be sought, in quieter times and on weaker grounds, not merely to revive it, but to render it more severe? In comparison with the immense number of native votes, those of the foreigners annually admitted to the rank of citizens are wholly insignificant and indecisive; besides which most of them are divided amongst the different political parties. Again, if some few venture to vote, as it is complained they do, before the expiration of the time prescribed, the fault lies, not in the perfectly clear and satisfactory laws, but in the fact that the natives and magistrates are afraid to apply the laws, or wink at abuses in order to bring the majority of votes on their side.† Let the natives bind and engage themselves to support these admirable laws; but let them not for that purpose surrender all the principles of American liberty, and in pretended patriotic songs (as in Philadelphia) proclaim fire and sword against foreigners, and then put their own exhortations into effect.

Time is not the only measure or the only source of a citizen's understanding and knowledge; many a new-comer stands at once on a par with the natives as regards these qualifications, and what he will not learn in five years he will probably never learn at all. Moreover it is not intended, or at least is not possible, that every American citizen should fully comprehend the most difficult questions of political science; confidence in the leading men of the country is always necessary, and it seems more commen-

* In some places, as in Boston, there are stringent laws respecting the landing of paupers, sick persons, and lunatics; although great difficulties must attend their execution. Societies for aiding immigrants have a beneficial effect and deserve great praise.

† Judge Elliot in Louisiana sold 1700 false certificates of citizenship for \$17,000; for which he was properly punished. It is asserted, however, that even in New York, out of 40,000 voters, only about a couple of hundred vote without having the right to do so.

dable to exhibit this in elections, than for each individual to thrust himself forward with his imperfect knowledge and try to decide all for himself.

If *all* the immigrants entertained quite other views on important topics (e. g. nobility, ecclesiastical matters, freedom of the press, and the like), if they rudely opposed themselves as a body to the Americans, there would then be some reason for complaints and counter measures; but since they every where join the Americans, and vote in the same manner as millions of native citizens, how can these latter lay claim to a sort of hereditary wisdom, and denounce foreigners of the same opinions with themselves as fools and knaves? An enthusiastic desire is felt for the acquisition of the Oregon territory, and complaints are made that such vast tracts of land should still lie uncultivated; and yet this Native American party is recommending measures that secure to the bears and wolves a longer possession of them. Now what inducements would there be to immigration, what advantages would it present, if political rights were refused, the feelings of honor wounded, and every new-comer told that he must content himself for a quarter of a century with the worship of mammon?

It is true that Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, warned their countrymen against *foreign influence*; but it is clear as day that by this they did not mean the influence of new American citizens. If possible it is still more preposterous, to hold up the monopolizing measures of the Venetian aristocracy as a model worthy of the imitation of American democrats.

Some indeed, impelled by ignorance or passion, assert that one of the great American parties can suddenly convert and has converted whole masses of foreigners (contrary to the provisions of the law, and unnoticed or uncensured by their opponents) into citizens having the power to vote, and has thus gained the victory in the presidential contest; but such an absurdity is not deserving of a serious refutation. I will merely remind the reader, that 40,000 new-comers per annum certainly bring with them a million of property, and their yearly labor is to be estimated at more than five times as much. And yet it is sought to turn away this importation, and send it to other countries.

Most of the governments of Europe, notwithstanding their tendency to govern too much, have made but very few regulations, and those for the most part absurd, with respect to emigration. Their only thought was to throw obstacles in its way,—may it was regarded as a sort of crime, or else as an infectious disease; while it was rarely that any thing was done or could be done to remove the causes that made the emigrants averse to a longer abode in their native land. *Where the threefold pressure*

of standing armies, enormous taxes, and ecclesiastical domination continues, many, even where there is no excess of population, will seek to better their condition by emigration.

The spreading of the human race over the whole earth and the reducing of all the land to cultivation, is moreover a commendable object, designed by Providence itself, and to which governments should lend a suitable degree of assistance, by causing accurate inquiries to be pursued in all directions, by disseminating information, and appointing honest men to protect the emigrants against error and fraud, &c.

Emigrants are now exposed to countless deceptions, and that which, under judicious management, would have proved advantageous to all parties, is ruined by follies that might have been avoided; these are then made a pretext for general complaints against a useful and often necessary proceeding, and for Jeremiads of the most singular and contradictory kind.

Every emigrant should possess a courageous character, he must also be prepared for great exertions and bitter privations; but if he gets through these with a sound body and strong mind, and knows how to adapt himself to his new situation, a rich return will seldom be wanting, and as a general rule he will find himself better off than before in his old home.

It is singular and surprising that Europeans so often reproach the inhabitants of the United States with disregarding every thing lofty and intellectual, and thinking only of what is earthly and material; and yet we find that in all the plans of emigration—whether proposed by high or low, by governments or so-called liberals, by philanthropists or speculators—these earthly and material features are always made prominent and highly extolled. Thus a fruitful soil, easy tillage, high wages, a pleasant climate, a good market, &c., are among the grand inducements held out.* But whether this mammon is to be sought among the serfs of Russia, the Bedwins of Africa, the convicts of Australia, or the anarchists of Central and South America, among Turks and heathens, or in the United States,—is regarded as a matter of perfect indifference, and is never taken into account. Blessings of inestimable value—such as the liberty of a North American citizen, his rights, his security, the estimation in which this great republic is held, the most unbounded religious freedom, perpetual peace, freedom from military service, and all that I have yet to spread before the reader's eyes—are as naught to those whose only desire is to raise corn, to eat bread, and to make money! But at least they ought to reflect that

* The climate however is frequently not attended to, and many hot regions are recommended to which the German constitution is not so well adapted as to Pennsylvania, Ohio, and states similarly situated.

money-making in general is closely connected with these blessings. Laws, rights, personal, civil, religious, and political freedom, which are hardly mentioned even as supplementary inducements, are in fact the main requisites, and are of greater importance than all else in augmenting population and wealth. Instead of this unhappy scattering of German emigrants over all the regions of the earth, let all unite in proceeding in *one* direction to found a new Germany; and let governments at length comprehend, that hereby they would lose nothing at home, but would really be gainers in numberless respects.

As matters stand, up to the present time, German emigrants find already in the United States about *five millions* of their countrymen, and a thousand times more rights, more assistance, and more enjoyment, than they can have in uncivilized or wholly unsettled countries.* Their predecessors have shown themselves capable and worthy of joining the great democracy, live in friendly unity with their fellow-citizens of the same great stock, and move restlessly forward hand in hand in the same honorable career.

* Out of 18,980,000 inhabitants, there are (in the year 1844) 4,886,000 Germans. Of these there are:

In the state of Pennsylvania 889,000, out of 1,968,000 inhabitants.

"	Ohio	764,000	"	1,784,000	"
"	New York	527,000	"	2,641,000	"
"	Indiana	309,000	"	783,000	"
"	Tennessee	281,000	"	921,000	"
"	Illinois	267,000	"	633,000	"

In the city of Philadelphia 81,000 " 301,000 "

"	New York	63,000	"	364,000	"
"	Baltimore	52,000	"	164,000	"
"	Boston	23,000	"	118,000	"
"	St. Louis	19,000	"	37,000	"
"	Cincinnati	17,000	"	56,000	"
"	Brooklyn	14,000	"	67,000	"
"	Pittsburg	11,000	"	31,000	"

CHAPTER XV.

POPULATION.

Population—Materialism.

THERE was a time when the prosperity, riches, worth, and progress of a state were estimated simply according to its population. But views have undergone such a change in several of the states of Europe, that complaints respecting over-population are now the order of the day; individuals regard a numerous family as a misfortune, and governments would be glad to free themselves by mild and even by forcible means from the weight of this pressing evil and increasing danger. The former view was, it is true, a partial one; but the latter, besides participating in this defect, proves the existence of great social diseases, the true and efficient remedy for which is by no means to be found in a diminution of the population. The decrease in the number of the people and the formation of great estates or *latifundia* in the Roman empire, were certainly no signs of improving or returning health. Every addition to the numbers of mankind is an increase, a blossoming of the intellectual; and to the intellectual is committed the task of finding out and indicating the ways and means for sustaining the corporeal. If this for many reasons is more easily accomplished in America than in other older countries, it may be disputed whether there is any *merit* in this condition of superiority; but it certainly is a *happiness*, and a proof of vigorous and pleasing youth.

The history of the world knows no country of equal size where within a brief period the population has increased so regularly and to such an extent as in the United States. The simple figures are here so eloquent and instructive, that we must present at least a few from the countless mass. The entire population amounted,

in the year 1780, to 2,051,000
 “ 1844, “ 18,980,000.*

The vast progress made of late years is exhibited most conspicu-

* And furthermore in the year	1790, to	3,929,000
“	1800,	5,309,000
“	1810,	7,239,000
“	1820,	9,638,000
“	1830,	12,858,000
“	1840,	17,062,000

Of this last sum there were 7,249,000 white men,
 6,939,000 “ women,
 386,000 free negroes and people of color,
 2,487,000 slaves.

ously in the immense valley of the Ohio and Mississippi. Thus in fifteen years the population has increased

in New England	about	221 per cent.
the middle states		382 "
the southern "		226 "
northwestern "		5,654 "
southwestern "		6,174 "

This difference of increase is owing to very various causes ; such as freedom or slavery, fruitfulness or barrenness of the soil, im-migrations and emigrations, &c.

It is only in two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, that the number of slaves exceeds that of the free persons. During the last twenty years, however, the latter have increased faster than the former, which gives rise to pleasing anticipations for the future. The increase between the years 1830 and 1840 was :

of the entire population	32.67 per cent.
white "	34.66 "
free people of color	20.88 "
slaves	23.81 "
entire colored population	23.04 "

The state of *New York* numbered,
in the year 1702, 20,000 inhabitants
" 1840, 2,428,000 " *

The state of *Kentucky*, not discovered till between 1766 and '70, had before 1775 no white inhabitants ; in 1840 it had 779,000.

The state of *Alabama*† had
in the year 1800, 2,000 inhabitants
" 1840, 590,000 "

The state of *Ohio* had
in the year 1790, 3,000 inhabitants
" 1840, 1,519,000 "

The population of the several cities has augmented with the

Of the entire adult population there are employed,	
in agriculture	one in 4½
manufactures	" 21½
commerce	" 145
learned professions	" 261
ocean navigation	" 304
internal do.	" 516
mining	" 1122

Of these there live
in the six New England states 675,000
six middle states (including the District of Columbia) 1,251,000
five southern states (including Florida) 1,073,000
five southwestern states 713,000
eight northwestern states (including Wisconsin and Iowa) 1,085,000

* Furthermore, in the year 1731, it had 50,000 inhabitants
" 1771, " 158,000 "
" 1800, " 586,000 "
" 1830, " 1,919,000 "

† Flint's Mississippi, i. 482 ; ii. 315. Amer. Almanac for 1844, p. 206. Hinton, ii. 563.

like rapidity.* “How many inhabitants,” asked a traveller, “does this city contain?” “Five hundred.” “How old is it?” “Twenty-three months.”† The population of London increased in 30 years, 70 per cent.; that of New York, 235 per cent. Sixty years ago there lived on the other side of the Alleghanies fifteen thousand souls; their number is now five millions.

The size of the different states increases from Rhode Island, containing 1340 English square miles, to Virginia, which contains 64,000; and their population from that of Delaware, amounting to 78,000, to that of New York, which numbers 2,428,000. In Michigan and Missouri, there are from five to seven persons to a square mile; and in Massachusetts, about one hundred. Even when the United States shall number two hundred millions of inhabitants, they will not be as thickly settled as Massachusetts is at present; consequently the prospects are well founded of a rapid increase for many years to come.

In Mexico, amidst great natural advantages, the population increases but very slowly.‡ The reasons, says Mühlenpfordt (i. 198), are to be found in the operations of the restrictive policy with which Spain oppressed her colonies in the civil wars, pro-

* The inhabitants of the following cities numbered,

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1844.
Baltimore	15,000	26,000	46,000	62,000	80,000	102,000	164,000
Boston	18,000	24,000	33,000	43,000	61,000	93,000	118,000
Cincinnati	—	750	2,300	10,000	25,000	46,000	56,000
Louisville	—	800	1,357	4,000	10,000	21,000	—
St. Louis	—	—	—	—	5,000	16,000	19,000
Mobile	—	—	—	1,500	3,000	12,000	—
New York	33,000	60,000	96,000	123,000	203,000	312,000	364,000
Brooklyn (suburb)	—	—	—	—	—	—	67,000
Philadelphia	45,000	70,000	96,000	119,000	167,000	228,000	301,000
Buffalo	—	—	—	in the year 1825,	2,300	18,000	—

In the year 1840 the population of the following cities was:

Albany	33,000
Charleston	29,000
Washington	23,000
Providence	23,000
Pittsburgh	21,000
Lowell	20,000
Rochester	20,000
Richmond	20,000, &c.

About one eighth of the population live in cities of over 2000 inhabitants.

† Reed, i. 114. Chevalier, Voyes de Communication, i. 13, 83.

‡ In Mexico, whose population is estimated at between nine and ten millions, the several classes of inhabitants bear an entirely different proportion to one another from what they do in the United States. There are reckoned (Kennedy's Texas, i. 7) to be:

Pure Europeans	from 10 to 20,000
Creoles	1,000,000
Mestizoes	2,000,000
Mulattoes	400,000
Negroes	100,000
Indians	3 to 4,000,000
Samboes	2,000,000

scriptions, celibacy of the priesthood, the numerous convents, the neglect of children, epidemic diseases, &c.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of the yellow fever in many of the sea-port towns, and the unhealthiness of swampy or too thickly wooded regions, the average duration of life in the United States seems to be not lower than that of Europe.

Rapidly as the number of inhabitants increases, it can still be maintained with certainty, that the *growth of capital far outstrips that of the population*; and nowhere has such ocular demonstration been afforded as in America of the proverb, *Mens agitat molem*.

That which in this tendency is termed materialism and mechanism, has not shown itself as obstinate, presumptuous, intolerant, dangerous, and cruel, as fanatical spiritualism and mysticism; hence on both sides it is necessary to separate the gold from the dross. The spiritual develops itself in the mass in proportion as it becomes master of the material, and satisfies the indispensable outward wants and aims in a shorter time and with better and easier means. Thus mechanism liberates the mind, procures leisure, and releases from mere corporeal exertion; not however to resign itself to luxurious indolence, but to begin labor in higher and nobler paths.

The more the North Americans acquire the mastery over nature, the more powerful become their minds. Nature has been far more prodigal of her gifts to the South Americans; but they, often despising so-called material industry, have made no progress in the path either of outward or inward improvement. Men must not only be counted; we must also examine into what they accomplish, and how much the result of their exertions is worth. To such an investigation let the foregoing remarks serve as a clue.

CHAPTER XVI.

AGRICULTURE.

Grain, Horticulture, Culture of the Vine—Sugar, Rice, Silk, Tobacco, Cotton—Produce and Improvements.

IN a country of such great extent and diversified climate as the United States, the working of the soil must be very various, and of such a kind that a judgment and estimation of the process without the closest observation of local and personal peculiarities,

would be wholly incorrect. At least we must not lose sight of some few essentially important points. These are :

1. That a principal object is, to obtain the *greatest* returns with the *least* labor ; for the laborers are so scarce and wages so high, that it is necessary to employ quite other means and follow other modes than in countries where wages are low and laborers plentiful.

2. The land is mostly very cheap ; it consequently yields of itself no rent, and is tilled almost exclusively by the proprietors. The class of farmers, intermediate between that of proprietor and laborer, has developed itself but rarely ; it is also of no advantage, especially in the free states, to acquire and cultivate great tracts of land, except for the purpose of soon selling them again.

3. The North Americans too are certainly, next to the English, the greatest trading people in the world ; but this has often been erroneously so understood and explained, as to mean that the inhabitants of the United States consist almost exclusively of traders and shopkeepers smitten with the love of gain ; whereas by far the greater part cultivate the ground, and six sevenths or perhaps nine tenths of all exported articles are the produce of the soil.

By the cultivation of all known sorts of *grain*, not only are the daily increasing inhabitants provided with a sufficiency of food, but there remains also a considerable surplus for exportation. Nay in Boston, between 1795 and 1834, and in contradiction to the theory of Malthus, almost all the articles of food, as wheat, rye, barley, rice, fish, meat, coffee, tea, and sugar, became cheaper.

Horticulture is injuriously affected by the rapid changes of the climate, heat, drought, and cold ; yet the great advances which have been made are quite evident. Thus from the rich produce of the orchards of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, &c., a great deal of cider is made ; and perhaps nowhere in the world are there so many peaches as in New York and New Jersey. In New Hampshire, he who injures or destroys trees is fined ten times their value.* And also in regions which are richer in trees and forests, experience has shown that the practice of burning down the trees and leaving the stumps, is neither the cheapest nor the most convenient mode of preparing land for tillage.†

The *culture of the vine* has been attempted at Vevay in Indiana and in Kentucky (from grapes of the Cape of Good Hope) ; a pleasant wine is also made by the Jesuits, at Georgetown, near Washington.‡

* Laws of New Hampshire, 1834, p. 167.

† McGregor's America, ii. 57.

‡ Ernst, Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in Nordamerika, p. 42. Hinton, ii. 214.

*Maple sugar** is obtained in great quantities in Vermont, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maine, Ohio, and Kentucky. Sugar has also been procured from corn-stalks; but it has hitherto been found difficult to crystallize.

The *sugar-cane* may be planted to advantage as far as the 31st degree of north latitude, in Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana.† The last-mentioned state produced in 1810 about 10 millions, and in 1838 over 100 millions of pounds.

Orange-trees and *date-palms* north of the 30th degree of latitude are liable to suffer from the frost.

The *rice culture* is extended throughout the Atlantic slave states. In the year 1840, South Carolina produced 26,964,000 kilogrammes; Georgia, 6,099,000; Louisiana, 1,802,000, &c.‡

The *silk culture* is making considerable progress, and in many states is encouraged by bounties; but there is a want of persons sufficiently acquainted with its management, and the wages for the necessary hand-labor are very high. Experiments made with different sorts of mulberry-trees and silk-worms have led to useful discoveries.§—The cultivation of the *tea-plant* and *olive-tree* has been commenced in many places; with respect to the latter at least, the prospects are good.

The principal seat of the *tobacco culture*, performed by slaves and exhausting to the soil, is Virginia. There were exported on an average,||

from 1772 to 1775 annually 99,000,000 pounds.

“ 1776 “ 1782 “ 86,000,000 “

“ 1815 “ 1835 “ 99,000,000 “

Thus the exportation of raw tobacco has not risen on the whole; but that of manufactured tobacco and snuff has. The domestic consumption in America has increased still more; so that there is reckoned three times as much per head as in England, and eight times as much as in France. Nay, it is asserted that the value of the tobacco consumed in New York exceeds that of all the bread used there.

No branch of agriculture has made such great progress as that of *cotton-planting*. In the year 1784, a very trifling quantity was sent out by way of experiment to Liverpool; in 1793, the export amounted to 487,000 pounds; in 1803, to 41 million pounds; in 1823, to 174 millions; in 1833, to 325 millions; in 1841, to 530 millions.¶ From a single pound of cotton a thread can be

* A large tree furnishes in the spring from 10 to 15 pounds of sugar. Warden, i. 449. Buckingham's Eastern States, i. 157.

† Ferry, p. 74. Encycl. Amer., art. Louisiana. Buckingham's Slave States, i. 307.

‡ Poussin, Richesses Américaines, ii. 290.

§ Hinton, ii. 210. Hamilton's Eastern States, ii. 89. Southern States, i. 205.

|| Amer. Almanac for 1838, p. 123.

¶ Gerstner, p. 304. Seabroock's Memoir on the Cultivation of Cotton.

spun 180 miles in length; and the threads spun in England during a year would reach 51 times from the earth to the sun.*

By means of a machine invented by Whitney of Massachusetts for cleaning cotton, so much tedious manual labor is saved, as to lower the price without too much diminishing the profits. Yet fears are entertained respecting the competition of cotton from the East Indies, where free labor is cheaper than slave labor in the United States. The prospects for Carolina and the eastern coast in particular are by no means flattering; since the soil of the southern part of the Mississippi valley is much more fertile, and the returns are greater with less outlay.

Although statistical tables of the extent and productions of trades and agriculture are necessarily subject to great imperfections, especially as the produce of the several years is so very different, I still submit a few figures from the last census, that of 1840, in the note below.† From these it appears that almost every branch of agriculture thrives; Indian corn plays a far more important part than wheat; rye, barley, and hops are comparatively little cultivated; flax and hemp bear no proportion to the cotton; the culture of the vine, of silk, &c. is just beginning. Of course the northern states cultivate neither sugar-cane nor cotton, the Carolinas neither flax nor hemp, and Louisiana no wheat. The distillation of ardent spirits has very much decreased

* For some particulars respecting cotton, see my *Briefe aus Columbia*.

† There were in the United States,

	1840.	1842.
Horses and mules	4,335,000	
Neat cattle	14,971,000	
Sheep	19,311,000	
Swine	26,301,000	
Poultry, value in dollars,	9,334,000	
Wheat, bushels	84,823,000	102,317,000
Barley, "	4,161,000	3,871,000
Oats, "	123,071,000	150,883,000
Rye, "	18,645,000	22,762,000
Buckwheat, "	7,291,000	9,483,000
Indian Corn, "	377,531,000	441,829,000
Wool, pounds	35,802,000	
Hops, "	1,238,000	
Wax, "	628,000	
Potatoes, bushels	108,298,000	135,883,000
Hemp and Flax, tons	95,000	158,000
Tobacco, pounds	219,163,000	194,694,000
Rice, "	80,841,000	94,007,000
Silk, "	61,000	244,000
Sugar, "	155,100,000	142,445,000
Wine, gallons	124,000	130,000

For 1842, see 27th Congress, third session, Senate, p. 129. *Agricultural Statistics*.

Great complaints have been made of late years respecting a dangerous disease among the potatoes, and for which the most various and even opposite causes have been assigned. At first there often appears a black speck, which quickly spreads and produces rottenness, or the whole turns into a slimy substance. It is communicated by contact. Hogs have died after eating of these black potatoes.

in consequence of the temperance societies. The breeding of swine confers new advantages, since a mode has been discovered of making a very useful oil out of the lard and fat.

In the theory and practice of agriculture, as for instance the rotation of crops, manuring, machines of all kinds, physical and chemical appliances, &c., great progress has been made in later times.* Many societies and periodicals have been established for these purposes, tending to the promotion of agriculture and horticulture; and their operations have been uncommonly beneficial in increasing and disseminating useful knowledge. Thus there emanated from the New York Society of Agriculture the plan of imparting the principles of husbandry, physics, and chemistry to children in public schools, and to cause proper books on these sciences to be written for the district libraries. This last part of the plan will doubtless be attended with good effects; but with respect to the first part, there are still some scruples to be tested and removed, as for instance with respect to the ability of the teachers, the extension of the hours of study, the various destinations of the scholars, particularly in cities, the danger of a too directly practical tendency, &c. This society, like many others, holds fairs, and offers premiums, e. g. for the best managed farm or dairy, the best yield of grain, specimens of silk culture, foddering, irrigation, &c.

The assertion which has sometimes been made, that the country people who began with log-cabins and wooden houses would retain them without caring for any thing better, is wholly erroneous. The gradual but rapid improvements which are effected cannot fail to strike every observer.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

Claims of the single States—Mode of Sale.

THE strongest evidence of a happy youth, the best means of preserving it, and the surest guaranty for a prosperous future, are furnished by the yet unoccupied public lands. The general government obtained possession of them in the fairest manner: by purchase from foreign powers and from the Indians, and by a

* Natural History of New York, i. 128. Excellent reports have also appeared respecting agriculture in Massachusetts.

praiseworthy cession on the part of the several older states.* It is true those tracts might in a certain sense be called ownerless; but it was in conformity with and conducive to good order, not to let every one seize upon and appropriate the lands at his own discretion, but to allow the government to proceed with system and method, and promulge judicious laws respecting them. Those individuals who had settled here and there at pleasure were treated with proper fairness and allowed the right of pre-emption.†

When greater assumptions on the part of individuals had properly been repulsed, some states preferred the claim that all the land lying within their boundaries belonged to them, and that the general government had nothing to do with it. To this it was replied: Although a territory, when its inhabitants amount to the requisite number, is raised to the rank of a state of the great confederacy, it does not follow that the Union has bestowed or must bestow on it all the public land lying within its borders. The new settlers possess not the slightest right in this respect; whereas the right of the Union rests on purchase and cession, has never been disputed, but has been confirmed times without number. Such a partial and inconsiderate bestowal of the public lands would rob the government of one of its principal sources of revenue, cast all the burthens of the state upon the customs, and deprive the older states of what they obtained for their money or by their exertions. They have purchased, defended, surveyed, valued, and brought it into market, and have employed the proceeds for the public good; the government shows itself reasonable enough, in claiming no rights of sovereignty within the bounds of an individual state, but only the rights of a private proprietor, while it also assumes the obligations that rest on one.

The moderate defenders of the claims of those states responded: Our purpose is not to make an immense donation to them, but to simplify the inappropriate and complicated duties of the central administration, to do away with injurious influences, and to put an end to perpetual disputes between Congress and the single states; in order however to supply the wants of the general government, we will take from the proceeds of the sales conducted by the states so much per centum as remains after deducting the expenses of managing the lands.‡ Should the management and sale of the lands lying in the several states be transferred to them, the sums to be paid to the general government would be augmented rather than diminished; and consequently the Union would not be a loser, but a gainer, by the more active exertions of the states.

* Namely, Virginia, Massachusetts, New Jersey, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee. Statutes of South Carolina, i. 169. Murray, ii. 432.

† Arend's Mississippi, p. 227.

‡ Calhoun's Speeches, pp. 405, 452.

In recent times many whigs have gone beyond these propositions, and vehemently advocated an unconditional distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the single states; while the democrats have combated this demand with equal zeal. The former have often assumed without proof, that if the proceeds were not distributed in the above manner, the amount would be senselessly squandered away. But since the decision relative to the disposal of these moneys rests with Congress, such an abuse is nearly impossible, or at least it is not easy to perceive what security there is for a more judicious course of proceeding on the part of the single states. The fear lest the states within which the lands lie should forcibly take possession of them and let the other states have nothing, is also exaggerated; for the majority in Congress would always guard against such open usurpation.

If the income from the public domain is large, this fortunate circumstance should be employed for the reduction of taxes; but it seems almost as though there were a desire to cut off this resource, for the sake of raising the duties (for this and totally different objects) constantly higher. At any rate a deficiency in the income from the land must be covered in one way or another; and the joy at its distribution would be turned into sorrow on reflecting that, besides the amount of such deficiency, the expenses of managing the customs must also be raised; which would be giving each individual a five-franc piece, and taking from his pocket a silver dollar.

Both the letter and the spirit of the federal Constitution point to the revenue arising from land, as the first financial resource of the Union; and in fact it would be no misfortune, if there were no need of any other tax. Those certainly who wish to annihilate it cannot call themselves conservative in this respect. On the contrary they must own that what they propose is an innovation, and are under the necessity of proving that it would be beneficial. If, however, at some future period all the public lands should be sold, and this source of revenue be exhausted, the wealth and population of the country will have been so much increased in the meanwhile, that even a far greater amount can be easily raised. For the present, I agree with an *earlier* declaration of Henry Clay, where he says (Speeches, ii. 112 : "Every consideration of duty to ourselves and to posterity enjoins that we should abstain from the adoption of any wild project that would cast away this vast national property, holden by the general government in sacred trust for the whole people of the United States."*)

Besides many millions of acres of uncultivated land which are the undisputed property of the single states, the land belonging to

* A second very eloquent passage in favor of retaining the proceeds of the public lands is found in Clay's Speeches, ii. 490.

the Union is estimated at from 1000 to 1100 millions of acres. For the management of these the greatest domains in the world, there is in Washington a general land-office which directs the surveys, preparation of maps, auctions, collection of the receipts, &c. The land is divided into townships, six English miles square; and each township into 36 sections, of 640 acres each. Section No. 16 of each township is set apart for common schools, and other land for colleges and universities. Two per cent. of the purchase money is reserved by the government for the encouragement of learning, and three per cent. for the construction of roads; together with all salt-springs and lead-mines.* At first the land was sold in great tracts; and this enticed speculators, who either made a fortune by their operations, or turned bankrupt. Now smaller portions, down to 80 acres, are offered.

Moreover, a great deal was formerly sold on credit, in which case it was often impossible to collect the debt; hence it is now sold only for ready money at \$1.25 per acre, with a guaranty of five years' exemption from taxation.† These favors have necessarily had the effect of depressing the price of land in those states of the Union which were already settled; for which reason, if for no other, the idea of giving away the public lands gratuitously can meet with no general acceptance.‡ On the other hand, the price cannot be raised, without putting a stop to the sale. To the proposal, of setting up lands of different qualities at different prices, it was replied: The valuation would be attended with great difficulties, occasion a vast expense, and furnish opportunities for frauds of every kind. At first in these transactions all is a subject of hope and imagination, every thing is indeterminate and relative. If the plan were adopted after the best lands of a district have been culled out, of reducing the price for the remainder at stated periods,§ many would put off buying, and the advantages of a dense population would be lost. High prices and great costs of settling repel small proprietors, and lead (which is less desirable) to the formation of large estates. Care must be taken also not to set the price too low; lest rich adventurers should selfishly press forward, and afterwards retail their purchases to poor people, and so enslave them after the manner of the Irish. The receipts from the sales of land have greatly risen in comparison with former times; yet even in the last ten years their amount has fluctuated in an extraordinary manner; for which very different reasons have been assigned, as for instance the bank system or want of system, payments in *paper* or *specie*, the number of immigrants, &c.||

* Hinton, ii. 273.

† Grund, Handbuch, p. 43.

‡ Calhoun's Speeches, p. 182.

§ Amer. Quarterly Review, vi. 263.

|| The proceeds of the public lands amounted in the year 1796 to \$4,836; in 1835, to 16 millions; and in 1836, when payments were made in depreciated paper money, to 25 millions. Afterwards, when specie payments were restored, they

CHAPTER XVIII.

MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

Progress of Manufactures—Commerce—Imports, Exports, Tonnage—Regulations of Trade—Rate of Interest—Value of Imports and Exports.

THERE is no doubt but that the natural circumstances of North America point especially to the profitable cultivation of the extremely cheap land, and that it will continue to be an agricultural country in the main for a long while to come.* From this, however, there results in the first place, the development of many branches of domestic manufacture in linen and woollen; as also the preparation of soap, candles, and other articles of daily use. Another principal means of promoting American manufactures was the last war with England (from 1813 to 1815). The Americans, thus thrown violently back upon their own resources, were obliged to set up establishments for the production of many indispensable articles; and when the war was brought to a close, many manufactures remained in a sound progressive state. For it lies in the nature of things, that a country which augments so rapidly in population and wealth should extend its manufactures more and more, until they gradually include articles of every kind. The opinion that it was an unprofitable and perhaps immoral squandering of their powers, to establish manufactures to a greater extent, gradually died away; and another and still more erroneous one sprang up in its stead, to wit, that the increase of manufactures should be promoted by artificial means and even by force. The legislation consequent hereupon, this aping of European theories and systems of over-government (otherwise so detested in America), has led from time to time to the most violent complaints, and even threatened the permanence of the Union itself. But of this we shall hereafter speak more particularly.

In consequence of these laws, or, as others maintain, in spite of them, the proceeds from manufactures have increased enor-

sank as low as $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 millions; and amounted in 1842, to \$1,335,078. In Michigan the receipts amounted in the year 1836 to 5 millions; and in 1838, to only \$154,000. In Mississippi they reached in 1836 over 3 millions; and in 1838, only \$96,000, &c.

* Official Report on the statistics of Agriculture for 1838, p. 8; for 1842, p. 9.

mously ; they were reckoned in the year 1840 at 239 millions of dollars.* Of this there came,

to New England	34.3 per cent.
the Middle states	42 “
the Southern states	6.2 “
the Southwestern states	4.6 “
the Northwestern states	12.9 “

100

In the year 1820 there were occupied in the United States in manufactures of every kind, 349,000 persons ; and in the year 1840, 791,000. About the year 1815, all the weaving in America was done by hand ; in 1843, in the factory town of Lowell alone there were 201,076 spindles, and there were made weekly 1,425,000 yards of cotton goods.† A like progress is found in the iron and other factories. In the belief that the high protective tariff secured to every adventurer great and certain gains, competition has increased immensely and even gone beyond all bounds, where the capital would doubtless have been applied to other purposes in the natural course of things.‡

Humane laws have been passed respecting the treatment of children in the factories, though they are not always strictly obeyed. Thus, for instance, they are not to be taken before 12 (in some places 15) years of age, are not to be employed over ten hours, and are to be sent to school.§ The evils of a too numerous and impoverished factory population have not yet arisen ; or where they do appear, the fruitful tracts of land still unoccupied present an adequate means of release from them.

A glance at the geographical position and extent of the United States, shows that they are called by nature to carry on an extensive *commerce* ; but that mere position is not the only requisite, will appear on a comparison of North with South America. The spirit, the activity, the boldness that animate the inhabitants of the United States, have led them further and caused them to make greater attainments in this pursuit, than friends at first hoped for or opponents feared.

What a difference ! During their dependence on England, the trade of the colonies was thwarted and restricted in countless ways ; nay, many branches of manufacture (e. g. iron-working, hat-making, &c.) were wholly prohibited. Now, on the contrary, there are throughout the Union no internal lines of demarcation, no export duties, equal import duties, and a commerce that

* Tucker's Progress of the United States, p. 195.

† Further particulars will be found in the letters at the close of the work, and in Appendix II.

‡ In February, 1844, a petition was signed by over 400 female operatives in Lowell, praying that the time of labor should not exceed ten hours a day.

spreads without hindrance over every quarter of the globe.* We subjoin a few figures, which, without any further elucidation, will speak for themselves.†

That in consequence of the enormous increase in the population the consumption of many articles has augmented to an extraordinary degree, is a matter of course; thus e. g. the quantity of coffee consumed was,

in the year 1821,	11,886,000 pounds.
“ 1838,	82,872,000 “
“ 1841, over	114,000,000 “

Although the trade of the United States has on the whole and for a long time been rapidly increasing, yet no country in the world exhibits such sudden and such great fluctuations. For—not to speak of the difference between years of peace and of war—the pecuniary embarrassments, the raising of money on credit, excessive speculations, bankruptcies, high duties, &c. have exercised a very great and injurious influence;‡ and similar

* It is worthy of remark, that since forty years, great improvements have been effected in the harbors and coasts, and about 200 new lighthouses erected.—Stevenson's Sketch of Engineering, p. 187.

† In the year 1701, the value of all exports to

England was	309,000 pounds.
the whole imports	343,000 “
“ 1773 the exports were	1,369,000 “
the imports	1,979,000 “
“ 1842 the exports were	104,000,000 “
the imports	100,000,000 “

The tonnage on the domestic trade amounted

in the year 1794 to	189,000 “
“ 1838 to	1,086,000 “

The tonnage on all American vessels amounted

in the year 1842 to	3,046,000 “
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(Tyler's last Message, Financial statement for 1838, p. 24.)

The *whale fishery* gives employment in the United States to over 500 ships, making 200,000 tons burthen, and furnishes returns of more than six millions of dollars in value.

The exports of New York amounted

in the year 1791, to	2,500,000 dollars.
“ 1838, to	33,000,000 “

The exports from New Orleans amounted

in the year 1811, to	2,000,000 “
“ 1838, to	33,000,000 “

Mobile, a city hardly known by name thirty years ago, now exports more than the whole industrious state of Massachusetts. Three fifths of all the imports fall to New York. Of the number of tons of shipping there came in the year 1838 to

Charleston,	54,000	Philadelphia,	99,000	Boston,	291,000
Mobile,	60,000	New Orleans,	264,000	New York,	547,000
Baltimore,	89,000				

‡ Thus the total value of imports amounted in round numbers

in the year 1836, to	189 millions of dollars.
1837,	140 “
1838,	113 “
1839,	157 “
1842,	100 “

The imports from England, which in 1836 amounted to 86 millions, sank in 1837 to

crises will return, unless something more effectual is done to prevent them than has hitherto been attempted.—It remains however to observe, that the whole numbers of imports and exports are little to be relied upon; since cases occur where the value of articles has risen 73 per cent., and the quantity only 2 per cent.; and because the calculations are rendered doubly difficult by the fact that the duties are laid on some articles according to their value, on others according to their quantity, while others again are admitted duty free.

Woollen and cotton goods come mostly from England; silk goods from France; wines from several countries, particularly from France, Portugal, and Spain; figs from Turkey; tea direct from China; coffee from Cuba, St. Domingo, and Brazil.

In several of the states there are many regulations relative to the inspection of articles intended for exportation. They must be serviceable, of good quality, sound, properly measured and packed; and precautions are taken against all frauds in these respects. In Massachusetts* these regulations extend to the quality of the articles, the vessels containing them, and the packing; to marks, stamps, and attestations; and include meat, butter, lard, chocolate, fish, corn, hay, hops, salt, water, powder, wood, nails, oil, paper, leather, ashes, &c.—It is scarcely conceivable how, with such an extensive commerce, all these legal requisitions can be executed.

The legal *rate of interest* is fixed in most of the states at 6 per cent.; it rises however in some of the new states to 10 per cent. Usurious contracts are void, and mostly involve a penalty in addition to the loss of the debt; but nothing is easier or more common† than to evade all regulations respecting the rate of interest.

NOTE.—In order not to overload the text with figures, I place what follows in a note. According to the Census of 1840, Tucker estimates the value of annual products from

Agriculture at	654	millions of	dollars in round numbers.
Manufactures	239	“	“
Commerce	79	“	“
Mining	42	“	“
Forests	16	“	“
Fisheries	12	“	“
Total	1062	“	“

52, and in 1838 to 49 millions. In the exports the differences were less considerable. Their total value amounted

in the year 1836, to 128 millions of dollars.

1837,	117	“	“	
1842,	104	“	“	&c.

* And likewise in New York and New Hampshire.

† Martineau, ii. 45.

Holland	\$1,698,000
Belgium	1,674,000
France	11,934,000
Italy	541,000
Mexico	907,000
Brazils	1,568,000
China	1,753,000
Hayti	610,000
Russia	309,000
Cuba	2,926,000

&c.

Of the imports there came

from England	\$26,141,000
all the English possessions	28,978,000
the Hanse towns	920,000
the French possessions	7,836,000
the Dutch "	815,000
Belgium	171,000
Cuba	5,013,000
Mexico	2,782,000
Brazils	3,947,000
China	4,385,000
Venezuela	1,191,000

*Chief Exports.**Chief Imports.*

Virginia	\$1,954,000	\$187,000
Pennsylvania	2,071,000	2,760,000
Maryland	2,820,000	2,479,000
Massachusetts	4,430,000	16,789,000
Georgia	4,522,000	207,000
South Carolina	7,754,000	1,294,000
Alabama	11,157,000	360,000
New York	14,443,000	31,356,000
Louisiana	26,653,000	8,170,000

The number of tons of vessels leaving and entering port amounted

in Savannah to	15,444	New Bedford	100,081
Mobile	16,094	Philadelphia	104,348
Norfolk (Virg.)	17,926	New Orleans	149,409
Charleston	20,711	Boston	202,599
Baltimore	74,825	New York	496,965

&c.

The vessels built in those nine months contained 63,617 tons.

There was imported :

<i>Coffee</i> , duty free	92,295,000	pounds.
subject to duty	618,000	"
<i>Tea</i> , duty free	13,866,000	"
subject to duty	3,229	"
<i>Sugar</i> , brown	69,534,000	"
white (clayed)	1,098,000	"
refined	699,000	"
candied	3,919	"
<i>Wine</i> , champagne	13,638	gallons.
red claret in bottle	35,317	"
" in cask	873,895	"
burgundy	1,820	"
white French wine in bottle	8,352	"
" " in cask	99,478	"
port in cask	38,593	"

port in bottle	8,352	gallons.
Spanish wines	51,719	"
German wines in cask	2,788	"
" " in bottle	355	"
Cotton goods through the Hanse towns, amounting to ..	\$210,000	
from England	2,400,000	
Silk goods through the Hanse towns	508,000	
In New York, during the first six months,		
of 1843,		of 1844,
The imports amounted to \$24,830,000		\$38,679,000
the exports " 10,836,000		17,119,000

CHAPTER XIX.

CANALS, STEAMBOATS, AND RAILROADS.

No country presents so many favorable opportunities for the establishment of land and water communications as the United States. A great part of the ground is level or offers only gentle declivities; and even the long mountain-ranges of the Alleghanies permit in several places the construction of artificial roads. The lakes and the St. Lawrence furnish most advantageous outlets on the north; the sea connects the eastern and southern coasts with the whole world; and those great arteries, the Missouri, Mississippi, and Ohio, are navigable as far up as the dwellings of men are or can be established. Even in the smaller rivers the tide penetrates so deep, or else they have such a slight descent and are so free from impediments, as to be navigated much further and by larger vessels than in most countries of the world.

The inhabitants of the United States have not only made good use of these natural advantages, but have also employed their well known activity and enterprise in forming roads, digging canals, and laying down railways; and in these undertakings they have accomplished more in proportion than any other people. According to the amount of its population, America has $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as many canals, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ times as many railroads as England; and 4 times as many canals, and 17 times as many railroads as France.* The advantages hence arising for trade and intercourse are inestimable; besides another circumstance which is of the highest importance, although often overlooked,

* Chevalier, ii. 549.

namely a closer uniting of the several parts of the great republic. The canals, steamboats, and railroads clasp it together in their embrace; they have abridged both time and distance; have immeasurably augmented intercourse, as well as the imports, exports, and means of sale; have given value to the worthless timber; and have suddenly brought into the thinly peopled, uncultivated country, the most powerful means of effecting a rapid improvement. They form a mental no less than a physical bond of union,—an additional reproof to the folly which would separate these two tendencies, or even oppose them to each other.

It is impossible, or at least it would here be out of place, to speak of all the canals of America; I shall give some account only of the most important one, which connects the Hudson and New York with Lake Erie. When Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, and a few others of the same way of thinking, proposed the construction of the *Erie Canal*, even the daring Jefferson, it is said, regarded the plan as hasty and premature.* By far the greater number of persons entertained the same opinion, and the general government refused its participation and support. But all these obstacles could not terrify Morris and Clinton, those great generals of peace, and numbers constantly flocked to their standard. On the 4th of July, 1817, the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the great work was begun; and it was finished in eight years and four months, on the 4th of October, 1825, at an expense of $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions of dollars. Clinton and his assistants first in peaceful triumph descended the canal, rejoicing at the sight of a free people whose prosperity and unity had been advanced through their exertions. Cheers resounded throughout the towns and villages which they had called into existence, and they were every where received with expressions of the sincerest gratitude and love.†

The canal is 360 miles long,‡ rises and falls 692 feet, has 83 locks, and (after its results had exceeded all expectation) has been considerably enlarged and indeed almost rebuilt. The necessity for this enlargement, and the ability to perform it, resulted from the success of the experiment; for if this double scale, exceeding all belief and all powers of execution, had been adopted at first, the whole undertaking, like many others, would have fallen through. The highest estimate which had been made for the first ten years' income from the canal was a million and a half of dollars; it amounted in reality to ten millions, or more than the entire outlay. All the land on both sides of the canal rose in value exceedingly; every where sprang up houses, ham-

* Hall, i. 173.

† Natural History of New York, i. 117.

‡ The largest canal in Europe, that of Languedoc, is only about 130 miles long, although it is constructed with greater care.

lets, towns, factories, churches, and schools. Rochester numbered 1,500 inhabitants in the year 1820, and 15,000 in 1835. Buffalo had 2,000 inhabitants in 1820, and 16,000 in 1835.* The population of Albany and New York doubled itself in this period; and the latter city took the start, which it will doubtless keep, of Philadelphia and Baltimore. The comparatively small state of New York, not satisfied with having constructed out of its own resources and by its own exertions, the longest canal in the world, kept on in the way in which it had begun, and had in the year 1839† about 850 miles of canals with 547 locks, on which there were annually transported goods to the value of 100 millions of thalers,‡ and the amount of toll collected was on an average about two millions of thalers. Although the canals are shut up for from three to four months in the winter, there went in one year through the lock at Schenectady 24,000, and through Alexander's lock 26,000 boats and rafts, or very frequently ten boats on an average within the hour. In the year 1836 there went

through the Erie canal, 48,777 boats.

“ the Champlain canal, 6,782 “

“ all the canals, 67,270 “

For 2,700 miles, from New York to New Orleans, river navigation has since been in most successful operation; and the length of the completed canals amounted in the year 1836 to 2,723 miles.§ The canals in Pennsylvania yielded about 6, and those in New York about 8 per cent. interest. The costs of transportation were every where extraordinarily diminished, and the time shortened.||

The length of canals finished in the young state of Ohio is reckoned at 767 miles.¶

Ramsay as early as 1784, and Fitch in 1785, had fully worked out the theoretical problem of the feasibility of propelling a vessel by steam; but when Fitch and Fulton prophesied the coming wonders of steam-engines and steamboats, they were misunderstood and laughed at. In the year 1807, Fulton built the first steamboat at Pittsburg; and in 1838 the number of steam-engines in the United States was reckoned 3,000; of which about 800 were used in steamboats, 350 on railroads, and the rest in factories.** Their power was estimated at that of 100,000 horses;

* Buffalo shipped	in 1832,	in 1837,
Wheat, bushels,	100,000	450,000
Flour, barrels,	21,000	126,000
Tobacco, pounds,	772,000	1,215,000
Butter, do.	780,000	1,100,000
Ashes, do.	2,546,000	3,467,000

(Official Report of 1838, p. 285.)

† Gerstner, p. 19.

‡ Of course the amount differs in different years.

§ Stevenson's Engineering, p. 213. Tanner, Canals, p. 22.

|| Poussin, Puissance Américaine, ii. 137.

¶ American Almanac for 1844, p. 279.

** M'Culloch's Dict., append. Steam-vessels.

though *one* engine alone drew from Boston to Lowell a weight of 524,000 pounds.* In Louisville, from 1819 to 1838, 244 steam-engines were constructed; and in Cincinnati, during the year 1836, 35 steamboats. In the year 1835, *one* steamer only navigated the great lakes; but in 1839, after the opening of the Welland and Erie canal, the number of steamers amounted to 61.† The fare from Buffalo to Chicago, 1000 miles, is twenty dollars, meals included. The young state of Ohio possesses more steamboats than France; and there are as many steamers on Lake Erie as in the Mediterranean‡. The passage from Pittsburg down to New Orleans formerly lasted two months; and the return passage, with enormous expenses and exertions, four months: they are now accomplished in about 8 and 16 days respectively. Indeed formerly the vessels were mostly broken up at New Orleans, and the crews returned with unspeakable toil and danger by land.§ The American steamboats, especially those on the Mississippi, are some of them of extraordinary size; they have three decks and as many as 400 beds.|| Formerly the number of accidents was greater; owing to the badness of the boilers, the wanton running of races, obstructions in the rivers, &c. Misfortune however has produced greater prudence,¶ many obstacles have been removed, the authorities exercise a stricter supervision, and penalties have been prescribed for negligence. After all, the loss of life from these dangers of peace is not greater than what takes place in Europe in so-called reviews and sham-battles.

In the year 1825, the first *railroad* in North America was begun; in 1836 there were 1600 miles completed, and now there are double that number. Many of these undertakings, it is true, have failed; others however yield an interest of 8 per cent., and the average is said to amount to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1832 the state of New York did not possess a single railroad; in 1839 it had already 440 miles. Most of the rails are of wood, with considerable ascents and very bold turns; they are nearly all traversed by locomotives.** The transportation of goods amounts to only about one eighth that of passengers.

In New England the land for the most part was dearer, and the obstacles were greater, than in the other states; which enhanced the expenses considerably. The roads however are

* Gerstner, i. 265.

† Gerstner, pp. 368, 372. North Amer. Review, xlvii. 34. American Almanac, 1837, p. 192.

‡ Chevalier's Communications, i. 41.

§ Buckingham's Slave States, i. 405.

|| Buckingham's Eastern States, i. 24. Information on Steam-engines, 1838. (Official Documents.)

¶ American Almanac for 1835, p. 116; for 1840, p. 112.

** Gerstner, p. 280.

better constructed, the charges are no higher, and the speed even greater. In Massachusetts, the laws allow a profit of 10 per cent.; but the state can buy in the roads 20 years after their construction. In the year 1840, about 337 miles had been completed in Massachusetts, and had been traversed by 749,000 persons.*

In Pennsylvania too a great many canals and railroads have been begun. Although no accurate account has been furnished as to how many of them are completed, the tolls in 1839 already amounted to \$1,142,000.†

A great many experiments have been tried in the United States, to ascertain the best mode of laying down railroads, on account of the peculiar dangers to which they are exposed during the very severe winters. Their cost however is diminished by the cheapness of timber and land. It amounts to from 1800 to 12,000, and on an average to 5,000 pounds sterling, per mile.—In England the expenses are increased by the fact that all the preliminary steps, including the sanction of Parliament, cost a great deal of money, and that the rate of going is faster there than in America.

There are, with very few exceptions, only one class of carriages, which in quality may be compared in general with the second class of German carriages. They travel no faster in America than in Europe; but they make fewer stoppages on the route than in Germany. With us the number of officials is beyond comparison greater than in America: a proof that even our free companies are infected with bureaucracy and the thirst for over-governing. Accidents moreover do not arise from the want of officers. The fares are much higher than with us; which must proceed in part from the small number of travellers. Yet President Tyler complains in his message of 1841, and with great justice, of the injurious consequences of the monopoly of railroads; in Europe also these are becoming intolerable, except where the legislature has interfered to regulate them.—Many railroads terminate in the hearts of cities; but for the last mile or two the cars are drawn by horses. Almost every where there are separate baggage-places for the principal hotels, whose cars and waiters take care of all to the traveller's satisfaction.

* Amer. Almanac for 1841, pp. 190, 202. † Tanner, Canals and Railroads, p. 22.

CHAPTER XX.

THE BANKS.

History of Banking—The National Bank—Opponents of Banks—Theory of Banking—Paper-Money—Abuses of Banking—Misfortunes through the Banks—Jackson's Measures—Bank Laws—New Defects—Specie and Paper Currency—Sub-Treasury Bill—Exchequer Bill—Hopes and Prospects.

ADMIRABLE as is the activity and even the boldness with which the United States have labored for internal improvements of every kind, it would be difficult to justify the manner in which they have ordered, or rather have plunged into the greatest disorder, their *currency and banking affairs*. Nay, notwithstanding repeated and bitter experiences, they have not yet discovered the right path; or else they allow themselves to be seduced from it anew into error and injustice.

When, after the peace of 1783, the before mentioned difficulties from public debt and the old paper-money arose, a few pointed out with judicious moderation the advantages that would result from founding a national bank. Others, without any thorough insight into the matter, gave themselves up at once to the erroneous belief, that in this way wonders would be accomplished, and countless wealth conjured up with the greatest ease. First arose the question, whether Congress had the right to found or authorize such a bank. The Constitution does not expressly determine any thing on the subject; but it gives to Congress the control of the money and coinage, and decrees that *nothing but gold and silver shall be made a legal tender of payment*. This plain provision was doubtless adopted in view of the evils and sufferings caused by the old paper-money; and the object undeniably was, to render the recurrence of such a state of things impossible. The assertion or opinion, that bank-notes which can be converted at pleasure into gold and silver are not paper-money, and interfere in no respect with the circulation of the metals, was of essential assistance to the friends of banking institutions; so much so that Washington, after an anxious investigation and many doubts, gave his assent, in the year 1791, to the founding of a principal bank, which should issue notes under five dollars and upwards, to be redeemed in specie on demand, under penalty of paying 12 per cent. interest on them.

At the same time there kept springing up in the several states, and with their permission, a number of local smaller banks, with respect to the advantages and disadvantages of which there has always prevailed a difference of views.

When the charter of the old United States bank expired, in the year 1811, many pressed for a renewal of the same; others opposed it, on good or bad grounds; and it was not till after several years' experience of the monetary embarrassments which ensued, that the bank of the United States was rechartered, in 1816, for twenty years. Its capital was to consist of 7 millions of dollars in gold and silver, and 28 millions in specie or United States stocks, to be received at various rates.* The government was to subscribe 7 millions of this capital, and to draw from it a proportionate income. One and a half millions of dollars were paid in instalments by the bank for its charter. In addition to the general reasons in favor of the usefulness and necessity of such an institution, it was affirmed that a national bank creates a uniform medium of exchange between the different states of the Union; facilitates all the transactions of commerce; takes charge of the surplus funds of the government, attends to its receipts and payments in the several states, and compels the smaller and local banks to adopt a reasonable and just course of proceeding, which hitherto they had by no means done.

Long before the charter of the new bank had expired, its friends and opponents engaged in a violent controversy. By thorough investigations, by speeches and writings of various kinds, they sought to exhaust the reasons for and against it, and to arrive at an accurate and full knowledge of the truth. Notwithstanding this, opinions still remained divided, and party aims in full force. The majority of both houses declared in favor of retaining the bank; President Jackson, however, opposed this resolution, and two thirds of both houses were not found to annul his veto. After this veto, opinions were still more divided than before; and what some called exceedingly salutary and essential, was designated by others as destructive and arbitrary.

All questions respecting currency and banking were at that time discussed with such a show of pretended science,—and reasons, means, and consequences were displayed with such hair-splitting nicety,—that most persons were incapable of following out the trains of reasoning to their conclusions, but swore by the words of some pretended master, and blew through his trumpet. Some sought to justify, or at least to represent as natural, all that the great bank or the small banks had done; while others unspar-

* Perkins, p. 48. Warden, iii. 443. Schmidt über den Zustand der vereinigten Staaten, i. 418.

ingly condemned both what they had done and left undone, and saw no help or safety but in a metallic currency. In this place it will be sufficient to extract merely what is simplest and most intelligible from the lengthy speeches and writings of the period. Among the arguments in favor of founding and supporting a national bank, it was affirmed that, "in a great commercial country, the general medium of payment cannot, without a foolish extravagance, consist solely of costly metals. By the introduction of bank-notes, specie capital is for the most part dispensed with, circulation and transmission are facilitated, credit is raised, and means are procured for obviating the want of money and for setting on foot the greatest undertakings. It is only by means of a great and powerful national bank that the numerous smaller banks can be kept in order; besides which, it provides the government with the cheapest and best opportunity of collecting its revenues, making its disbursements, and securely depositing its funds."—When, in the year 1811, the charter of the old bank expired, Congress refused to renew it, chiefly because seven tenths of the stocks belonged to the then detested English. And yet, notwithstanding this excitement and passion, the resolution was carried only by a majority of a single vote.* But the embarrassments which at once arose in the currency, soon showed that such a bank is both useful in peace and necessary in war. It was re-established by a considerable majority as a *national bank*, although opposed by the banks in the individual states. But this very opposition (which on the part of the careless and dishonest arose from a dread of supervision) gave added proof of the necessity and utility of a general control and powerful curb on their proceedings. The individual banks must adopt the wiser course of the national bank; or, if they continue in a wrong one, they are discarded and deserted by it. With such a rapidly increasing population, with the pressing necessities of new settlers and new states for capital, and with the impossibility of procuring it all in specie,—these defects can alone be obviated, and progress in all directions facilitated, by means of a judicious bank system.

To this it was replied: The Constitution of the United States prescribes with great wisdom, that specie alone can form a legal currency. Its letter has indeed been adhered to, but not its spirit; for when the bank was started, it was said: "Paper convertible at pleasure into specie is not injurious, but useful; *non-convertible* paper will never be taken, so that it cannot properly be said to have any existence." These hopes however have proved utterly fallacious.

A bank, unless it enjoys undue advantages, cannot even make

* Register, 1830. Appendix, p. 104; 1831, p. 47.

as much money and pay as large a rate of interest as a private individual, so long as it loans *its capital only*.* Its real profit does not begin until it loans its *credit*, and thus goes beyond its capital. When this profit arises, temptations, dangers, and abuses increase.

The principles and proceedings of the lauded national bank were by no means as wise as its defenders assert. On the contrary, as early as 1817, it had entered into such venturous speculations, that its paper fell from 156 to 90; when the directors were changed, and a better line of conduct prescribed.† Yet it was equally unable afterwards as before to keep the smaller banks and their host of officers and shareholders in order, and was itself sustained by the power and the enormous profits of its monopoly. It runs counter to both the spirit and letter of the Constitution, to grant monopolies of such a kind, to transfer the profitable use of many millions of the public money to a bank interest-free, and thus make an immense donation to the stockholders.‡ Such a centralization of money transactions is injurious; the power of irresponsible officers, chosen not by the people, but by the government and the stockholders, is unrepugnant; the facilities presented for getting into debt are ill advised; the treating of private debtors more severely than the banks is unjust; and the participation of the government in all these things is at least improper. It is said that in times of difficulty the government receives assistance from the bank. It can however just as easily refuse to furnish any assistance; and if, for instance, it should be displeased at a war, it could throw the greatest obstacles in the way, and presume to play a great political part. It adds to the riches of the rich, and second the selfishness of the powerful; but helps the poor to nothing whatever.§ In a word, the bank is neither constitutional, nor necessary, nor useful. It has never been able to compel the resumption of specie payments;|| but by sudden expansions and contractions, it has led to inordinate speculations, created panic and embarrassment in order to promote its own designs, sought to seduce and control the press, interfered with politics, and has never fulfilled the great and too sanguine expectations formed with regard to it. Such a compact financial power, having the control of so great a capital, and uniting in itself such vast means of influence, might under certain unavoidable circumstances become master even of the political power of the people. Instead of calling forth the manly virtues which confer dignity on human nature, this bank and

* Raguet on Currency, p. 84.

† Perkins, p. 143. Calhoun's Speeches, p. 289.

‡ Register, 1832, appendix, p. 73. Rayner, p. 384.

§ Jackson's Message, 1833. Register, 1831, p. 42; 1832, p. 1222.

|| Van Buren's Messages, 1838, 1839.

paper nuisance nourishes an insatiable passion for voluptuous enjoyments and for becoming suddenly rich without labor. In place of republican simplicity and frugality, there arises a sickly tendency to effeminate degeneracy; while instead of the political equality for which America contends, there is reared a system of exclusive privileges by means of party legislation.

The bank system allots the honors and rewards of the community in a very undue proportion, and has a most unfavorable bearing on the moral and intellectual development of man.* It leads to the decay of scientific pursuits; it diverts from literature, philosophy, and statesmanship, and from the great and more useful pursuits of business and industry. The rising generation cannot but feel its deadening influence, and will no longer be pressed forward by generous ardor to mount up the rugged steep of science as the road to honor and distinction; when perhaps the highest point they could attain, in what was once the most honorable and influential of all the learned professions, would be the place of attorney to a bank.†

Such are the main principles and assertions of both parties. Let us be permitted to examine them more closely, and to add something of our own.

In no state worthy of the name does the individual citizen stand wholly alone; each one requires the aid of others, and extends the same to others. This reciprocal action increases, as civilization and industry increase. The principal means of promoting this industry lies in the excess of what is produced over and above what is consumed, that is to say in capital. To set this in motion, to bring it speedily and in the right place to a proper and profitable use, is one of the most important tasks of commerce. The owners of capital are willing to share or loan it, only on two conditions: namely that the borrower *be* something or *have* something; the former gives him *personal*, the latter *real* credit. He who lends or borrows where both conditions are wanting, incurs danger and loss, is deceived and defrauded. Every country, every individual requires credit; but should obtain it only when it is deserved: credit founded on *nothing*, is swindling and fraud. It is commendable and useful for individuals and corporations to inform themselves where capital may be had to loan, and also to what persons it may be intrusted with safety. In this manner arose establishments for loaning on credit, associations for borrowing on joint-liabilities, registries of mortgages, and similar

* Calhoun's Speeches, p. 282.

† The most erroneous principles and the worst management were exhibited in the principal bank when transferred to Philadelphia under another name. It had at last only one dollar in cash for 23 dollars of debt; it loaned to ten persons \$3,692,000, and to newspaper editors \$170,000. Similar scandalous accounts of the banks in Illinois are to be found in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, September, 1844, p. 240.

useful and perfectly safe institutions. These set capital in motion and bring it to the right place; but they have only a very remote similarity to banks. Although every one not wholly ignorant of the subject can point out the difference between banks of circulation, discount, and deposit, the term *bank* is too often used in such a vague and general sense, that confusion and strife are almost unavoidable.—Banks, says one, are necessary for the benefit of borrowers and debtors. They are needed for the advantage of lenders and creditors, exclaims another. We require them, says the East, because we have a large commerce. We want them, says the West, because as yet we have no commerce. They are founded for the poor, because their money (the paper-money) is cheap; gold and silver are money for rich people only.—This last assertion, utterly erroneous as it is, points to the true gist of the dispute, namely the question respecting the comparative worth of a paper and a metallic currency, and the relation they bear to each other. “We must cease,” exclaims Henry Clay, “to be a commercial people, we must separate, divorce ourselves from the commercial world, and throw ourselves back for centuries, if we restrict our business to the exclusive use of specie.”*—But who requires this? Who requires that bills of exchange, checks, drafts, letters of credit, and a thousand other modern auxiliaries of commerce, should cease? In truth all the objections apply only to the nature, quantity, advantages, and disadvantages of *paper-money*.

Many still assert that in the United States there is no paper-money at all; because, according to the letter of the law, specie alone is made a *legal* tender. But the force of circumstances renders this letter of not the slightest effect; in practice both creditors and debtors, buyers and sellers, do incomparably more business with paper than with gold and silver. Nay Webster himself says: “That bank-notes have become money in fact, that they answer the uses of money, that in many respects the law treats them as money, is certain.”†

As soon as men recognize the truthful maxim, that “labor alone begets prosperity,”‡ the defence of paper-money becomes exceedingly difficult. For if (as the most cautious require) there should lie as much specie in the vaults as there are notes issued, the banking business would produce no gain; on the other hand, as soon as the notes issued exceed this measure, they are mere paper without a sufficient pledge for their redemption, and the quantity of the circulating medium is increased without a natural foundation and beyond the natural proportion. It is true

* Speeches, ii. 325.

† Webster's Speeches, iii. 329. North Amer. Review, xxxii. 29. Gallatin on Currency, p. 6.

‡ Webster, ii. 312.

there is recommended a reasonable expansion of the currency, an expansion of credit in the shape of capital; but to these indefinite, obscure expressions a closer examination opposes great doubts. Credit in fact produces no capital, but only sets the existing values in better and quicker circulation. If it exceed or forestall these, it rests on nothing, and least of all on creative labor. The evil consequences are then unavoidable which the American banking system exhibits, and which men of the most different views and positions equally deplore.

"A disordered currency," says Webster, "is one of the greatest of political evils. It undermines the virtues necessary for the support of the social system, and encourages propensities destructive of its happiness. It wars against industry, frugality, and economy; and it fosters the evil spirits of extravagance and speculation. Of all the contrivances for cheating the laboring classes of mankind, none has been more effectual than that which deludes them with paper-money. This is the most effectual of inventions to fertilize the rich man's field by the sweat of the poor man's brow. Ordinary tyranny, oppression, excessive taxation, these bear lightly on the happiness of the mass of the community, compared with fraudulent currencies and the robberies committed by depreciated paper. Our own history has recorded for our instruction enough, and more than enough, of the demoralizing tendency, the injustice, and the intolerable oppression, on the virtuous and well disposed, of a degraded paper currency, authorized by law, or in any way countenanced by government."*

It will suffice to state a few facts in confirmation of these just complaints. In the years 1812 to 1814, most of the banks stopped payment; between 1811 and 1830 one hundred and sixty-five of them became entirely bankrupt or contracted their business.† In the year 1787 there were 3 banks; in 1839 there were 850, and together with the branches, about 1000. Of these

498 continued specie payments,
56 stopped altogether,
48 afterwards resumed payments,
60 partially stopped specie payments,
343 wholly " " "

With these were connected in New York between January and July about 1000 bankruptcies. The entire capital of a bank in Illinois consisted in the plates for striking off the notes. In another branch bank two dollars only were paid in, which were kept as curiosities.‡

* Webster, ii. 81.

† Hinton, ii. 477. Calhoun's Speeches, p. 143. American Almanac, xi. 245; xii. 137. The numbers do not exactly agree.

‡ Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, 1844. September, p. 240.

Even if, as asserted, the debts of most of the banks exceeded their capital only from 40 to 80 per cent.,* that of itself rendered them bankrupt the moment all their notes were presented for specie payment. But there were also banks which had issued with impunity a hundred times as many worthless bills as their capital amounted to. In consequence of the different values or want of value of all bank notes, and the utter want of a specie currency, there was no fixed measure of the value of commodities; prices fluctuated excessively; and in order to escape deserved or undeserved distress, not a few permitted themselves all kinds of arbitrary and fraudulent acts. Banks which were doubtless broken, distributed notwithstanding large dividends, and made notes of 25, and even as low as 5 cents; whereby the number of sufferers was continually increased, while the authorities had no means of preserving or restoring order.† Even those states which were inimical to the entire banking system were involved in these sufferings, or were compelled in self-defence to resort to desperate means, to prevent their losses from reaching too great a height.‡ In a like spirit the general government in this season of distress gave permission to pay *depreciated* notes into its treasury at par value. This was a reward, a premium for the *worst* notes and most careless management, to the injury of the better banks; and it created a totally different taxation in the different parts of the United States.

In these times of misfortune, public and private undertakings were brought to a stand-still; auctions at far below the former prices, and the imprisonment of debtors unable to pay, were unavoidable; the innocent suffered exceedingly, while the guilty remained unpunished; and a pernicious indifference was created with regard to obligations of payment. Indebted corporations in particular dissolved themselves with the vilest audacity, and by their own authority released themselves from their indisputable obligations. All confidence, all truth and honesty, seemed to have vanished. This caused M'Culloch to exclaim in just indignation: "A man can lend his money with more safety in Russia and even in Turkey than in America. The bank system there is the worst of all, and the greatest of misfortunes to a free country."§

Let us now see what with this knowledge, with this bitter experience, was accomplished by the president, by Congress, and by the single states, for abolishing the evil. President Jackson first lost patience: he would no longer spare the crafty impostors, or capitulate with pretenders to profound science. While many

* Gallatin on Currency, p. 65.

† Raguet, p. 131. Chevalier, Lettres, i. 58, 66, 94. Buckingham's Slave States, i. 355. Trotter's Observations, p. 101.

‡ Calhoun's Speeches, p. 142.

§ Article, Banks. Appendix, p. 21. Gouge, p. 115. Flint's Mississippi, i. 450.

wished to delay or adjust matters, or only to proceed by degrees, the old, favorite, victorious general grasped his sword, smote in pieces the bank he disliked, for the reasons aforesaid, and saw in the establishment of a specie currency the only deliverance from all the evils of paper-money.* That in consequence of this blow the pieces flew about and wounded many, was to him a subject of small concern: the crisis seemed inevitable, and restoration possible only after the unsound parts had been boldly cut out and cast away.

The notion that all the sufferings and embarrassments of the year 1837 proceeded wholly from Jackson's measures, is both one-sided and erroneous;† they proceeded still more from what he combated. But the accomplices in wickedness were too glad of a pretence to acquit themselves; and they fancied they could get rid of their own guilt, by making a solitary scape-goat of the old hero, and dragging him to the altar by way of a sin-offering.

All the force of character, all the popularity of Jackson, had scarcely sufficed to procure him the victory over the great central bank. All the state banks still remained untouched; nay their number and importance must necessarily increase, since their most powerful rival was dead, and they had received the deposits of the public moneys. As fast as Jackson cut off one of the Lernean monster's heads, several others grew in its place; a radical cure according to his system would have required the annihilation of all the state banks, and the passage of the new Sub-treasury Bill,—which bold means however were partly left untried, and partly failed in execution. Congress possessed neither the will nor the power to reduce this monetary confusion to order; and while in *one* place it coined gold and silver, the banks increased their paper money to an unlimited extent in *eight hundred* places. The coining institutions and privileges of the middle ages, which have been cried down as stupid and barbarous, were but trifling evils in comparison with 800 mints, in which weight, fineness, and fixing of value are of course never thought of, while counterfeiting is carried on to an unprecedented extent.‡ If Congress would set aside one of the clearest and most salutary provisions of the Constitution, which it is so careful in adhering to and expounding, it would have been far better to grant at once to the twenty-six states the right of coining according to a uniform standard of weight and fineness, than to intrust it to 800 paper-mills, every miller and printer of which commends his own rags as a part of the national currency.

* Chevalier, i. 90.

† Nor did it proceed alone from the pretended injurious balance of trade. Appleton on Currency, p. 21.

‡ In Bicknell's Counterfeit Detector 1,395 counterfeit bills are described.

Several states which had hastily and incautiously conferred banking powers, sought by appropriate laws, if not wholly to do away with the evils which had accrued, at least to ward them off for the future. In Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, and Missouri, for instance, only one bank will henceforth be allowed.*

In *New Hampshire* no one can conduct banking operations without legal permission. Notes under one dollar are prohibited; a suspension of specie payments annuls the charter of a bank, and obliges it to pay an interest of twelve per cent. The declaring of dividends during such suspension is punishable with five years' imprisonment.

Similar laws exist in *Kentucky*. The liabilities of a bank must not exceed double the amount of its capital.† The government takes 20,000 shares, and receives 25 cents for each 100 dollars of capital. It has the right to make investigations and inflict penalties, and the bank officers are responsible for the observance of all the provisions. The counterfeiting of bank notes is punishable with from two to ten years' imprisonment.

In *Massachusetts* no bank is allowed to issue notes under five dollars; and none can commence business, until it can be shown that one half of its capital has been deposited in gold and silver.‡ The notes must never exceed the capital more than 25 per cent, and the gross liabilities must never amount to more than one half the capital. All directors are responsible with their property for abuses. Each bank loans the state one twentieth of its capital at 5 per cent. interest, and pays one half per cent. of the same for the favors it has obtained. The government has the right at any time to examine into the management of the bank, and—in case of non-fulfilment of the conditions—to abolish it. Bank-note counterfeiters are severely punished, and informers are rewarded. Since 1803, the number of banks in *Massachusetts* has increased from 7 to 129.

In *South Carolina*, as in most of the states, no bank-notes can be executed under five dollars; and in case of bankruptcy, the stockholders are liable for double the amount of their investment.§

In *New York* no bank must issue more notes than it deposits in New York or United States stocks; and each note, to increase the security, is countersigned by the comptroller.

Well intended and well devised in many respects as these and similar laws may appear, complaints are still made that means are

* Hall's West, ii 188, 192, 194.

† Laws, i. 200, 1292.

‡ Buckingham (Slave States, i. 453) speaks of repeated payments and loans made with the same money.

§ Statutes, vi. 34; viii. 3.

every where found to evade them,* that there is a lack of legal remedies against secret frauds and public bankruptcies, and that the allurements of self-interest cannot be destroyed by mere words. Injustice and heedlessness in this respect are chargeable on both creditor and debtor; and as mildness towards the latter has its light side, it has its dark side also.

In such a dilemma it is very natural that men should seek for some thorough, efficient aid; and this the whigs see in the founding of a new, grand national bank; while the democrats desery in it only a return to former evils, and insist more or less strongly on a metallic currency.† First of all I must repeat, that to the word *bank* no definite idea is as yet attached; hence objections were redoubled under the supposition that former defects would not be obviated,—nay that there was no wish to obviate them, because they were best calculated to promote private advantage and party aims. Accordingly many whigs laid aside the name of bank altogether, and demanded only a “sound currency;” against which as a general proposition there is certainly nothing to object, while each one is at liberty to see in it what pleases him. Yet more specific views were at the same time brought forward, of which I will cite a few, hitherto not mentioned, by way of example. Thus it is said: It is a necessity of every civilized country, and a mark of its civilization, to have paper-money. The American system of banking, including the national bank, was a well constructed, practicable, and beneficent one.‡ Bank-notes and paper-money are a safe and convenient substitute for capital. Where there is only a metallic currency—nothing but gold and silver, almost all trade falls into the hands of large capitalists. Where the bank-notes on the contrary are by law convertible at any moment into specie, there exists full security for their value. This security is doubled, where the deposit of state stocks and the counter-signature of the comptroller are required.

A great deal may be said in opposition to these maxims. In the first place, Germany has but little paper-money, and France none at all; and this without depriving them of the right to be called civilized countries, or obstructing their trade. It is equally true, however, that nearly all the countries of Europe have suffered from the consequences of paper-money no less than the United States. The latter’s banking system (even including the national bank) is by no means entitled to the above laudations. The opinion which lies at the bottom of all this, erroneously regards Jackson’s abolition of the defective national bank as the

* The defectiveness of all laws is shown for instance in the official Report on the banks in Massachusetts, for 1844.

† Yet in the year 1843, \$11,967,830 were coined in gold and silver.

‡ Webster, ii. 312 et seqq.

sole cause of every evil, and its restoration in an improved form as a sovereign remedy for them all. Quite different was the opinion expressed by Jefferson respecting the principal and branch banks. This institution, said he, is one of deadly enmity to the principles and the form of our Constitution.*—Adhering to this his predecessor, and remaining true to his former convictions of the unconstitutionality of the bank, President Tyler uttered his veto, when Congress presented to him a bill for its restoration.† Without going into a closer examination of the bitter reproaches made against him on that account, I only permit myself to observe, that it would be very unjust to condemn Tyler because he held fast to his earlier doctrine; while his chief opponent Clay is commended for changing from a former enemy into a defender of the bank. Both acted up to their best convictions, and Tyler had said before: The banking system, as conducted in this country, has not one correct principle of political economy for its support. It is a gross delusion, the dream of a visionary, which has done more to corrupt the morals of society than any thing else, &c. True, for a moment it has operated as a stimulus; but, like ardent spirit, it has produced activity and energy but for a moment; relaxation has followed, and the torpor of death has ensued. "Our bank system," exclaims Buchanan, "is the worst and most irresponsible that has ever existed."

The maxim, that bank-notes and paper-money are a safe and convenient substitute for capital, requires a closer examination. It is clear that the capital must first be created by labor and economy,—it must first exist; for paper and a printing-press cannot charm it into being or double its quantity. Credit without foundation—a representative with nothing to represent—deserves no eulogy. On the other hand, there is by no means a cessation of credit or the means of credit where paper-money has been renounced. It is a strange thing to imagine, or at least rhetorically describe, that in that case numberless huge wains must painfully traverse the land laden with gold and silver; and that merchants could no longer make use of checks, drafts, bills of exchange, letters of credit, &c. There is just as little reason for applauding the convenience which is nominally secured to the traveller by eight hundred sorts of unsafe paper; in spite of all his prudence, he will most probably find that too great care has been taken of him and his.

Why, where there is only a specie currency, all trade should fall into the hands of large capitalists, it is hard to comprehend. If bank-notes are of any value, the rich man has many of them,

* Tucker, ii. 158.

† Tyler's Life, pp. 39, 47.

and the poor man few ; it is precisely the same as with gold and silver. If however they are worth *nothing*, the poor man is usually defrauded the most. I cannot comprehend wherefore paper-money should be an especially useful money to the *poor*. It is only in return for labor, only for real or personal credit, that either it or gold and silver come into his possession. In many parts of Germany, and in France where there is no paper-money, business is neither more nor less in the hands of rich capitalists than in England or the United States.

The assertion, that where bank-notes are by law convertible at any moment into specie, there exists full security for their value, is confuted by all experience. No letter of the law has yet been able to prevent excessive issues of paper-money. It is only in moments of danger that every one hastens to convert his paper into specie, and then the banks are but too often found insolvent.

The measures adopted in New York, of depositing state stocks and countersigning by the comptroller, are certainly better calculated to answer the end than many others ; though even here some very serious doubts remain. In the first place, state stocks are also exposed to the danger of sinking in value under unfavorable circumstances ; and secondly, it is a very erroneous belief, that as soon as there is a safe pledge in hand, the amount of its value may be converted into paper and issued without danger or evil consequences. Money is not only a measure, it is also something measured ; and in case its quantity is in any way increased or diminished, it becomes a different measure, and changes its value as something measured. If one were suddenly to bring into market a hundred times as much of any necessary article (e. g. corn, potatoes, wine, cloth, or whatever it might be) as had heretofore been required and disposed of, who would purchase these quantities, and how could they retain their former price ? The same holds true of specie and paper-money. The security of the pledges, the existence of an original value represented by paper, produces no alteration in these necessary results ; and this is more than sufficiently proved by Law's system and the history of the assignats and mandates. When even the laws permit that each bank may issue at least twice as many notes as it possesses capital, what is it but a purely arbitrary increase of the currency, without any real increase of value, of capital, of labor ? The specie gradually disappears, until a general revulsion puts a fearful end to careless management and premature rejoicing. Until then, the monopolizing stockholders draw more than double interest, both from the pledged state stocks and the double amount of notes issued. When, notwithstanding, the dividends are not immoderately high, this proceeds from several circumstances ; e. g., excessive competition, heavy taxation by the states that grant

the charter, bad management, &c. Perhaps in this increasing unprofitableness may be found the best means of reducing the bank evil.

Similar to this would have been the operation of the Sub-Treasury law, which was vehemently opposed, then adopted, and soon after abolished in its most essential particulars. Among the principal complaints against the national bank was this, that the public moneys were deposited in it without interest, whereby an unfair and immense advantage accrued to the stockholders; while the country which made this enormous sacrifice was not even furnished with the requisite security. Although the average amount of the moneys in deposit may not have reached, as some assert, fifteen millions,*—let us suppose it did not exceed five millions,—still the gain to the bank in the way of interest was uncommonly great, and was by no means counterbalanced by the duties and payments which it assumed. It is certain that Jackson's victory over the institution, complained of and attacked by him on so many grounds, was decided the moment he withdrew from it the use of the public moneys. As he thereupon intrusted these moneys to the several state banks selected by him, these latter gained as much as the national bank lost; but the country lost the interest as before, and gained nothing in respect to the security of the deposited money. It is true, that none of the single banks could hereafter acquire the power and influence of the national bank; but these new facilities seduced them very frequently into rash speculations and indiscreet issues of bank-notes.

The design of the Sub-Treasury Bill was to release the finances of the Union and the great amount of surplus revenue on hand from all connexion with the banks, and to establish a treasury with officers for its management such as has long existed in almost all the states. Against this plan a most violent outcry was raised; and it was found that the interests of the many single banks which would lose in consequence, were advocated with still greater vehemence and energy than those of the conquered national bank had been. This system, it was exclaimed, will totally subvert all the state banks, will place the purse and the sword in the president's hands, will destroy all security for the public moneys, commit them to the keeping of dishonest officials, form a new central bank—and that too of the worst kind, and throw difficulties in the way of transmitting funds and rendering accounts. The scheme too is against all our usages and all our habits. It locks up the revenue under bolts and bars, from the time of collection to the time of disbursement. Government separates itself, not from the banks merely, but from the

* Webster, iii. 303.

community. It withdraws its care, it denies its protection, it renounces its own high duties, and with cold and heartless egoism abandons the suffering people to their unhappy fate. It is a law for the times of the feudal system; or a law for the heads and governors of the piratical states of Barbary. It is a measure fit for times when there is no security in law, no value in commerce, no active industry among mankind, &c.*

These vehement denunciations are factious and exaggerated. The sword and the purse have indeed been transferred to the president; but he cannot draw the former from its sheath, or take a dollar from the latter, without the consent of Congress. If he, who could formerly intrust the public treasure to the banks as he pleased without demanding interest therefor, must henceforth deposit them in the treasury of state, it is plain that his power and influence are hereby diminished instead of increased. Moreover, all actual disbursements now as before require an appropriation by Congress, and suitable provision could easily be devised for the concurrence of the Senate in the appointment of treasury officers. That the public moneys are less safe in the treasury and in the custody of responsible officers, than they were in the hands of irresponsible banks (where so much was lost), is an unproved assertion; in those countries too where the state treasury has nothing to do with banks, funds are transmitted and accounts rendered without difficulty. Lastly, that it is an innovation on old customs, is not an absolute fault; nay, it should rather be made a subject of commendation, if it turn out to be a plan of utility in place of one that was of no value. Hence all resolves itself at last into the question, whether the banks have a right to use the public moneys in the interval between collection and disbursement, either interest-free or under advantageous terms; and whether the government is bound to let this practice continue.†

After the repeal of the Sub-Treasury law, President Tyler proposed that, instead of treasury notes bearing interest, there should be issued fifteen millions of dollars (about a third of the yearly revenue) in paper not bearing interest, that this should be receivable in all the public offices, and that provision should be made to insure its convertibility into specie at pleasure. The sum was to be not so large as to create danger; but still large enough to regulate the transactions of the banks, and to operate advantageously as a general medium of circulation. In the execution of this plan no additional power was to be conferred on the president, nor was there any question of a dubious banking institution. This proposition was at first favorably regarded, then

* Clay, ii. 324. Webster, iii. 222, 265. Phelps on the Tariff, p. 14.

† Calhoun, Life, p. 50.

neglected, and finally cast aside,—partly, no doubt, because it neither favored nor engaged in its behalf any private interests.

The great similarity of the new English bank law introduced by Sir Robert Peel* to President Tyler's proposition, will probably direct attention to the latter anew, and lead to improvements. There is certainly but little hope of seeing the American banking institutions placed on a perfectly sound footing: for people are accustomed to violations and evasions of the letter and spirit of the Constitution with respect to the currency; and Congress will not be able to govern the twenty-six states, nor the twenty-six states their eight hundred banks. Yet intelligent and impartial men, guided by science and experience, have plainly enough indicated the course which should be pursued for the gradual cure of these evils, the greatest of all next to slavery.† I heartily hope therefore that the following declaration of two experienced Americans may *not* prove correct. They say: The subject of currency is now hopelessly overwhelmed in the cant and ferocity of party politics. A man might as well go to Constantinople to preach Christianity, as to get up here and preach against the banks!‡

CHAPTER XXI.

TAXATION AND FINANCES.

Revenue and Expenditure—Internal Improvements—Surplus Revenue—Single States—Europe and America—Indebtedness of the States—Repudiation—Taxation of Single States.

In all countries of great extent we find revenues and expenditures of the general government, and revenues and expenditures of the several provinces. But nowhere is the distinction, the contrast between them, so decided as in America.

The general government has only two great sources of revenue—the *import duties* and the *sales of public lands*. In return

* This law is also aimed at the gradual suppression of all the paper-money of private banks. See § 910.

† Specie, like other articles of commerce, goes where it is sought and used. Yet in the year 1838 alone, money to the amount of 17 millions of dollars was imported; and if in 1814 the specie amounted to only two dollars a head, it had arisen in 1837 to five dollars. American Almanac, 1841, p. 123. Report of the Treasury, 1838, pp. 14, 43, 51.

‡ North American Review, No. cxxv. 501. Gouge's History of Paper Money, p. 80, quoting Randolph.

for these, all internal taxes were abolished as early as 1802, under Jefferson's administration; and it was only during the war with France and England that they were laid again for a while on iron, hats, paper, leather, watches, sugar, &c., and temporarily also on villas and slaves.*

Consequently there are now in the United States no general taxes whatever; no land-tax; no excise, or tax on internal consumption; and, excepting the officers of the customs, no tax-officers belonging to the general government; no system of exclusion between the several states; and no provincial taxation which extends or operates beyond its own boundaries. And herein the financial system of the United States is distinguished from every other.

Furthermore, there is scarcely any where exhibited such a fluctuation, such a rapid rise and fall in revenues and expenditures; and this doubtless is owing to the alterations in the tariff, the change from specie to paper payments, immigrations, the embarrassments of the banks and the currency, depressions in trade and over-speculation, &c. In consequence of its wealth, the government became extravagant; and in consequence of its distress, it was obliged to resort to many objectionable expedients.

Even in the United States, the most peaceful and secure of all confederacies, an immense burden was created by its wars and the debts that arose out of them. The latter however were paid off as early as 1835;† and in 1839, there was a surplus in the treasury of 34,866,000 dollars. This surplus, it was maintained

* Warden, iii. 389.

† From 1791 to 1832, the *revenues* of the general government were:

from customs.....	\$594,909,000
internal revenues.....	22,235,000
direct taxes.....	12,736,000
the post-office.....	1,091,000
sales of public lands.....	40,627,000
loans and treasury-notes.....	156,181,000
dividends and bank proceeds.....	11,052,000
miscellaneous.....	5,428,000

Total in round figures \$844,262,000

The *expenditures* were:

for the civil list.....	\$37,158,000
the public debt.....	408,090,000
the navy.....	102,703,000
the army.....	214,547,000
Indian affairs.....	13,413,000
foreign ".....	24,143,000
miscellaneous.....	32,194,000

Total \$842,250,000

—M'Gregor's Legislation, p. 207. The numbers do not agree in all the statements. That under the head of "the army" many other expenses are included, will be shown in the chapter that treats of that subject.

with the greatest zeal, should be expended in internal improvements. Gradually however the enthusiasm in favor of this opinion cooled down, and the arguments against it were urged with constantly increasing force. It was said: The new interpretation of the Constitution, by which Congress desires to regulate every thing pertaining to the general welfare, destroys the independence of the states. And even if we should be willing to grant it such a right, there is hardly any undertaking or improvement that is equally for the advantage of all the states, and to which all are equally bound to contribute. Let what belongs to the states be planned and executed by the states; the general government possesses for this purpose neither the right nor the requisite skill. During the last sessions of Congress, 103 pretended improvements were lightly adopted, and \$12,600,000 granted for them. Of this sum four states received \$7,060,000; and the rest complained with reason of the partial and unjust nature of the distribution.* Of these 103 undertakings,

- 3 were never begun,
- 1 was given up,
- 4 were postponed,
- 11 were perhaps completed,
- 61 were not completed,
- 20 were completed, and these cost only \$409,000.

Congress has since given up the system of internal improvements out of the surplus revenues; and has become convinced that it is an absurdity, to extract from the people more money than is needed, by means of high taxation conducted at a great expense, and then to distribute it among the several states. Better would it be to let it remain from the first in the pockets of individuals; and then ask, not *how much* shall we raise, but *how little* will suffice. The general government, says President Jackson, should not become a sharer in private undertakings, or take part in the construction of roads and canals, in the elections, &c., and thus acquire an influence injurious to the liberties of the people.† In this manner, says Calhoun, the government would be converted into a mere machine for collecting and distributing money, to the neglect of all the functions for which it was created.‡

The seasons of surplus were followed, from causes elsewhere explained,§ by seasons of deficiency; which furnished occasion for numerous censures respecting erroneous calculations, inefficient supervision, extensive frauds, superfluous printing of unnecessary papers and reports, injudicious and excessive granting of

* Financial Report for 1838, p. 15.

† Messages of 1830 and 1834. Trotter, Observations on the Finances, p. 10. Register, 1830, append. p. 184.

‡ Speeches, p. 449.

§ For instance, in the chapters on Banks, Taxation, the Army, &c.

annuities, &c. But notwithstanding all errors and defects, the government has only about 17 millions of advances and debts ; it has raised in the last four years a revenue of 120 millions of dollars, and has not only covered the deficit, but possesses a cash surplus of seven millions of dollars.

The expenses of government and costs of administration are, compared with other countries, uncommonly small ; which is evident from the *single* fact that the president's salary is \$25,000 per annum (about £5,000 sterling), while the queen dowager of England alone draws £100,000. The expenses of Congress amount to about \$200,000.

The vice-president receives	\$5,000
Only four ministers* receive each	6,000
The chief justice of the supreme court,	5,000
The postmaster general,	6,000
Eight judges,	32,000
A minister plenipotentiary,	9,000
A secretary of legation,	2,000, &c.

It has been asserted (paradoxically it may appear, but not untruly) that, for the maintenance of free institutions in a republic, and to facilitate returns to order and moderation, it is salutary from time to time to have a deficit in the treasury.† The above-mentioned surplus certainly arose from excessive taxation based on false principles ; and the distribution and expenditure of those moneys gave occasion for the exercise of improper influence, and produced factions and indirect corruption among individuals and even states. The general government can certainly never want means for meeting all really necessary expenditures ; and by the adoption of wise and sound principles respecting currency, banking, and customs, the difficulties and mistakes that have formerly occurred will almost wholly vanish.

If we now turn to the *taxation of the several states*, we see in the first place that they must lay taxes on no article that has been assigned to the general government. In other respects the amount of taxation is of course higher or lower, according as the possessions, wants, aims, and acquisitions of the people are greater or less. Neither praise nor blame can here be founded on figures separated from their context. The grand principle in the taxation of the single states, and the one most important in its consequences, is, that there shall be no land-tax, no excise, and no

* These at the end of 1844 were :

Calhoun,	secretary of state ;
Bibb,	secretary of the treasury ;
Wilkins,	secretary of war ;
Mason,	secretary of the navy

† Calhoun, *Speeches*, pp. 360, 462. Life, p. 36.

burthens on articles of food ;* on the contrary, by far the greatest portion of the disbursements are provided for by property and income taxes, so that the rich man pays his due proportion.

If the democracy allows no system of taxation to be adopted that would press immoderately on the poor, neither has it unjustly attacked the rich by an increasing percentage of the property tax ; so that all parties have reason to be content. The difficulties of a property tax, which are elsewhere often regarded as insurmountable, vanish for the most part in the United States ; because the supervision, mode of raising it, appointment of collectors, &c. are thoroughly republican,—*but above all, because the amount required and collected is very small.*†

This American system of taxation presents the most perfect contrast to that adopted throughout nearly the whole of Europe.‡ Where bread, meat, beer, spirits, tea, coffee, wood, coals, in short all the necessities of the lower classes, are heavily taxed, while the rich pay but little in proportion, those classes must grow poorer still ; where, as in the United States, they are *free from taxes*, the people are vastly better off than in Europe. Societies for the purchase of sheeting and table-linen, for aiding poor laborers, for tending little children, for nursing lying-in women,—all these and similar means of relief are benevolent and philanthropical : still they will never root out the evil, but often aggravate it. They disturb the course of trade, awaken hopes that cannot be realized, encourage improvident marriages, and are but new editions with alterations of the old foundling-hospitals, &c. Neither is the end proposed by these charitable precautions any more likely to be accomplished by the wild, fantastic schemes of the St. Simonists, Fourierists, and Communists. As long as we in Europe retain standing armies, expensive governments that interfere with every thing, splendid courts, settlements, endowments, &c.—so long will it be impossible to introduce the American system of low taxes ; and poverty, which is not to be exorcised with mere words, will continue frightfully to increase.

The dark side of the bright picture we have been contemplating is exhibited in the *indebtedness* of the single states. As early as 1783, there arose on the conclusion of peace the weighty question, whether the general government should assume all the debts of the states incurred during the war. As it was feared on the one hand that too many obligations would thus be cast upon the government, and on the other that it would be allowed too

* Calhoun's Speeches, p. 449.

† Where the requirements, as in Europe, are great, they can never be covered by property and income taxes alone.

‡ In Mexico the people are pressed down by a host of absurd taxes.—Mühlenpfordt, i. 394.

much power and influence, only those debts were transferred to it which the states had incurred for the common welfare.

Since that time the states and cities have paid off a great deal; but much more they have either borrowed, partly at high rates of interest, or issued in the form of state stocks: so that in the year 1840 the debts of nineteen states (the remainder* were free from debt) were estimated at 200 millions of dollars, exclusive of considerable debts on the part of single cities.† It has been proposed, that the general government shall assume these state debts, create paper to their amount, bearing interest at four per centum payable out of the proceeds of the public lands, and distribute these new stocks among the states, in proportion to the number of senators and representatives. As the property tax cannot be increased, as no excise can be introduced, and as there is no specie currency for the payment of interest in foreign countries, it is asserted that this proposition offers the only true, practical means of escape from every difficulty. But notwithstanding these difficulties, the proposal has not been well received. It has been regarded as holding out a premium for imprudence, bad management, swindling and speculating at the cost both of the present generation and of posterity.

The loud and bitter complaints which have been made, especially in Europe, respecting what is termed *repudiation*, demand a closer investigation. The Americans, it is said, have had the wicked audacity to repudiate,—that is, to declare that they will not pay their debts, but defraud their creditors of all their just demands!—There is no doubt that many of the states in borrowing and expending large sums of money have acted with imprudence and want of judgment, that jealousy and selfishness have been allowed to interfere, that secondary considerations have been raised to undue importance, that undertakings have failed, &c.; but from all this it by no means follows that the states in general, with their constantly augmenting resources, are not in a condition to meet their engagements. If therefore by *repudiation* be meant a declaration, by the governments or the majority of voters, of a selfish or even fraudulent bankruptcy, this would be so utterly contrary to the sense of right and even the worldly prudence of the Americans, that we readily adopt the explanation, that this much talked of measure is neither more nor less than a temporary respite, such as under the pressure of circumstances has often been granted before.

Moreover, national bankruptcy, the reduction of interest, the

* Viz. Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Delaware, North Carolina, and Iowa.

† Thus Albany had a debt of \$360,000; Philadelphia, of about \$1,000,000; Boston, \$1,700,000; New York, as much as \$13,000,000. These sums however are constantly changing.—American Almanac, 1841, p. 130; 1844, p. 229.

depreciation of the value of paper issues, &c., have occurred so frequently in Europe, and have been so arbitrarily managed by the ruling powers, without allowing their creditors a voice in the matter or a legal remedy, that the Americans might justify similar measures by such examples—provided that injustice could thus be justified at all.

Since of the debts of the American states 8 millions have been expended in roads, 42 millions in railways, 69 millions in canals, and 52 millions in bank undertakings,* it follows that there is an essential difference between the state debts of Europe and America. The former were mostly incurred on behalf of destructive wars, and can produce no further fruits; the American loans on the contrary were employed in peaceful enterprises, which in great part will be still more useful to posterity than to the present generation, and most of which will sooner or later pay the interest of the capital expended on them.

It seems indeed to many Americans as impossible to impose extraordinary taxes upon themselves for the fulfilment of their obligations, as it does to many Europeans to reduce their standing armies for the same purpose; yet both are equally in the wrong, and do themselves the greatest injury. Hence it was said by the governor of Louisiana, Alexander Mouton: "It is manifest that we have raised ourselves again from the deplorable state of immorality and wretchedness into which the country was plunged by indolence, extravagance, the credit and paper system, and the mad speculations produced by imprudent legislation."

At all events it is a proof of ignorance, folly, or blameable excitement, to stigmatize all the United States, or all the Americans without discrimination, as fraudulent bankrupts. Out of twenty-six states, seven have no debts at all, thirteen pay their interest regularly, and only six do not come up to their engagements. Of these Maryland,† Michigan, Illinois, and Arkansas commenced undertakings with their borrowed capital, which for the most part are still incomplete. They are now earnestly engaged in restoring their credit; in order with additional means to bring to a conclusion the works that remain unfinished, and from which till then no income can be derived. Pennsylvania,‡ who with proper exertions would doubtless have been able to pay, and who has therefore been the most violently attacked on the score of repudiation, has at length perceived that those who violate the rights of others always do the greatest injury to themselves; she has imposed a tax upon herself, will pay next year the current interest, and it is to be hoped will soon satisfy

* American Almanac, 1840, p. 105.

† The debt of Maryland is stated to be about 11 millions of dollars.

‡ Pennsylvania has a debt of about 37 millions of dollars, of which 30 millions have been expended on canals and railroads.

her creditors altogether. Lastly, Mississippi has asserted that the pretended state loans were never recommended and approved in a legal manner, and that little or nothing of them has reached the state treasury; wherefore she is under no obligation to pay either capital or interest out of the public revenues. Let those, it is said, be responsible who received the money, or let those suffer who imprudently furnished it at their own risk.—We cannot here go into the question as to how far those persons who negotiated the loans were empowered to do so, or transgressed the laws; and whether the demands of the creditors can legally be brought against the state, or only against the recipients of the money. We can only express a hope,—since twenty states of the Union have had no share whatever in the injustice or misfortune of repudiation, and five are about to free themselves from it as fast as they can,—that the twenty-sixth will also find ways and means of coming to an agreement with her creditors; and that thus the complaints of Europeans respecting America may be not only reduced to their proper measure, but entirely removed.

NOTE.—I will here give, by way of example, a few further particulars respecting the taxation of the single states.

In *Alabama*, taxes are levied on slaves, goods at auction, cotton in store, sales on commission, &c. (Amer. Alman. 1844, p. 264.)

In *South Carolina* the principal tax was levied as early as 1787 on real estate and slaves. In later times there has been added to it a sort of tax on trades, and one on theatrical performances and public exhibitions of all kinds. Statements on oath respecting property and income are made the basis of taxation; investigation and punishment however are resorted to in cases of necessity. Absentees pay double.

In *Georgia* the land-owners have contrived to have the taxes laid chiefly on merchandize and stock in trade; at which of course the burthened parties loudly complain. (Buckingham's Slave States, ii. 115.)

In *Illinois* the state and city expenses are raised in proportion to property; and this is the usual plan. (Ernst's Reisebemerkungen, p. 174.)

In *Kentucky* this tax amounted to only one tenth per cent.

In *Massachusetts* there is mention of a poll-tax on persons between the ages of 16 and 70, and a tax on personal and real estate; the former is said not to exceed \$1.50, and does not amount at most to more than a sixth of the sum required. All the rest comes from the property tax. Church property is not exempt from it; but exceptions are made in favor of the property of charitable and learned institutions, household furniture not worth over \$1000, clothing, agricultural and mechanical implements, young cattle, the Indians and their effects, churches and church-pews.—As the income from bank stock ($\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) and from auctions nearly covered the expenditure, the property tax was for a long time laid aside; and this occasioned in 1840 a new inquiry into the value of property, which was estimated at 300 millions. The entire revenue of the state amounted from 1837 to 1842 to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of dollars. In the year 1843, the expenses in round sums were:

Pay of the legislature	\$70,000
Salaries	61,000
State printing	7,777
Agricultural Society	4,060
Premiums for silk culture	1,798

Institution for the Blind	9,772
“ for the Deaf and Dumb	2,967
Militia services	27,295
Support of paupers	56,000
The governor	3,666
&c.	&c.

In *Missouri*, the taxes raised from lands, houses, mills, negroes, cattle, and watches, amount to from $\frac{1}{24}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. (Arnd's *Missouri*, p. 268.)

In *Ohio* the taxes amount to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the 132 millions of dollars at which the taxable property is estimated. (Amer. Alman. 1844, p. 278. Grund's Handbuch, p. 139.)

In *Pennsylvania* the income is raised from estates, auction-sales, collateral inheritances, tavern licenses, turnpikes, bank dividends, &c.

In *Tennessee* the taxable property was rated in 1840 at 125 millions of dollars, and the taxes amounted to \$136,000. (Amer. Alman. 1841, p. 227.)

In *Virginia* taxes are levied on lands, slaves, horses, wagons, licenses to merchants, attorneys, watches, pianos, &c.

In *New York*, the taxable property was estimated in 1840 at \$654,224,000, and the taxes produced were \$3,148,000. The entire debt, the interest of which is regularly paid, amounts to about 25 millions. (Amer. Alman. 1841, p. 195; 1845, p. 224.)

CHAPTER XXII.

POST-OFFICE.

THE post-office establishment in the United States has never been mixed with the department of finance, or viewed as a principal source of public revenue. The intention is merely to make the receipts always cover the expenditures, and to prevent the necessity of any additional appropriation for the benefit of rich letter-writers. In the year 1790 there were 75 post-offices, 1,875 miles of post-roads, and an income of \$37,000; in the year 1829 there were 8,004 post-offices, and 115,000 miles of road;

in 1838* there were 12,553 post-offices.

1842	“	13,733	“
1843	“	13,814	“
1844†	“	14,103	“

* Report of the Postmaster General. Hinton, ii. 276. Message of 1839. Mason, p. 219.

† In the year 1843 there were transmitted:

Letters subject to postage,	24,267,000
“ postage-free,	3,015,000
Drop-Letters for delivery,	1,026,000
Newspapers subject to postage,	36,334,000
“ postage-free,	7,161,000
Pamphlets and magazines,	2,000,000, &c.

The total transportation for last year amounted to 35,409,624 miles. The entire revenue amounted in 1790 to \$37,935; and in 1844 to \$4,237,285* The postage of a letter, i. e. of *one* piece of paper, no matter how *large* it may be, is for

not over	30 miles,	6	cents.
"	80	"	10
"	150	"	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
"	400	"	18 $\frac{3}{4}$
over	400	"	25

Two pieces of paper are charged with double, three with triple postage, &c.

Newspapers not over 100 miles pay 1 cent; over 100 miles, they pay 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents. Every publisher of a newspaper may send (under certain regulations) a copy of his paper to all other newspaper publishers free of postage. From Maine to New Orleans, at least 2000 English miles, the postage of a letter amounts to little over a shilling sterling, or to from 10 to 11 silver groschen for 500 German miles.

The post here as elsewhere, from the want of sufficient legal provisions, has fallen into disputes with the monopolizing contractors of roads and railways respecting the time of conveyance and costs of transportation.† Congress then made use of its constitutional right, to pass a law that the department should not pay over \$300 a year per mile for the daily transportation of one or more mail-coaches, and that the railroad companies must demand no more. According to the contracts, usually made for four years, the transportation per mile costs on an average,

by horse and sulky,	6 $\frac{3}{10}$	cents.
stage-coach,	10 $\frac{9}{10}$	"
railroad and steamboat,	12 $\frac{7}{10}$	"

Jackson is blamed for dismissing an unusually large number of postmasters, and appointing none but persons of his own political creed.‡ Hence since 1836 a right of co-operation has been given to the Senate, at least in the appointment to the most considerable offices. Formerly the entire right of appointment lay in the hands of the postmaster general. The postmasters receive a share of the proceeds; but this must not exceed a certain sum.

If, as is asserted, there were actually sent in *one* year, by government officers, senators, representatives, postmasters, &c.,

* Among these receipts the letter postage amounted to \$3,676,161, the newspaper postage to \$649,743.

† Report of 1838. The transportation for about one forty-eighth of the distance is per railroad.

‡ Buckingham's Slave States, i. 233.

three millions of letters postage-free,* this abuse must very considerably lessen the receipts. In the United States the post-office lays no exclusive claim to the transportation of packages and goods;† but in recent times its exclusive right even to the conveyance of letters has unexpectedly been disputed, and it has been asserted that every single state and every individual projector has the right to establish post-offices as well as the general government. It seems absolutely necessary that an appropriate and decisive law should be passed relative to this subject, and that the abuses of the franking privilege should be abolished. So long as this is not done, any considerable reduction of the postage, without great deficits, will be impossible; and indeed the entire system of national postage must sink into embarrassment, to the serious detriment of all the remote lying provinces.

According to news that has just reached me, the postage of a letter under 300 miles has been fixed at five cents, and over that distance at ten cents.‡

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TARIFF AND NULLIFICATION.

Introduction of Duties—Reasons for and against Protective Duties—Nullification—Compromise Act—Jackson and Calhoun against High Duties—New Tariff—Commercial Independence—Wages—New Factories—Advantages and Disadvantages of America—Protective Duties for Agriculture—Raising of Taxes—False views respecting Duties—Clay and Webster on the Tariff—Proposals for Compromise—Evils and Means of Remedy—Smuggling—German Customs—Union.

THE words of the Constitution of 1787 respecting the right of Congress to levy taxes, are as follows: "The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States."

* American Almanac for 1844, p. 132.

† Mason, pp. 134-143.

‡ This law went into operation on the 1st of July, 1845. It further says, that "every letter or parcel not exceeding half an ounce in weight shall be deemed a single letter; and every additional weight of half an ounce, or additional weight of less than half an ounce, shall be charged with an additional single postage."—T.R.

With very transient exceptions in times of necessity and war, the general government has imposed no excise or other taxes, but has provided for the general expenses wholly out of the sale of public lands and the duties on imports. Yet it is said in the first custom-law of the 4th of July, 1789, that "duties shall be imposed for the payment of the public debt, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." As however they amounted to only five per cent. on an average, no great objection was made. But during the last war with England, many domestic manufactures were established; which it was said could not support themselves on the restoration of peace, without higher duties to protect them against British competition. It was declared also to be but proper, to retaliate on the English corn and tobacco laws. Hence ensued in the year 1816 the first, and in 1824 a second augmentation of the tariff. In the year 1827 long investigations and interrogations were ordered respecting the costs of production, the price of labor, &c.; and, as is usually the case, the fluctuating, uncertain, partial information procured, led to still more erroneous conclusions, on which was based a new and much higher *protective tariff* for the manufacturers.* That the question of revenue was utterly laid aside, appears from the simple fact that the public debt was then almost wholly extinguished, and the income with good management exceeded the expenditure.

The consequence of these new custom-laws was, that on the coast and particularly on the Canadian border,† an immense contraband trade sprang up; and thus honest merchants suffered, to benefit a few smugglers and manufacturers. But the partizans of protective duties did not suffer themselves to be disturbed by these and similar results. They said: "The words of the Constitution (quoted above) give to Congress absolute authority to determine what are the wants of the general government, and how much is required for the welfare of the whole country. As now in particular the several states do not protect their fellow-citizens against foreign and injurious competition, do not establish and promote home manufactures, and cannot regulate the prices, all this becomes the peculiar duty and office of Congress, to whom the entire legislation respecting duties has been committed. Herein consists the true American system, which every friend of his country is bound to support."

In refutation of these views, the opponents of high protective duties said: "Congress has a right to collect only what is actually

* Thus on ready-made clothing of every kind there was laid an import, duty of 50 per cent. as if the tariff had been made by tailors and shoemakers. Wool was raised from 15 to 50 per cent., woollen goods from 25 to 50 per cent., hemp from 30 to 60 per cent.—Hinton, ii. 237. M'Gregor's Legislation, p. 194.

† E. g. from the island of Campobello in New Brunswick and in Passamaquoddy bay.—M'Gregor's America, ii. 37.

needed for the payment of the public debts and for the defence of the country. It has no right to declare that any undertaking seems useful to it, and that money must be raised and expended for such purpose; for in this way the power and influence of the general government would soon undermine the independence of the several states. The easily invented pretext of the public good, the eulogies bestowed on some dazzling scheme, will not suffice to take money at pleasure out of the pockets of citizens; the more these are let alone, the less they are put into leading-strings, the more will they succeed in the attainment of useful objects by their own prudence and energy. All raising of the duties beyond the public wants, and for the mere purpose of protecting certain manufactures, is unconstitutional, unjust, and imprudent. It is an obvious absurdity to suppose that labor, capital, professions, trades, prices, are in this great confederation to be restricted, regulated, or promoted in any sensible way by the power of Congress. It is a folly and a falsehood, to call this system of monopoly, this favoring of certain classes or pursuits, the *American* system; while it violates the doctrine of republican freedom and self-government; transplants hither the errors of Europe, in opposition to the letter and spirit of our Constitution; selfishly or blindly wrongs the whole people, in order to gain the applause of a few; or divides with partial hand the surplus treasure that has been unjustly accumulated, to attract supporters to these false measures.

“Natural manufactures will grow up of themselves; artificial ones are an injury to the people, and at last to the projectors likewise. America must and will acquire by degrees the greatest manufactures of every kind; but every thing has its time, and what is forced and premature is never in season. The absurdity and injuriousness of high rates of duty were long ago demonstrated in the justly venerated *Federalist*;^{*} and yet, after so many years of instructive experience, we return to what was then scorned and rejected.”

As early as the year 1823, the *North American Review* (p. 186 et seq.) gave an exposition of the matter as moderate as it is complete: “The laments over the distress and downfall of our commerce are one-sided and exaggerated. These are only temporary crises, arising out of too great boldness; and which must themselves be regarded as a consequence of very great progress. Other evils arise from negligence, ignorance, want of machinery and capital; against which protective duties would prove no efficient safeguard. At least it would be a simpler mode of proceeding, to seek for no specious pretexts, but give money at once to such as have none. Protective duties, on the

contrary, drive capital into perverse directions, and are as absurd and injurious for manufactures as for agriculture.—As soon as we comprehend that specie is nothing but an article of commerce, we perceive that it is absurd to say that a people buy more than they sell. The balance must always be paid in cotton or silver. Just as absurd is it to speak of the exportation of specie as a misfortune: it may be exceedingly advantageous; and under certain circumstances it may be less advantageous to export cotton or tobacco. What we do not need we send away; and what would become of Mexico, if she exported no silver? In a free trade nothing is imported or exported beyond the natural measure; nothing is imported that we do not need, and nothing exported that we cannot dispense with. None but an idiot can set up the proposition, that specie is always more needed than other things. If we want it, it comes; if we do not, it is better to get something else. Who complains that he has lost a dollar, if he has bought with it a needful pair of shoes? When people who never had any thing turn bankrupt, they cry out that there is a drain of specie; and the rich cry out along with them, in order to secure a monopoly and tax their fellow-citizens by means of protective duties. What if the shipping merchants, who always carry on an extensive business, were to demand a tax on domestic manufactures, in order to be protected against them and be able to import more?

“Every imported article is balanced by an exported one. The Englishman pays American, and the American pays English industry. It is only thus that trade and commerce and a beneficial reciprocity are possible. Some however would senselessly wish to have foreign articles, without using and paying for foreign industry, capital, &c. If I buy less, less is bought of me, and it is foolish to expend *more* power or money (either at home or abroad), when one can do with *less*. Otherwise we should have to propel steamboats by hand, in order to give employment to a greater number of people. A fall in the price of manufactured goods does not by any means invariably indicate a diminution of the profits; and even with protective duties, it is in general only the rich who gain, while the small traders are ruined.”

The American tariff (says a sensible English paper, the *Globe*)—unjust and partial in its principles, like all laws intended to encourage a particular branch of industry, and calculated to favor certain classes or districts of a country, to the injury of the rest—bears its natural fruits; since in the provinces that suffer from it great discontent prevails. The attempt in America to make laws for the protection of manufactures, is, in the peculiar circumstances of that country, of very dubious policy and certainly unjust, &c.

Arguments drawn from science and experience, which were urged in speeches and writings against excessive duties, as well as the most earnest remonstrances made to Congress during many years by the representatives of the southern states, which had seriously suffered from them, were equally in vain; the majority obstinately adhered to their one-sided, erroneous views. At last the citizens of South Carolina lost all patience; they increased their measures of opposition, and in December, 1832, adopted the bold resolution, to declare the custom-laws of the Union null and void, and to renounce obedience to them.

This resolution, which foretold a dissolution of the great and happy federal Union, and indeed partially carried it into effect, naturally created the greatest excitement and the most determined opposition. Such a *nullification* of the Union, it was said, is illegal, unconstitutional, imprudent, and not to be tolerated. No single state can decide whether or no Congress has unconstitutionally transgressed its rights and privileges. This is the prerogative of the Supreme Court;* or if it be doubted whether its jurisdiction extends so far, let it be decided by three fourths of the votes of all the states in a convention called for that purpose. When a contract is not fulfilled by one party, the other cannot on that account annul and destroy it, but can only enforce its performance. The grievances of South Carolina are exaggerated, the legal means for their redress have not been made use of, and the results not waited for. The American Union is by no means a mere alliance of independent states; neither does any such grievous oppression exist, as to confer the right of revolution. How if each state were thus to single out some object of dislike (as war, taxes, slavery, &c.), and thereby seek to justify nullification and its secession from the Union? How if, on the other hand, the Supreme Court, or Congress, or the majority of a convention, should wish on that account to nullify and destroy the nullifying state itself, or to alter the Constitution in essential respects? Nowhere in the Constitution is a right given to the single states to correct Congress, in case of transgressing its powers, by annulling the laws which it makes. Nullification is revolution; it breaks up the Union, and leads to war, conquest, and subjection. Never can a single state have more weight than Congress, never can a minority decide against the majority; for every congressional resolution is the voice of the majority of the people in the House of Representatives, and of the majority of the states in the Senate. The loss that would arise from nullification would certainly far exceed any possible gain;—and what would then become of the public lands, fortifications, debts, free

* Knapp's Life of Webster, p. 156. Jackson's official Proclamation. Webster's Speeches, i. 409.

navigation, &c.? Accordingly no state has declared itself in favor of nullification; all regard it as a forbidden revolutionary proceeding.

Such were the general complaints respecting the proceedings of South Carolina. They seem, when viewed from the point of positive law, almost incontestible; but they enter into no examination or refutation whatever of the existent grievances and abuses of the tariff. Let us now see how this state viewed the circumstances in question, and sought to justify her measures.* The substance of her declarations both official and unofficial was as follows: According to the letter of the Constitution of 1787, and according to the tenor of the negotiations respecting it, Congress has no right to impose taxes for other purposes than to cover the national expenditure. When therefore it raises money for a monopolizing protection of one class of citizens at the expense of all the rest, its proceedings are unconstitutional, oppressive, and unwise. Ever since 1816, the duties have been raised repeatedly under false pretences; from 33 to 38 per cent. has been laid on woollen goods, and other rates have been increased from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 100 per cent.; yet this mass of absurdities has been presumptuously and hypocritically called the "American system." South Carolina did good service by stoutly opposing this monstrosity; and though the remedy of nullification may seem a harsh and dangerous one, it was both lawful and necessary, and after ten years of vain endeavor, there was no other left. Besides, it is a palpable and wilful misrepresentation, to assert that the object of the so-called nullifiers was a dissolution of the Union or a total separation from it; they directed their attacks solely against certain *unconstitutional* decrees, and acknowledged the authority of all laws made *according to the Constitution*. Congress has no right to alter the Constitution itself; for that purpose other provisions have been made. As soon as these are disregarded, the opposition of the single states is the sole and legal means of upholding the laws, and in fact of preserving the *Union* itself.

It is a self-evident proposition, that in every kind of voting, political or otherwise, the majority binds the minority. But it is a dangerous and wicked doctrine, that the former can therefore do whatever it pleases, and that all rights may be annihilated by the force of such majority. On the contrary, the minority has also its indefeasible rights; otherwise this mode of decision would be the worst kind of tyranny. The relation of the people to the representatives, of the latter to the senators, of the senators to the president, of Congress to the states, shows that reliance is by no means exclusively placed on an abstract numerical

* Statutes, i. 201. Calhoun's Life, pp. 39-46. Speeches, p. 67.

majority; but, for the protection of liberty, there is given at the same time a proportionally greater weight to certain minorities. Thus both the letter and spirit of the Constitution prescribe to Congress the bounds of its authority, by which no taxation of the kind described and unhappily introduced is allowed. This unconstitutionally creates a privileged class, lowers the price of raw produce, raises that of manufactured goods, and ruins the Southern agricultural states, to enrich those of the North. Suppose the former states were to demand similar premiums and favors for the exportation of their productions; what an outcry would the Northern manufacturers and legislators raise! Out of 100,000 citizens there is hardly one manufacturer. These constitute a class but few in numbers; while the consumers are the great body of the people.

The cheaper a man can supply one want, the more he has left for satisfying the rest; and natural right and natural prudence are not to be violated, to satisfy the selfishness of a few who wish to sell dear. He who cannot carry on a business with free competition, should let it alone; the contrary principle is in fact destructive of trade, it sets the costly and artificial above the natural, and takes much from many in order to bolster up what is unsuitable in itself. All trade is founded on buying where the articles are cheap and abundant; the contrary principle leads to rearing vines in hot-houses, and making sugar out of substances that contain but little of the saccharine matter.

Protective duties prohibit or render difficult the introduction of articles *because* they are good and cheap, and close the market of the world to favor that of monopolists. To say, that "nothing more is desired than a temporary protection for young manufactures," is mere empty talk. Never did a manufacturer voluntarily give back to his fellow-citizens this compulsory boon, and every passing year renders the return to sound principles more difficult. Never was a manufacture *permanently* established by protecting duties which would not have succeeded without them.

Every protective duty that impedes *importation*, impedes *exportation* also; and he who will not buy, will find at length that he cannot sell. The native manufacturers, like many agriculturists, possess only a local interest; and Congress has no right to show preference and favor to such interest. They cry out to raise the duties; because they know that they contribute to them little or nothing, while prices are raised in a proportionate degree to their own profit. Without this protective tariff, South Carolina would buy 45 per cent. cheaper, and thus would be able to produce and to sell more cheaply. On that account purchasers are now seeking cotton in other countries; and if the South loses this branch of cultivation, she must be utterly impoverished; for she can esta-

blish no factories with negroes.* If at any time a greater cheapness has resulted, it was transitory and by no means a consequence of the protecting duties, but of cheaper materials, improved machinery, increased capital, competition, peace, &c. The government *can* do nothing to raise the price of American produce, and it *should* do nothing to enhance the price of manufactured goods. For that which is designed to secure the home market, the foreign market has to suffer; and high prices are of no use where the market of the world is open. Europe answers duties with duties; and this will lead to Chinese institutions at last. All this proceeds from folly that sets itself up for wisdom, and selfishness that claims the title of patriotism.

Thomas Jefferson and Madison both declared that for unconstitutional decrees of Congress, nullification was the natural and lawful remedy. Human sagacity can devise no more complete means, no more perfect principle for a despotic government, than the unrestrained omnipotence of a majority, and the arbitrary power of declaring what is the public good according to which such majority should govern its conduct. The Supreme Court may resolve single doubts respecting the Constitution; but where this is silent, the court cannot determine any thing new, or subject to itself the individual states. It is only through the independence of the latter that it becomes possible to uphold the rights and existence of the minority against the despotism of a mere majority; and hence the question respecting the adoption of the Constitution was decided, not by the collective majority of the American people, but by the majority of the states about to unite. In the worst case, and when all other means have been exhausted, every state must be allowed (as essential to its very existence) to leave the Union; none have the right to coerce it into remaining.

Such are the views and arguments of South Carolina. They seem the more important, because Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi, began likewise to find fault with the tariff, although they did not approve of the bold steps of South Carolina. There was the greatest danger that the Union would be broken up, or the protective system completely overthrown. The idea of nullification necessarily deterred all parties from acting in a tyrannical or hasty manner; it operated beneficially, inasmuch as it led men to the abyss of destruction and gave them a look into its depths. On all sides was urged the necessity of mutual agreement and accommodation; and this was seconded by public opinion, veneration for the federal government, respect for the individual states, and the numerous minority inimical to the existing system. The strongest right and the most indispensable

* Jefferson said: "Whenever southern and northern prejudices have come into conflict, the latter have been sacrificed and the former soothed."—Tucker, i. 385.

prudence equally ordained that the middle course, recommended especially by Virginia, should be pursued. Notwithstanding all complaints, there remained to South Carolina the merit of having indicated and enforced its adoption; and to President Jackson and all the other states the merit of demonstrating that the preservation of the Union was of all objects the greatest in importance and the indispensable condition of liberty and happiness.

Prophecies that on this or some other question the Union will be entirely dissolved, are mostly the result of partial or exaggerated views, or of a lack of courage and confidence. On the contrary, the history of nullification provides a new guarantee for the future wisdom, moderation, and stability of the Union; men will come to an understanding, before they drive matters to extremes. Clay properly exerted himself to compose the difference; and rivals were unjust who saw in this nothing but a proof of weakness. Congress in the year 1833 adopted his reasonable proposition, that the duties should be gradually reduced, by the year 1842, to 20 per cent. South Carolina hereupon immediately withdrew her nullifying resolutions; and it would seem as if quiet, unity, contentment, and the public prosperity, had received a happy and lasting impulse.

Soon however new complaints arose, and all the great and before mentioned evils of the succeeding years were ascribed solely to the stoppage of the national bank and the low tariff, although numberless other causes co-operated with these. In the superficial estimate of the balance of trade, the most important facts were overlooked; e. g. the large income of the Americans from freight and shipping, from imported metals, and from loans contracted abroad. It was erroneously desired that exportation should increase in proportion to the population, forgetting that this rapidly growing population consumed a great deal itself, &c. Hence General Jackson said in 1837, in his farewell address: "The various interests which have combined together to impose a heavy tariff, and to produce an overflowing treasury, are too strong and have too much at stake to surrender the contest. The corporations and wealthy individuals who are engaged in large manufacturing establishments, desire a high tariff to increase their gains. Designing politicians will support it, to conciliate their favor, and to obtain the means of profuse expenditure, for the purpose of purchasing influence in other quarters. And if, encouraged by the fallacious hopes of an annual distribution of surplus revenue, the states should indulge in lavish expenditures exceeding their resources, they will before long find themselves oppressed with debts which they are unable to pay; and the temptation will become irresistible to support a high tariff, in

order to obtain a surplus distribution. Do not allow yourselves, my fellow-citizens, to be misled on this subject.”*

With equal impressiveness, Calhoun, that sagacious advocate of a reasonably free system of taxation and trade, said in 1842 as follows: “Every augmentation of the duties is a violation of the Compromise Act of 1833. In order to give such violation an appearance of necessity, the proceeds of the sales of land were surrendered to the several states, the expenditures increased, loans contracted, the public credit prostrated, and none of the promises of retrenchment and economy were kept. Even the detested act of 1828 was not as censurable as the new one, because then so much instructive experience had not yet been gained. Since that time the expenditure has been unwisely increased from 21 millions to 27 millions, and the public debt from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to more than 20 millions; and all this for the favorite object of forcing upon us banks and a protective tariff. If an alteration of the tariff was requisite for the sake of revenue, why were many articles wholly freed from duty, while that on others was raised to such a height, merely for the protection of a few manufacturers, as to destroy all competition to the injury of consumers, and furnish no revenue at all? By cutting off the possibility of importation, exportation is also ruined; and thoughtless and ignorant speculators are thus attracted to artificially created branches of industry. When these sink together into unforeseen but very natural embarrassments, they raise a new and loud cry for additional protective duties, and legislators unwisely and selfishly assent even to the most preposterous demands.”

“A people who do not raise the raw materials, but are forced to buy them, cannot manufacture to advantage, if their sales are confined to the home market; neither can a people that raises far more raw produce than it can use or work up, seclude itself from other nations by excessive protecting duties. If in the United States capital is less abundant and wages higher than in England, still other things are nearer at hand, cheaper, and the produce of the country: and we have found that manufactures have flourished most when duties were low.”

“But pernicious as the prohibitory or protective system may be to the industrial pursuits of the country, it is still more so to its politics and morals. That they have greatly degenerated within the last fifteen or twenty years; that there are less patriotism and purity, and more faction, selfishness, and corruption; that our public affairs are conducted with less dignity, decorum, regard to economy, accountability, and public faith; and, finally, that the taint has extended to private as well as public morals, is unhappily but too manifest to be denied. All this originates

* Messages, p. 594.

mainly in the fact, that the most influential portion of the community are not only exempted from the burden, but are benefited by that which weighs down all the rest. Hence they crowd our tables with unheard-of petitions, imploring Congress to impose high taxes; and in this they are joined by the crowd of office-holders who prosper most when the revenue is greatest, together with the banking and other associated interests, stock-jobbers, brokers, and speculators."

"The great popular party is already rallied almost *en masse* around the banner which is leading the party to its final triumph. On that banner is inscribed: *Free trade, low duties, no debt, separation from banks, economy, retrenchment, and strict adherence to the Constitution.*"*

These and similar reasonings lost a great part of their weight, from the fact that the public expenditure far exceeded the revenue; and sure and efficient aid within a short time appeared indispensable. This could not be procured by mere economy, nor by taxes on consumption or loans in time of peace; and thus in the year 1842, a new tariff was perforce adopted, which in many instances raised the former 20 per cent. duties to 50 per cent.; indeed on seventeen important articles the duty amounts to from 45 to 235 per cent.†

It was easy to foresee that these measures would be judged very differently. Thus in fact one party saw in them the fulfilment of sacred duties towards their country and fellow-citizens, the only means of restoring order and prosperity, the necessary protection against European misery and beggary, the glorious commencement of an epoch of complete independence, the source of ample revenues and internal improvements, &c.

During the excitement of the presidential election in the summer of 1844, the views and hopes of this party rose still higher. Numbers enthusiastically advocated the tariff, as an infallible means of speedily becoming rich; and even the originally moderate leaders were perpetually driven to declarations of a more extreme tendency:—for this tariff-intoxication there was wanted a separate temperance society. But these very excesses necessarily led to a revulsion, which was manifested in the victory of Polk.

* Speeches, pp. 513–532.

† Thus, e. g. a pound of English books pays 30 cents, or as much as the German Customs Union takes for a hundred weight. Furthermore

Cotton goods pay.....	49–63	per cent.
Woollen "	40–87	"
Glass.....	186–234	"
Gloves.....	50–75	"
Leather.....	53	"
Silks.....	40–65	"
Shoes.....	50–75	"
Soap.....	50	"
Wine.....	60–67	" &c.

The declaration of his opponent, Clay, in favor of retaining the high tariff absolute and unaltered, must have revolted many; although they acknowledged his services on behalf of the customs, and approved his former more moderate course.

After the present over-excitement shall have passed away, some reasonable, middle course will doubtless be adopted; and this problem, although sufficiently formidable in appearance, will be more easily solved than that of slavery or the banks. Let us, however, even at the risk of some repetitions, examine the matter once more on all sides.

A perfectly free trade, a complete annihilation of duties, is, in the United States as in other countries, impossible. This income cannot be dispensed with, neither can its place be supplied by an excise or by direct taxation. If, on the other hand, importation is prohibited or rendered impossible by excessively high duties, this equally results in a destruction of all revenue. Although individuals of either party may have pushed their views to one or the other of these extremes, yet the friends of free trade in general are as far from meaning by its adoption to abolish all duties, as the advocates of a high tariff are from desiring to put a total stop to importation. But between these extremes there are many intermediate points, on which men can unite and come to an understanding. That in drawing up tariffs, respect should be had to the proceedings of other countries, is natural and proper;* but it is by no means advisable or advantageous, to imitate those foreign measures or even go beyond them. Care must be taken especially not to be seduced by uncertain statistical enumerations, brief experiments, and partial conclusions, into sweeping and erroneous measures.

The endeavor to attain complete commercial independence (that old European, and now so-called *American* error) is both foolish and impious; commerce binds together countries and nations for their mutual advantage, and none but an unpractical philosopher like Fichte could regard a wholly exclusive commercial state as the triumph of human development. The entire independence of countries with respect to each other destroys all *foreign* trade (witness China); the entire independence of families (who are to make every thing for themselves, like Robinson Crusoe) destroys all *inland* trade, and leads, not to an active all-sufficiency, but to narrowness of mind and physical want. An American historian observes, far more correctly than the German philosopher: "Mutual intercourse creates mutual dependence, mutual gain, and mutual friendship. May this continue for

* England lays a duty of 103 per cent. on an average, on 18 American articles of exportation; but she reduced her tariff at the moment when America raised hers.

us and our children, for our Eastern brethren and their posterity.”*

It is a very natural and commendable desire, that of warding off from America the poverty and misery of European factory operatives ; but if a high protective tariff were an adequate defence against these evils, they would certainly not have made their way into Europe, almost all the states of which have surrounded themselves for these two hundred years with a Chinese wall of duties. It is true that for the moment the competition of foreign vendors may hereby be prevented or at least impeded ; but while protecting the producers, men quite forget the unprotected consumers equally entitled to regard, and create within the country itself an artificial competition, which at length depresses prices and wages, in spite of all the prohibitions against foreign goods. When it is represented as the right and duty of *one* government to guard its subjects by a high protective tariff, the same rights and duties cannot be denied to any other government ; and thus by means of custom-laws they all set themselves in a useless counterpoise to each other. All depends then on whether a government has particular reasons for such a proceeding, which others cannot adduce. The necessity of procuring employment at home for an excessive population does not exist in the United States and it would be ridiculous to say it did ;—but then perhaps it is necessary to stir up the indolent, stupid, spiritless Yankees by artificial laws, and force them to industry and enterprise ! The same hands which manufacture only with the help of the tariff, would probably produce more, if left to their natural employments ; what is turned into one channel is averted from another, and the number of consumers is not increased by a mere change in their occupations.

The West and the South, goaded on by high protective duties, are now determined to manufacture also, and to turn even the negroes (as in the District of Columbia) into factory operatives. “ They will not drive us out of the market,” say the Massachusetts people ; but one undertaking will certainly restrict the other, which would be only a subject of congratulation if brought about in the natural course of things. The prohibitory system, like Saturn, devours its own children ; and the lawgivers who at first acted the part of godfathers to the new-born infants, very often accelerate the child-murder by a necessary change of measures.

It is brought forward as a principal and perhaps the weightiest reason in behalf of the high American tariff, that for the well-being of the people it is necessary to keep wages high, and exclude the competition of the too cheap and beggarly labor of Europe.

* Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 312. May the Western people always be of this mind !

I have already observed, that artificial protection to manufactures almost inevitably produces by degrees a poor population, and then an excessive reduction of wages ; but I must here protest against another contracted view. The friends of high duties in America only compare the wages of labor with that of Europe, and draw from this their favorite conclusions and results, without bestowing the slightest consideration on numerous other equally important circumstances ; as e. g. facility of water-communication, immense water-power, mines of coal of immeasurable extent and exceedingly cheap in the vicinity of the factories, iron ores incomparably richer than in Europe,* cheaper cotton raised in their own country, cheap land and cheap food, far lighter taxes, no obstructions to industry by military service, a free internal trade from Maine to Louisiana, &c. &c. If these and similar advantages are thrown into the scale of receipts, and the higher wages into that of expenditure, it will be seen that the American manufacturer enjoys a far better position than the European, and that the latter might lay claim (as indeed is also done for the purpose of mutual exclusion) to still higher protective duties. Thus, according to these principles of political economy, the German duty on Virginia tobacco ought to be raised higher, to compensate for the advantages of slave-labor, climate, &c. But it seems wholly inexcusable, if viewed after the manner of protectionists, that North American cotton should enter duty free into Germany, and the Silesian weavers be almost starving ; while attempts are made to destroy the cotton factories in Germany, and to force people to buy linen shirts and table-cloths. Such are the inextricable embarrassments into which every government falls which endeavors to artificially promote or hinder the natural and in the end the most beneficial course of things.

As soon as one branch of manufacture desires protection against the rest, the entire agricultural interest, with equal justice or injustice, demands protection against the entire manufacturing interest ; and it depends altogether on chance or superior influence, whether the duties are to be laid on corn, or on cotton and woollen goods ; †—but why not protect waggoners by a tax on railroads ? It is certain that one branch of industry (agriculture) suffers as much injury from protective duties, as the other (manufactures) receives benefit from a more extended use of capital.

* Even Clay admits (Speeches, ii. 41) that iron requires no protection against England ; and the same remark was made to me by manufacturers in Lowell with respect to the articles of their production. The American ore contains from 60 to 80 per cent. of iron, while the English ore yields only about 25 per cent.

† In America the minority of the manufacturers have for the most part decided, and in England that of the great landholders. Hence they are termed by Jefferson, "the nobility and landed aristocracy of England, men booted and spurred to ride the consumers legitimately by the grace of God." Owen's Speech on the Tariff, p. 4.

If when the prices of tobacco, cotton, and lard-oil begin to fall, it were proposed to grant bounties on exportation, the shrewd Yankees would not suffer themselves to be persuaded it was done for their benefit.

That in Europe more respect is paid to inherited than to acquired possessions, is true; but both are destitute of the highest estimation, if they are seen to be separated from mental cultivation. Nor is labor regarded in Europe as degrading or degraded: it is only more poorly paid, because the supply exceeds the demand; wherever this is not the case, wages and prices are high.

It is possible, to be sure, that the imposing of heavy taxes (as those in Prussia on distilling and brewing) may prove such a spur to industry, ingenuity, and economy, as to enable the producer to sell his wares cheaper than before; but in general every tax increases the cost,* and must be borne either by the buyer or the seller. Were this not the case, the manufacturers would certainly advocate a *reduction* of the duties; because *raising* them would then diminish prices, and along with high duties smuggling must also come to an end. No mode of levying imposts can give to one part of the people without taking as much from the other; and if a manufacturer allege that he *cannot* yet sell cheap with a duty of 20 per cent., he *will not* with one of 50 per cent. Those who assert that high duties are attended by a fall of prices, do not in general stop to consider whether the new and unexpected act of legislation may not compel some foreign manufacturers to put up for the moment with a loss; and whether the diminution in prices is not rather the result of numberless other circumstances than of the tariff. People very often content themselves with the abstract proposition, that demand alone governs prices! but what governs the demand? Does this continue the same with high and low duties, with prohibitions on importation and with free trade? Are we not thus brought to the conclusion, that high duties must make a people happy, and low duties unhappy?

Still more unfounded is the flattering belief, that the duties are paid by foreigners; and that by raising the American tariff in particular, a great burden has been cast upon the shoulders of the English, which American citizens formerly had to bear!† This easy wisdom all nations would soon get by heart; the much lauded protective system would produce the wondrous result of forcing the English to pay the American, and the Americans to

* "In general it may be taken as a rule, that the duty upon an article forms a portion of its price." Thus says Clay himself (ii. 144), the present advocate of high duties.

† Twenty-seventh Congress, third session, State of Finances, p. 5.

pay the English taxes ; an increase of duties would always give a blow to one's neighbors ; and at length a happy equiponderance would be obtained by mutual and total exclusion. This balancing-pole, with which old Europe and still older China have so long exercised their rope-dancing skill, and with which they have so often rapped their own pates, has also been taken in hand—and it is to be hoped for the last time—in America. He who spoils the market of others, ruins at the same time his own ; he who regards specie as the ware of all wares, the most desirable of all possessions, and who thinks that when one party in trade gains the other must lose, has not yet mastered the ABC of political economy.

It would however be most unfair to represent or complain of the declarations of a few zealous partizans, or assertions made in moments of high excitement, as true exponents of American science. On the contrary, sensible men of both parties stand nearer to each other than they themselves often think ; and though it cannot be maintained that the Compromise Act is a faultless and unalterable law for all times, it does not appear to me so very difficult, as regards either theoretical doctrines or practical experience, to establish a new and suitable compromise. According to their own declarations, both Clay and Webster, the advocates of a protective tariff, are willing to give their concurrence.

The former says :* “Extreme measures are always evil. Truth and justice, sound politics and wisdom, are always to be found in the middle path, the *juste milieu*. All ultraism is destructive, and is even attended with injurious consequences. We must reject as well the doctrine of entirely free trade, as that of excessive duties. Let me not be misunderstood.† I am not advocating the revival of a high protective tariff. I am for abiding by the principles of the Compromise Act, and am only for giving an incidental protection to our home industry. I too am a friend to free trade ; but it must be a free trade of perfect reciprocity. If we do not sell, we cannot buy ; and the measure of our imports is furnished by our exports.‡ A duty of 20 per cent. to be paid in ready money, and a free admission of articles used by manufacturers, would in my opinion afford sufficient protection. A high tariff I do not consider necessary. A system of duties founded on common conviction and consent, implanted in the breasts of all, is better than one forced from a discontented and opposing minority. Above all the theory of pro-

* Speech in Raleigh, 23d April, 1844.

† Speech of 1st of March, 1842. Speeches, ii. 548 ; i. 142, 155, 230, 246 ; ii. 439, 582, 168, 169 ; i. 220.

‡ Very true ; but this rule also works the other way.

tective duties presupposes that after a certain time they will no longer be necessary. *Both* parties, as regards their opinions, are equally upright, honest, patriotic, and eager to increase the happiness of their country. We should therefore exercise every forbearance, and constantly exhibit moderation and affability towards each other."

Let us now hear Webster. "I think," says he, "that a tariff with moderate rates and carefully prepared, is useful for the country. If the proceeds of the customs add to the surplus revenue, the duties must be reduced, even at the hazard of injuring some branches of manufacturing industry; because this, in my opinion, would be a less evil, than that extraordinary and dangerous state of things, in which the United States should be found laying and collecting taxes, for the purpose of distributing them, when collected, among the states of the Union."*

On these sensible, moderate views we will rest our hopes; and we will not animadvert or lay any great stress upon the fact that Clay, yielding to the zeal of many of his adherents, designated the present tariff—which was drawn up with the greatest haste in the moment of necessity, and passed through the Senate only by a majority of one—as unalterable.† Injurious as unnecessary changes in tariffs may appear, it is just as certain that there is scarcely any part of legislation which more frequently needs alteration; because the circumstances on which the scale of duties depend are constantly varying. Errors on both sides will best be avoided by leaving self-interest and partizanship out of the question.

Webster sneers at the demand of the democrats for a "judicious" tariff, on account of the general nature of the term, though the same objection applies to the demand of the whigs for a "sound" currency; but it would be unjust to deduce the extreme of absurdity from such preliminary general expressions. Webster's too violent accusation, that "the democratic party meditate the utter destruction, root and branch, of the whole system of domestic protection,"‡ would deserve severer censure, had he not in a cooler moment very commendably said: "I am quite sure that a calm and dispassionate consideration of this whole subject, by intelligent and enlightened men on either side of the Potomac, would result in the conviction that there is really no such wide difference, in regard to what the interests of the different parts of the country require, as ought either to endanger the security of the Union, or create ill will. For myself, I fully and conscien-

* Address at Andover, p. 25. Speeches, iii. 82.

† So once spoke Sir Robert Peel; but he afterwards altered a great many things.

‡ How far the democrats are from this, is shown among other things by Mr. Polk's letter of the 19th of June, 1844, to Mr. Kane.

tiously believe that, in regard to this whole question, the interest of the North and East is entirely reconcilable to the real, solid, and permanent interest of the South and West." *

All sensible persons, and those in America form after all the great majority in this respect, are agreed that the duties should not be wholly done away with, and not be equally high for all articles; that *ad valorem* duties are very difficult to estimate, and lead to inequalities and frauds; that a new examination is necessary as to what articles should in future be admitted duty-free; and that payment of the duties in bank-notes of doubtful value should not be allowed. Thus the field of dispute is narrowed down to the amount and gradation of the duties—to a mere question of more or less.

As every duty carries with it a direct or indirect protection, while to an average duty of 20 per cent. on imports there are to be added about 15 per cent. for freight, insurance, damage, &c., the American manufacturer enjoys in this case an advantage of 35 per cent. If this will not suffice, even the considerate advocates of protective duties must allow that forced trades are not advantageous and proper, but are artificial and injurious to all. Hence it is said by Brough, the auditor of the State of Ohio: "In consequence of the increase of our duties, the English have set up a system of retaliation; which forms a complete obstruction to trade. The agriculturists of the West experience this first, both in the lessened value of their produce, and in the diminution of the income from their canals and other public works. The deficiency must be covered by new taxes—an evil consequence of the recent measures of our government!" †

Another inevitable consequence of high duties is, as before remarked, the practice of smuggling. For, the assertion that "all Americans are too honest and too patriotic to engage in this culpable employment," may well admit of doubt; at least legislators should not—contrary to the *Paternoster*—lead them into temptation. Neither can the possibility of smuggling over the northern boundary and on the sea-coast of America, be denied. "In consequence," says Stephens, "of the heavy duties on regular importations into Mexico, most articles are smuggled in from Balize and Guatemala. Indeed, smuggling is carried on to such an extent, that many articles are regularly sold for less than the duties." ‡ Now is not this a lamentable and wretched state of things, where the smuggler defends the natural liberty of the people, against the despotism and partiality of their legislators?

That with the increase of trade and population in America, a moderate duty will suffice to cover the public expenditure, is not

* Speeches, iii. 425.

† Report for 1843, p. 40.

‡ Central America, ii. 252, 378.

to be doubted; and it will also (it amounts to several millions) certainly suffice to protect the home manufactures. Indeed the required amount might be raised with *lower* rates of duties, if a slight tax were laid on some articles, as tea and coffee, which now come in free. The reason assigned for this free admission, viz. the good of the people, would appear much more commendable and receive greater credence, were it not too flimsy to hide the real object, which is to raise the protective duties all the higher, and thus take with one hand more than the other gives.* The revenues may increase either with rising or falling duties; a system of duties may fill the treasury, and still be good for nothing. It is true that consumption increases with the ability to buy; but this ability does not augment in direct proportion to *higher* rates of duties, or in consequence of the protection granted to certain branches of manufacture. There are in the world as many poor agriculturists as there are poor manufacturers, and equally stringent tariffs have not elevated the different nations to the same degree of prosperity. In the most recent times the states of Europe have proceeded on a vast many different principles: while one has retained its older tariff, a second has raised it, and a third lowered it.

Facts such as these must put an end to the superstitious notions respecting the omnipotence of a tariff, and cause a return from extravagant hopes and fears, to that moderate course, which alone contains within itself the earnest of its duration, and leads to universal contentment.

The relations also with foreign countries, especially with Germany, will be improved by a judicious adjustment of the American tariff. That the treaty with the Zollverein proposed this summer would not be accepted in Washington, might have been foretold without the gift of prophecy. For there were united against it the momentary dislike of President Tyler and the intrigues relative to the choice of his successor, the ignorance of the Americans respecting German affairs, the zeal of all the friends of high protective duties, the short-sightedness of some of the Hanseatic corporations, the interference of England, &c. It is to be regretted that there was not some respected, well informed ambassador at hand, to represent the interests of Germany, to allay prejudices, and combat ill will; but all was left to chance, or rather was given into the hands of jealous rivals. As however the sagacity, activity, and concurrence of the American minister Wheaton failed to make any impression, certainly no endeavors of the

* John Quincy Adams fairly says in the letter to his constituents: "The tariff is *eminently protective*, far more than it is financial." And Clay admits that several articles have been freed from duty altogether, "with a view to the benefit and protection of manufactures." Evans's Speech, March, 1842, p. 17.

most able German ambassador would have succeeded ; still he might have prepared the way for the future, removed obstacles, and corrected errors. Thus for instance, it was asked whether Bavaria or Prussia was the larger state ! It was asserted that North America had no trade with Germany, but only with the Hanse towns, and that this must come to an end with the expiration of the treaty ! It was forgotten that the Hanse towns, and also Rotterdam and Antwerp, re-export to Germany most of their imports, and that on the reduction of the tariff they would import and export *still more*. Men allowed themselves to be persuaded that Prussia merely wished by means of this treaty to force the Hanse towns, Oldenburg, and Hanover, to enter into the Zollverein, and would then take back the privileges which she now offered to the United States. England claimed that, according to existing treaties, she must be treated in the same manner as the most favored nation ; and that consequently any reduction of duties that might be allowed to Germany, must not be refused to herself. That Germany would make considerable concessions in return for these allowances, instead of receiving a large donation gratis, the English ambassador very well knew ;* but of course he did not bring forward this point, and was glad that neither Germans nor Americans publicly availed themselves of it. When England puts its duties as low as Germany, whose tariff taken altogether is the lowest in the world, America can concede to her the same advantage. But in regulating the commerce between two great nations, men ought not to proceed in a petty, shopkeeping spirit, and cast up deceptive penny reckonings ; but should seek with enlarged views to promote freer development and closer intercourse. It is to be hoped that under the presidency of Polk this course will be adopted, the merits of Wheaton recognised, and the purely American question respecting the participation of the House of Representatives in making commercial treaties easily answered. If Germany and America will moderate their tariffs of their own free will, the desired end will be attained, without any necessity for making treaties and thereby tying up each other's hands.

* England lays on a pound of raw tobacco a duty of 73 cents ; and on a pound of manufactured tobacco, $\$2.16$. Germany on the contrary charges on a hundred weight of tobacco-leaf 5 thalers 15 groschen, and on a hundred weight of wrought tobacco 11 thalers. In official documents of the United States (Digest of the Custom-Laws, iii. 27) praise is conferred on the liberality and wisdom of the German Zollverein, but the opposite course is adopted.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ARMY, MILITIA, AND NAVY.

Number of the Army—Division, Officers—West Point—Army Expenses—The
Militia—The Navy—Standing Armies.

NOWHERE hardly is there exhibited so great a difference between European countries and the United States, as in respect to the *army* and the *defence of the country*. I will first communicate a few facts, and then append my remarks.

After the peace of 1783,	there were retained as a standing army only	800 men.
in 1790,	the army numbered	1,200 “
1796,	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “	3,000 “
1812,	“ (during the war with England)	100,000 “
1821,	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “	6,000 “
1840,*	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “	9,920 “

According to a resolution of the 23d of August, 1842, the regular force was to be reduced to 3,920 men;† it consisted however in 1843 of 7,590 men, among whom were 650 dragoons, 2,100 artillery-men, 4,400 infantry, 650 riflemen, &c. In the year 1844 the army numbered 8,616 men.

The gradual increase of the army to between eight and nine thousand men, is censured by many as excessive; it is however justified by others, who declare that this number, spread over a surface of such immense extent, is too small, rather than too large. The English, it is said, keep a comparatively far stronger force in Canada; against attacks or ill conduct on the part of the Indians, a quick protection is required; and at all events there is needed a body of practised men, to whom in case of war the militia may be attached. For this last reason there are placed in the American army at least three times as many officers as in other countries; and there is a very well conducted institution at *West Point*, for educating and training them. It numbers on an average 250 pupils, and has 30 teachers and assistants. It is richly provided with a library and every requisite for military education;‡ and a secondary result by no means unimportant is, that the youths

* North American Review, xxiii. 246.

† American Almanac for 1844, p. 129.

‡ Northern Traveller, p. 33. Mason, p. 128.

here brought together from all parts of the Union contract warm friendships which are preserved through life. The president and secretary of war select those who are to be received from the several states, in proportion to the number of their representatives. The choice is not bestowed as in other countries on poor noblemen's sons, or other aristocrats;* on the contrary, among 221 cadets, 59 were sons of farmers and planters, 14 of mechanics, 5 of hotel-keepers, 12 of physicians, 27 of judges and advocates, 10 of army officers, 4 of naval officers, 4 of clergymen, 48 of widows, 23 of men in various stations of life, and only 5 were sons of public officers. The discipline is so strict and severe, as to displease many. The subjects of the four years' instruction are, as enumerated: the science of war, tactics, the knowledge of fire-arms, moral philosophy, mineralogy, geology, chemistry, natural philosophy, experimental physics, mathematics, French and English. Geography and history I do not find expressly mentioned.

It is very wisely remarked, in the Report of the Examining Committee respecting the Academy in the year 1842, that the cadet should be so educated, as to acquire a love and a taste for all liberal studies, and that he should be penetrated with the desire of employing every leisure moment in the cultivation of his mind and the increase of his intellectual acquirements.

It is remarkable and characteristic, that in Europe the occupying of the cities with soldiery, especially the larger ones, is regarded as absolutely necessary to the maintenance of order and obedience; while in America no military whatever are stationed in the cities, but all are distributed along the borders and among the forests. In these fixed quarters, fortified in part against the attacks of Indians, the officers, notwithstanding much severe exertion, have still leisure enough at eighty stations to render many services to physical science, to make observations with barometers, thermometers, hygrometers, &c.† The pleasing results of this scientific activity on the part of well instructed officers have brought many things to light in America for which in Europe observers of a similar kind are wanting.

If we reflect that in America there is no conscription whatever, no obligation to serve in the army, that with high rates of wages every one can earn a great deal, while the large proportion of officers increases the expense,—it will appear very natural that a given number of soldiers should cost far more in America than in Europe, where the government pays the conscripts whatever it pleases, where many supplies and quarterings are not put into

* Yet it has been remarked, and with justice, that it is not advisable that youths who are too poor should devote themselves to the military profession in America, and have to wait for tedious and uncertain promotion.

† Forry, Climate of the United States.

the account, and no notice is taken of what the volunteer and the officer are obliged to spend over and above their pay, and where to set down *time* as any thing profitable or valuable is never thought of. Very characteristically and very justly, the time spent in military exercises (e. g. in the militia) is reckoned in the official statistical documents of the United States as a *tax*, and the value of the time which the people thus bestow is set down as an expense.

Notwithstanding all these particulars which directly or indirectly increase the expenditure of the war office, people are frightened when the secretary of state annually demands for that department twelve millions of dollars. This example however shows very clearly how easily and how greatly figures may deceive, when not subjected to a closer scrutiny. Thus among these 12 millions there lie concealed :

for improvements of roads	\$587,000
surveys	71,000
lighthouses	116,000
harbors and rivers	1,713,000
Indian department	842,000
pensions of all kinds	2,499,000

After these and other immense items of expenditure, there is then set down the "pay of the

army," at	555,000
clothing expenses, at about	395,000

and so on. Suffice it to say, that the whole expenditure for the army, fortifications, the military academy, stores, &c., amounts only to from one fourth to one third of the apparent total given above. The men enlisted, usually for five years, must be between the ages of 18 and 35, at least five feet in height, and acquainted with the English language. Those who are willing to remain in the service after their time is out, receive by way of extra compensation three months' pay.* Among the provisions

* A company of infantry has a captain, a first lieutenant, a second lieutenant, four sergeants, four corporals, two musicians, and eighty rank and file. A company of artillery has three gunners in addition, but only 80 rank and file. A regiment numbers :

Dragoons	649 men
Artillery	585 "
Infantry	557 "
Riflemen	549 "

The yearly expense of a private of *dragoons* is :

for pay	\$96.00
food	43.80
clothing	32.43

Total \$172.23

which the soldier receives are enumerated tea, sugar, rice, beans, potatoes, meat, &c. The serving out of spirits in the army has been entirely done away with; its place is supplied with coffee, sugar, or a compensation in money.* In the navy no one receives spirits who is under twenty-one years of age; older persons have their choice.

Many assert that the expenses occasioned by the army and navy might be considerably diminished without injury to the public service;† or rather that by a neglect of proper foresight and economy, they have gradually been suffered to attain such an overgrowth, that every soldier and every sailor now costs incomparably more per annum than he did twenty years ago. Although this censure may be just, the pay of the army is still not so great as to attract Americans born; on which account foreigners are also taken into the army. It is certain that many expenses, as for instance the costs of transporting men and munitions of war, have been greatly reduced by the construction of roads, canals, and railways: thus it is said that to transport a mortar from New York to Buffalo now costs 24 instead of 200 dollars. It is a principle distinctly laid down and strictly adhered to, that the military is altogether under the control of the civil power and is to be directed by it.

An institution of more importance than the small standing army, or at least of a more national character, is the *militia*, respecting the formation of which a complete law was passed as early as 1792. Every able-bodied man between 18 and 45 years of age, is bound to serve in it and to provide his own accoutrements.‡

Of a private of *artillery* :

for pay.....	\$84.00
food	43.80
clothing.....	27.58

Total \$155.38

Of a private of *infantry* :

for pay.....	\$84.00
food	43.80
clothing.....	27.45

Total \$155.25

The yearly receipts of the officers, in the shape of pay, rations, compensation, &c., is thus given :

Major-general Scott, commander-in-chief	\$7,539
Two brigadier-generals	\$4,436 to 4,951
A colonel (according to the arm to which he belongs)....	2,298 " 3,781
A major	1,580 " 2,327
A captain	1,113 " 2,024
A first lieutenant.....	821 " 1,355
A second lieutenant.....	797 " 1,290

* Grund, Handbuch, p. 24. Mason, pp. 127, 130.

† Calhoun, Speeches, pp. 463, 467.

‡ Jackson, in 1814, at the battle of New Orleans, took colored men into his army, and they behaved better than was expected.

The president is empowered to call out the militia and put them into actual service.

The general regulations respecting the militia are rendered more specific, clear, and complete, by the laws of the several states; although these are not perfectly unanimous. I give a few examples.

In *Massachusetts*, every white male between 18 and 40 years of age is bound to serve in the militia. Official personages and clergymen, the Quakers and Shakers, are however excused, although not always without paying.

Each one procures his own uniform and accoutrements, according to certain regulations; or else he takes them from a military depot. Artillery, standards, and musical instruments, are provided by the state. The officers of the militia, and also of the army, are appointed in different ways by the senate and representatives, by the governor, and by the officers themselves. Subaltern officers and captains choose the militia-men. Each officer and private who performs all his duties receives a bounty.* The number of training-days is very small; non-attendance and some other misdemeanors are punishable by fines. About 10,000 separate from the mass as volunteers, and in case of need are first called out; these are more carefully drilled, and if they fulfil all their duties are more highly paid.

In *Alabama*, the fines for non-attendance are :

for a private in the militia, from	1 to 3 dollars,
a lieutenant,	" 3 to 30 "
a colonel,	" 10 to 100 "

In *New Hampshire* and *Kentucky* there are similar regulations to those in *Massachusetts*.† He who from religious scruples will not appear in person, pays a dollar a day during the period of service. Many subalterns are chosen by the higher officers. For military offences there is a court martial. The officers wear the same uniform; for the privates no dress is prescribed.

In *South Carolina*, public officers, clergymen, school-teachers, pilots, and a certain number of persons that cannot be spared from mills, forges, &c., are exempt.‡ If the militia is employed out of the state, it receives the pay of the regular army. If kept engaged for a considerable time within the state, the monthly pay, to which some supplies are added, amounts to six dollars and a half. A uniform is prescribed. The officers are mostly chosen by election either by their inferiors or superiors. The governor prescribes when and how often they are to train. In this, however, colonels and majors also have a voice.

In *Virginia*, the militia are exercised for four days in the year;§

* American Almanac for 1841, p. 187.

† State Laws, p. 1167.

‡ Statutes, viii. 485.

§ American Almanac, 1839, p. 170; 1844, p. 127.

and the officers are required, in addition, to train three days before the regimental muster.

The whole number of militia in the year 1844 is stated at 1,750,000 men. Of these

Massachusetts furnishes	. . . . .	86,000
Virginia,	"	116,000
New York,	"	180,000
Ohio,	"	180,000
Pennsylvania,	"	247,000, &c.

Every where is exhibited a disinclination to spend much money and time in paying and exercising the militia. Yet it is said that many young men willingly enter the militia, for the sake of the gay dresses, and to win the admiration of the ladies.*

Every European officer will declare that three or four days' training in the year is insufficient; they will also find fault with the want of uniforms which is sometimes seen,† will animadvert upon the variety of accoutrements, will be offended at the idea of training in shirt-sleeves, and will regard it as a horrible crime for the men to amuse themselves with attaching paper queues (as I was once told they did) to the backs of the officers standing before them; nor would it meet with their approbation that, when the fines for absence are to be inflicted, the reporting officer should be prevented from reaching the court-room by a crowd brought together for the purpose, and thus after the time has elapsed be forced to go away. Indeed in the new constitution of New Jersey, it is enumerated, as I learn, among the inalienable rights of man, that no fines should be paid for absence on a training-day. The humorous proceedings here alluded to meet with scarcely less sympathy than the serious ones, and all is disposed of without any visible enforcement of strict obedience or severe punishment. It would be the grossest absurdity, say the Americans, and the most useless expenditure of time, strength, and money, for us to exercise our militia like a European army. would cost us still more, and be of no sort of use. Buckingham notwithstanding found the militia of Georgia so well drilled and clothed, that he places them on a level with the Parisian National Guard.‡ In New Orleans there was exhibited, chiefly among the French inhabitants, a predilection for military exercises and parades; and I myself have in several places witnessed reviews of militia which could not be distinguished from those of European troops.

Competent judges are of opinion, that out of the militia of more than a million and a half, 100,000 men might be selected for a first draft, and more carefully drilled. At any rate, on some

* Buckingham's Eastern States, i. 28.

† Slave States, i. 126, 355; ii. 69.

‡ Duncan, i. 229.

serious occasions, evil consequences have been seen to result from the present state of things. Thus in the war conducted by Jackson against the Creek Indians, the militia in an unbecoming manner demanded leave to go home; and in 1813, the negligent Americans were every where beaten by the strictly disciplined English troops. But when the former saw how much was at stake, and what their country and their honor demanded of them, they very soon learned (like the Prussians in 1813) what the profession of arms requires, and their enthusiasm effected what no mechanical discipline can ever accomplish. They obtained at New Orleans under Jackson and on the Canadian borders the most brilliant victories, even over Wellington's veterans; and General Harrison found himself compelled, particularly with respect to the Kentucky volunteers, to issue the surprising command, that they must restrain their boldness and moderate their excessive ardor.*

An American seaman who was pressed on board an English man-of-war, chopped off one of his hands, to disable himself from serving the enemies of his country, and said: "If that is not sufficient, I have still a hand left to strike off a foot."† The Roman feeling of this sailor, which was not, like that of Mucius Scævola, connected with a crime, and the enthusiastic courage of those militia, are not to be produced by drilling on the parade-ground; a right knowledge and appreciation of the inestimable blessings of peace cause the flame of true bravery to burn up far more brightly and strongly than a fondness for long destructive wars. During their voyages across the ocean and upon the dangerous Mississippi, in their struggles and privations among swamps and wildernesses, the Americans need a constant and determined bravery of disposition, which is seldomer found and seldomer appreciated, than mere military courage. They are the greatest *conquerors in peace* that history knows. It is there that we usually find exhibited the most laudable and noble courage, where men, supported by higher views of the destiny of individuals and of nations, dare to despise the vain "*glory*" of military conquerors and destroyers. This peaceful bravery surpasses all warlike courage that depends on mere over-excitement; and thus that which renders Germanic North America glorious, South America has never yet been able to attain. And indeed the same may now be said of Europe, to which the words of the virtuous Pestalozzi too well apply: "Many take more delight in looking at the parades of idle soldiers, are better able to judge of their deportment and their finery, and prize them more highly, than they do the industry and the honor of citizens."‡

* Schoolcraft's Travels in the Mississippi Valley, p. 26.

† F. Wright's Views of America, p. 312.

‡ Raumer's Geschichte der Pädagogik, ii. 301.

The Americans are just as little desirous of keeping up a numerous *navy*, as a large standing army;* yet according to the latest summary, they possess 10 ships of the line, 15 frigates, 23 sloops of war, 7 brigs, 8 schooners, 8 steamers, and 4 store-ships.† It was shown in the year 1814, that the Americans could very speedily strengthen their naval force from stores laid up, man their ships with able seamen, and even overcome the English. In addition to this, they took in the years 1813 and 1814 over 1600 merchant vessels.‡ Both parties bitterly felt the misery of that war, and they certainly will not lightly break the salutary peace by any dispute about a boundary. It is to be hoped however that the power of Congress and of the single states either is or will be made sufficiently strong, to prevent rash and passionate individuals from beginning feuds on their own score, and thus endangering the peace and safety of entire nations.§ “War,” said the peaceful democrat Jefferson, “is a wholly useless implement for redressing wrongs; it multiplies the loss, instead of furnishing compensation for it.”

Standing armies, which were originally regarded (like the *liberum veto* in Poland) as a folly and a misfortune, are now looked upon as useful, necessary, indispensable, and salutary. Panting in their grasp and drained of her best blood as if by vampyres, Old Europe drags on her feeble yet over-excited existence, unable to accomplish as great objects as were formerly within the power of a single city (Cologne for example, or Strasburg) or of one state of America just born in the wilderness.|| With the outlay made for European armies, or even for fortifying Paris, it would have been possible, by the adoption of well judged measures, to effect vast internal improvements, and to free the oppressed masses from their burdens and elevate them in the social scale, without the slightest danger to the state. It is not true that necessity imposes that brilliant but blighting curse to its present wide extent; certainly not in the mighty kingdoms of France and Russia. On the contrary, they are every where the result of ancient abuses, custom, errors, prejudices, poverty, vanity, want of employment, indolence, &c.

* “I should consider it as madness in the extreme in this government, to attempt to provide a navy able to cope with the fleets of Great Britain, whenever they might be met.”—Clay’s Speeches, i. 25.

† Amer. Almanac for 1845, p. 120. Message of 1844, p. 518. Some of these vessels are not yet quite completed.

‡ Warden, iii. 430. The navy costs more than the army. The seamen are very well paid. Sailors and stewards when in service receive from \$300 to \$750 a year; a lieutenant, from \$1200 to \$1800; and a captain from \$3,500 to \$4,500. On board a steamboat in Alabama, the white sailors received \$40 a month.—Buckingham’s Slave States, i. 264.

§ Message of 1837.—Annual Register, 1838, p. 481.

|| In Mexico likewise the numerous army is the ruin of the finances; and yet it was entirely routed by a handful of Texans (Mühlenpfordt, i. 397). Since 1820, all the disturbances and insurrections have proceeded from that army and its leaders.

Transplant the Americans and their system to Russia, and the standing army will be superfluous; the distinction between citizens and soldiers, so injurious to real freedom, will be at once removed; and the country and its president will be far safer without one mercenary soldier, than the emperor of Russia with his body-guards.

Were genuine Christianity and genuine philanthropy to find a place in the hearts of *all* kings and *all* nations, no standing army, no vast apparatus of hatred and enmity would be needed; and modern regenerated Europe would put forth with redoubled vigor new flowers and new fruits, upon the stock of its ancient, glorious, and manifold civilization.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LAW AND THE COURTS.

Legal System—Legal Studies—The Supreme Court—Circuit Courts, District Courts, and Courts of Equity—Justices of the Peace—Lynch Law—Mexico—Juries—Criminal Law—Bankrupts, Debtors—Number of Criminals—Law of Inheritance—Marriage, Divorce.

If it is very difficult for a foreigner to comprehend the law of England and the constitution of its courts of justice, it is still more difficult to become thoroughly acquainted with the corresponding features of the American system. For:

In the first place, the Revolutionary contest was not at all directed against the existing private law and the constitution of the judiciary; on the contrary, the English system, complicated as it is in many particulars, was for the most part retained.

Secondly, even after the separation from the mother-country, it was permitted to refer to the decisions of the English courts which preceded, but not to those which followed that event.

Thirdly, a peculiar American development could not fail to take place. This however was far from being exactly alike in all the states; and the departure was still wider in the Spanish and French systems of law, which prevailed in Florida and Louisiana.

Indeed the twenty-six states exist under such a variety of circumstances, that it would have been impossible to fit them with one general code of laws, or to commit such an office to

Congress. On the other hand, most of the states have themselves formed codes, or at least statute-books, and—what is doubly necessary in America—have made them accessible to the people by composing them in their simple mother-tongue, and (as in Ohio) by the translation and explanation of the scientific terms. Moreover there are instructive works, both large and small, from the pens of Kent, Story, Walker, and others, which are intelligible even to non-professional people, and treat of public law, the rights of persons, the rights of things or law of property, the criminal law, and legal proceedings.

The study of legal science however is in many respects limited in America, and takes little or no cognizance of the earlier historical development, of the Roman law, and of the legal views promulgated by philosophers. After at the most a two-years' course at the University, students hurry into practice with a view to income, and regard the profession of a lawyer as the best preparation for that of a statesman;* though the latter never can and never should be satisfied with the views of a mere attorney. Nevertheless there are found in America some generally received principles which are equally important for the lawyer and the citizen, equally fruitful in results, and of general application. For example: There is no national church, and no distinction of rank or inheritance. All citizens have equal rights and duties, and the union of the states is founded upon a compact. The sovereign power rests with the people, and shows itself in the majority of votes. Laws refer only to rights and actions, not to morals and opinions, &c.

In America there are two classes of law courts, whose spheres of action are peculiar and wholly distinct, although at times they intrench upon one another's spheres of operation; namely, the United States' courts and those of the separate states. To the former belong:

1. The Supreme Court,
2. The Circuit Courts, and
3. The District Courts.

First, the *Supreme Court* is composed of a chief justice and eight judges, whose sphere of action is determined by the Constitution.† Though it attracts less attention and interest, and possesses less political influence than the two Houses of Congress and the president, still it is of the highest importance and usefulness. It is in the United States alone that the highest court of judicature has the right to interpret the Constitution; to reverse such resolutions of Congress and of the states as are opposed to

* "Like greyhounds when the game is started, you pant to be let loose."—Walker, p. 17.

† See page 75.

that instrument; and generally to maintain itself as the third co-ordinate branch of the government, the Judiciary, in contradistinction to the Legislative and Executive branches. Still this power does not by any means extend beyond the *interpretation* of the Constitution: the court can neither change it, nor limit the rights of the people in this respect. Otherwise this ostensible application of the law would be very likely to degenerate into legal tyranny; since, as history has often shown, mere jurists are far from being the best advocates and defenders of civil liberty.

Peculiar and even embarrassing relations arise from the circumstance that the Supreme Court decides some cases alone, others by appeal, and in others again it has concurrent jurisdiction with the state tribunals.

Secondly, there are nine *circuit courts*, each composed of two judges, one of the Supreme Court of the United States and one of the court of the state. These courts, which sit twice a year, take cognizance of various matters in the first instance, and of others by appeal from the district courts; while other causes are carried up from the circuit and district courts, to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Thirdly, there are thirty-five *district courts*,* each composed of only one judge. They decide (excluding the state tribunals) respecting all crimes and misdemeanors against the United States, and in many civil suits in which the general government or its officers appear as plaintiffs; and lastly, they have jurisdiction as admiralty courts in matters relating to the sea, to consuls, &c.

I cannot here enlarge upon the exact condition of these tribunals, or upon the constitution and gradation of the courts in the several states. It is enough to remark in general that the English organization is every where taken as the foundation.

The very complicated forms of proceeding which sometimes occur have rendered *courts of equity* and *chancery* necessary in the United States, as well as in England. Decisions however are far from being made according to the dictates of uncertain feeling or mere caprice, without respect to law; on the contrary, the course of practice has here also reduced every thing to settled proceedings, the peculiarity of which consists chiefly in dispensing with certain very difficult and involved forms, in facilitating the reception of testimony, and in not always requiring the aid of a jury. Out of a thousand lawsuits only about twenty are brought before these courts of equity; which for the most part are held by the same judges, though not constituted alike in all the states.

The judges of the United States courts are appointed by the

* By the last accounts this number is already increased.

president, mostly with the sanction of the Senate ; the judges of the separate state courts, and also the *justices of the peace* (who decide many causes in the first instance, and with merely verbal proceedings) are appointed or chosen by the governors, the legislatures, or the people. Their term of office is from one to three and even seven years, or during good behavior ; more danger certainly arises from too frequent changes than from too long continuance in office. It is unreasonable to find fault (especially in the new states, where there are few persons of legal acquirements) with the choice of farmers and other such non-professional men for justices of the peace. These very persons are best acquainted with most of the matters that come before them, and have the greatest influence in preventing the adoption of arbitrary and lawless measures.

The so-called *Lynch law*, or resort to tar and feathers, which cannot be justified or even palliated in a country whose social and legal institutions are completely formed, exhibits, in addition to a reprehensible licentiousness, defects both in making and executing the laws, to supply which recourse has been had in all times and places to violent attempts of this sort. The traveller Hall says : " An administration of justice cheap and at every man's door, is the heaviest curse ever inflicted upon a country." According to this mode of reasoning, a justice expensive and remote would also be the best ; but in fact it is the want of near, upright, and acknowledged tribunals, that has mainly given rise to the despotism of Lynch law. If ever such outrages occur in populous states like New York, they are evidence of an audacious presumption which sets private opinion above the law, substitutes popular licentiousness for popular rights, and absurdly doubts of the possibility of a legal reformation of abuses.

Those who first settle in the distant forests and prairies of the West are no doubt in part hard-handed men, of coarse feelings, and disinclined to obey laws that are not to their liking.* Experience teaches us, say they, that a man lives more agreeably and in greater freedom, if he has but few neighbors. But gradually the population becomes more dense, and the children and grandchildren of the first settlers must accustom themselves to another sort of freedom, where the individual is not to follow out his own views in redressing his own wrongs.

Vastly worse is it in Mexico, where, in the province of Oajaca alone, from 1824 to 1831, over two thousand murders were committed ;† and where, in the city of Mexico and its immediate vicinity, the number amounts to about one hundred and fifty a year. Even in Europe there occur instances of violence, which remind

* Murray, ii. 421. Long's Rocky Mountains, i. 106.

† Mühlentpfordt, i. 322.

us of the horrid practice of self-redress known under the name of Lynch law: for example, the outcry raised against the Jews; the storming of the house of Haber in Carlsruhe; the riotous proceedings against a clergyman in Heidelberg; the contests of the Swiss respecting the Jesuits, &c.

The proceedings of the Courts are every where public, and *juries* are summoned in every important civil and criminal cause. Fifteen compose what is called the grand, and twelve the petty jury in criminal cases; five are required in matters relating to apprentices, seven in investigations of insanity, and six in disputes with regard to property.* Many in America complain of the provision, that the jury must be unanimous. In several cases a second trial is granted with a new jury, for example in case of improper conduct on the part of the jurymen, or of a verdict that manifestly contradicts the evidence, or where new and important circumstances have been brought to light.† Jurymen in general must possess the same qualifications as voters, and there are precise regulations as to their selection, rejection, &c.‡ They usually receive a compensation of a dollar and a quarter for every day's attendance, and five cents for every mile of travel. According to the letter of the law, the jury decides only upon the fact; but in truth they often decide, in America as well as elsewhere, on the legal question inseparably connected with it; and in this they mostly follow their feelings, being guided by the circumstances of each individual case. This may be the manifestation of a noble and more lofty sense of right,§ and may supply the defects of legislation; or their decisions may proceed from passion and partiality, and undermine the necessary rules of law. Yet where the people effectively co-operate in making the laws, they would probably observe these rules more strictly than elsewhere, where the laws are often so framed as to have a one-sided bearing. If notwithstanding we condemn the excessive lenity of many proceedings of the Americans, they on the other hand often find fault with our severity, as for instance towards Silvio Pellico, Jordan, Behr, Hoffman, Eisenmann, and others.

The criminal law differs in different states; in general however it is very mild, so that the capital punishment, hanging, is inflicted for only a few crimes; for the most part only for murder

* In some states such is the case; but the practice varies widely in the different states.—Tr.

† Walker, p. 538, especially in Ohio.

‡ In Massachusetts, for example, they must be people of good understanding and fair character. State or United States officers, clergymen, physicians, and persons over sixty years of age, are exempt. The lowest ratio is one jurymen for every one hundred inhabitants; the highest, one for every fifty. For every trial, they are selected by lot; and under certain circumstances, as many as twenty may be rejected.

§ In that case the jury exercises a sort of pardoning power.

and treason.* Vagabonds and other worthless characters however betake themselves to where the laws are the mildest. Corporal punishments exist in only a few states, and are seldom inflicted.

There is in the United States no general *bankrupt law*; and from this much evil has resulted. The imprisonment of honest *debtors* is for the most part abolished, or will soon be so. Where there is nothing, imprisonment does no good; and confinement usually increases the debtor's inability to pay.† Creditors too must be careful in trusting out their money. In cases of failure in business, a proportionate division of the property among all the creditors usually takes place. The laws of the different states are not unanimous as to whether a subsequent inheritance shall be subject to the unsatisfied claims of creditors, or not.

That the number of *crimes* against the person should decrease, and those against property increase, is to be expected with the advance of civilization and the growth of wealth. Besides this, innumerable causes and circumstances exert such a manifold and important influence over the increase or diminution of crime, that it is impossible from mere figures and statistical tables to draw accurate conclusions as to the morals of a people.

Slaves apparently commit fewer crimes, because the masters themselves usually punish them. The crimes of the colored people and of free negroes depend no doubt chiefly on the degree of immorality prevalent among them; but somewhat also on their civil position, the stricter laws sometimes enforced against them, different proceedings as to proof, the difficulty of procuring testimony in their favor, &c.

As to the right of *inheritance*, there are many minor points of difference:‡ but the abolition of the right of primogeniture, and the equal division of estates among the heirs, are universal; and

* In *New York*, capital punishment is inflicted only for murder, treason, and arson in the first degree. Homicide is punished with imprisonment for from two to seven years; rape, compulsory marriage, and duelling, for different periods up to ten years; bigamy, for five years. If an intoxicated physician prescribes for a patient, it is treated as a misdemeanor, and punished. In *Pennsylvania*, murder in the second degree is punishable with from two years, to life-long imprisonment; homicide, from two to six years; arson, one to ten; sodomy, one to five; forgery, one to seven; horse-stealing, one to four; perjury, one to five years. The punishment is made much heavier in case of a repetition of the offence. In *Massachusetts*, the strange proposition has been made, either to abolish capital punishment altogether, or to pass a law that the clergy should execute the sentence on a Sunday before the church door, since God demanded blood for blood. The laws against duelling are very strict in many of the states.

† In the year 1839, there were imprisoned in Baltimore 230 persons, whose debts did not amount to ten dollars each; and eight, where they did not exceed one dollar.

‡ E. g. in *Massachusetts* the parties who inherit are: *a.* The children in equal shares, and grandchildren in like manner when there are no children; otherwise representation *per stirpes* takes place. *b.* The father. *c.* Brothers and sisters and their children, together with the mother. *d.* The mother alone, if there are no surviving brothers and sisters. *e.* Other relatives of the nearest ancestor. *f.* Illegitimate children succeed to the mother.

the practice is attended with the most important consequences. The extremes of wealth and poverty are thereby prevented; population, comfort, and activity promoted; and more is gained in a political point of view, than is ever possible under the opposite system. The father is not bound by law to give each child a portion, nor are children and grandchildren bound by law to support parents and grandparents: hitherto, however, natural affection without compulsion has proved a sufficient inducement to what is reasonable and praiseworthy.

Marriage is regarded as a civil contract; and clergymen are not allowed to perform the ceremony, till certain regulations in this respect are complied with. Grounds for divorce are not the same in all the states. Those commonly cited are: adultery, impotence, intentional abandonment, imprisonment for felony, habitual drunkenness, and long continued cruel treatment.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PRISONS.

The Philadelphia and Auburn Systems—Reformation of Prisoners—Instruction—Female Prisoners—Reconciliation of both Systems.

It is well known that in the United States two kinds of prisons, or two *systems* for the treatment of prisoners, are in use: viz. the Auburn, called also the *silent* system; and the Philadelphia system of *solitary confinement*. Both have found such earnest, I may say passionate assailants and defenders, that we are reminded of the exaggerations of various theological controversies, and cannot but wish that their zeal was tempered with greater moderation.* It is certain that the prisons on *both* systems have been essentially improved by the exertions of judicious and well intentioned men. All have more reason to rejoice at this, than

* When it is stated, for example, that the Pennsylvania system is attacked only by "itinerant book-makers or morbid hallucinations of philanthropists."—Report of the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, 1843, p. 4. Or when it is said that opposition has arisen "either from a spirit of reckless denunciation, or a prejudice which is created by a mercenary opposition."—Fifteenth Report on the Eastern Penitentiary of Philadelphia. Or this assertion: "The Auburn system is an inhuman, a debasing, a degenerate institution, conducted without shame or remorse."—Smith's Defence of the Solitary system, p. 92. When it is asserted that "the Pennsylvania system has fully satisfied *its authors and advocates*," the same of course may be said of the opposite system.

to indulge in mutual recriminations; more reason to learn from one another, than to depreciate and misrepresent essentials on account of minor details. Thus for example, evils are charged now upon one system, and now upon the other, or represented as inseparable from it, which either exist in both systems or cannot exist at all. The cruelty for instance or lenity of the keepers, good or bad food and clothing, longer or shorter duration of punishment, larger or smaller cells, and a better or worse mode of warming or ventilating them,—these and similar things may or may not be connected with either system. They mostly depend on the abundance or deficiency of means, and still more on the character of the prison officers. One who has examined many prisons knows, that an establishment managed professedly upon the same principles assumes an entirely different character according as it is under an able or an incompetent director.

Leaving out of view accidental circumstances, whether favorable or unfavorable, that may belong to either system, there remains one highly important point of difference: namely, that according to the Philadelphia plan, the prisoners are kept wholly separate from each other day and night; while upon the Auburn plan, they work together during the day, and are confined in separate cells only at night. Highly as these different practices may be estimated, it appears to me contrary to a scientific use of language, to apply to them the name of *system*. To a system should belong the combination of apparently opposite and manifold particulars; the subjection of the whole to general principles; and an essential distinction between the leading idea, the mode of carrying it out, and the final results. Human freedom or restraint, accountability or non-accountability, corporal punishment, or incarceration, or transportation,—these would be contrarieties on which to found systems, rather than a simple difference in the mode of incarceration. Be this as it may, the seemingly very simple question, Are you in favor of solitary confinement by night, or by day *and* night? is not always as easily affirmed or denied as is often desired. Until a multitude of other questions have been answered and many secondary particulars made known, until one is enabled to descend from the abstract to the concrete, it is impossible to give any but a partial and hasty answer. What classes of offenders are to be incarcerated, for how long a time, at what occupation, in cells large or small, healthy or unhealthy? These and many other points must be first discussed and determined, before a decision can properly be given. To me it appears erroneous to adhere exclusively to one or the other method, without regard to controlling circumstances. I believe it possible to unite the two, to acknowledge and adopt the good in each, and to point out

their defects and extravagances. Especially is it wrong to treat the most different classes of transgressors in the same manner, and in *unequal* circumstances to set up an abstract, untrue equality in the eye of the law as the ultimate aim; when, on the contrary, we should shape and graduate the law, the treatment, and the punishment, according to these circumstances.*

If we reflect, that in former times criminals of every grade were shut up in the same space, and allowed to talk and shout without control, we must allow that in the silent system progress has been made towards moderation and good order. This commendable regulation need not however be carried to an extreme; for it is less hurtful to allow a few words to be spoken than to inflict innumerable punishments for them, and thus repress minor evils at the cost of greater abuses. Still less can I approve the costly means adopted to prevent the lightest propagation of sound; such pedantry belongs neither to science nor to justice. If in former times a barbarous avarice was usually conspicuous in the construction of prisons, we now sometimes witness a tendency to extravagant splendor. Many prisons resemble palaces, one in New York an Egyptian temple, and in Louisville and other places they are made to look like ancient castles. If we admit the principle of solitary confinement, that in Philadelphia is the most perfect, if not in the world, at least in the United States. This again shows how little the principle *alone* can decide; for solitary confinement in Philadelphia—where each prisoner is allotted a roomy cell with an adjoining garden of the same size, or in the second story two apartments—is a very different thing from what it is in places where the criminal is locked up in a small, dark, damp dungeon. For this reason alone, an imitation of this method under totally different circumstances might not lead to the same results or deserve the same approbation.

But even in Philadelphia, total solitude appears an aggravation of the usual punishment; wherefore there should be a strict adherence to the sentiment expressed in 1790 at the foundation of the prison, that absolute solitude should be inflicted only during a portion of the imprisonment, and should never exceed two years. The term of imprisonment ought always to be longer or shorter in proportion to its severity. Many legislatures (e. g. that of New Hampshire) have already paid attention to this; where this is not the case, equity is violated, or occasion is naturally given for an excessive use of the pardoning power.

* I have just found in the work of the Caval. Ronchivecchi sulla Prigione dello Spielberg, p. 91, a passage which I ought to quote. He declares himself (as do Messrs. Mittermaier, Petitti, Morichini, and Lucas) in favor of a "systema misto, nel quale debbe applicarsi solo per modo di eccezione, e a breve termine, il systema Pensilvanico."

That the Philadelphia method separates the criminals more entirely from one another than the Auburn, and that in the former they cannot become acquainted and so corrupt and mislead each other, admits of no doubt. But whether this is entitled to unqualified praise, and whether it is always and absolutely necessary, is not yet proved. The Auburn system takes from the prisoner two faculties, it makes him deaf and dumb; the Philadelphia plan in addition thereto, deprives him in a great measure of the use of sight. All this may be necessary for certain purposes; but there is certainly no reason for boasting of the extraordinary clemency of these modern systems, and doubtless many a prisoner would gladly endure bodily chastisement after the old fashion for the privilege of an hour's conversation.* Though some prisoners would rather live entirely alone than in bad company; yet in general, solitude is a very severe aggravation of the punishment.

Both parties set up statistical tables against each other, to show the operation of their methods in regard to health, sickness, insanity, &c. These accounts, however, have hitherto been so imperfect and contradictory, show so seldom the connection between cause and effect, and pay so little attention to influential though secondary circumstances, that I am in doubt as to whether in general they merit praise or blame. Still it may be maintained that the method which allows greater variety of employment and more bodily exercise, must operate more favorably on the health, and also affords neither time nor opportunity for those subtle brooding fancies, which rarely increase self-knowledge, but often superinduce a state of overwrought mental excitement or gradual stupidity.† The outward appearance, the apparent good health of a social being condemned to solitude, furnishes no certain proof of the fitness and endurableness of his condition: so the ox condemned to the fattening process of the stall, and the goose shut up to be crammed, may look well enough; but surely the one would rather be roaming over the meadow, healthier if somewhat leaner, and the other be paddling about in the clear water.

That by day-labor in common, prisoners see and know each other, and that recognition occasionally takes place after their discharge, is not to be doubted; but whether for this and other reasons the Auburn method is to be done away with, is a question decided by twenty-four or five states in the negative, against

* In Charleston, South Carolina, corporal punishment is used as a supplementary means, in order to shorten the term of imprisonment.

† If insanity often proceeds from secret practices, solitary incarceration is more likely to lead to them than labor in the company of others.

the single example of Pennsylvania.* Although subordinate considerations and prejudices may have aided in producing this denial, still the decision must have proceeded mainly from more genuine and weighty reasons. Among these are the greater cost, the less varied and productive labor, the undeniable danger to health from narrow cells, and also an instinctive feeling of humanity. It is true that this last, indefinite as it is, should not be suffered to decide alone; but neither should the understanding be consulted to its utter exclusion. Both belong together, and mutually correct each other.

The assertion that free intercourse among the prisoners is injurious and corrupting, is not denied; but it is maintained that the silent system affords an adequate security against injurious communications. There are also many crimes, and those usually the worst, which a man never repeats in his life, and where there is not the least danger of his instructing and thus seducing others.

But here it is at once asserted, that the chief end of all imprisonment is the *reformation* of the offender, and that this is possible only on the Pennsylvania solitary system. It must be allowed that by this means all deterioration through fellow-prisoners is prevented; but that the silent system affects and can affect the body only and not the mind, I think has not been proved. On the contrary, various kinds of instruction can be better imparted on the plan of quiet labor in common, than on that of absolute solitude. That the latter of itself elevates the moral feelings, is a mere supposition. Every criminal can and will in a few days, and under either mode of treatment, bring together in thought all that can illustrate his present condition, and enlighten him as to the future.† The prisoner in solitude will by no means think more than the one surrounded by companions; and should he think unceasingly of himself, he would not be the better for it. In the world, it is hurtful to think so much about oneself; it too often runs into an egotistical self-flattering habit, which gives no increase of strength or wisdom, but produces a diseased imagination, barren whims, stupidity, or even insanity. Formerly prisoners were flogged, in order to bring them to confession and amendment; now the same end is to be attained by confinement in solitary cells. The social propensities implanted in man render solitude a forced, unnatural condition. It may be justified as the punishment of crime, so far

* So far as I could learn, there have been out of Pennsylvania but two prisons, one in Trenton, New Jersey, and one in Jefferson, Missouri, established upon the solitary system.

† "How can a man learn to know himself? Through contemplation never, but through action."—Göthe's Works, xxii. 215.

as the general good can be secured only in that way, but not as an approved method of promoting virtue. It can as readily and even more readily conduce to distort a man's mind, and to render him stubborn, obdurate, and ferocious. It would be a far better means of reformation to bring criminals day and night into good company; and many would certainly reform sooner if not shut up at all, but let to go at large. There are criminals whom no system would amend, and *vice versa*; and in case of imprisonment for life, there can be no question of reformation for the good of society. In fact, the whole system of penal law would fall to the ground, if we should seek to found it solely on the moral improvement of criminals. Whilst these are in prison, it is impossible to judge of their moral state and strength. The most obdurate often display the greatest, and for the most part hypocritical penitence; and it is not till their discharge, that the severe trial begins for the excommunicated, estranged, and repelled prisoner.

It is a great and abundantly refuted absurdity, to maintain that crime increases with the extension of knowledge. Most prisoners are ignorant: in Philadelphia only 85 out of 217 could read and write; and in Auburn, only 39 out of 244. The Auburn Report for 1843 more justly designates the causes of crime as lack of occupation, and especially the increasing desire of rapid gains without persevering labor. Idleness and sloth are the sources of crime; industry and temperance, the shield of virtue.

In all prisons at the present day, better provision is made for instruction in elementary knowledge and in religion; it is only to be wished, that no sectarianism and doctrinal disputes may be allowed to mingle with the latter.* The kinds of labor are judicious and varied, and such a selection is made as to hurt the market for free mechanics as little as possible. For though prison-labor is dearer than free labor, taking into account buildings, superintendence, incapacity, &c., yet without these items it is cheaper. Many prisons conducted upon the more productive Auburn plan, yield even a considerable surplus, which is paid either into the state-treasury or into a fund for the support of discharged prisoners.

Generally the number of female is vastly less than that of male prisoners; partly because they actually commit fewer crimes, and partly because, as is alleged, juries are reluctant to condemn any but the most guilty.†

It is asserted that, every thing being taken into account—the

* Thus in Massachusetts a clergyman wished to exclude unitarian and universalist writings, but was compelled by the legislature to a more tolerant course.

† In the West Pennsylvania Prison there were only 17 white and 21 colored women, to 806 white and 140 colored men. In the East Prison, 1,778 persons had been sentenced since 1839; among whom were 1,145 who drank to intoxication, 328

increase of the population, the number of recommitments, &c., there is no increase in the number and enormity of offences. Most crimes have their origin in intemperance, a vice that of late years has greatly diminished.

It would not suit my purpose to make further extracts from the sixty-three new Prison Reports lying before me; but in concluding, I repeat the assertion, that every prison appears to me imperfect which does not entirely separate some criminals from the rest, and which does not allow others to work together in silence. It is not until we descend from bare, unqualified, opposing methods, and examine into the vast variety of circumstances; it is not until the now hostile systems become reconciled, and cease to present the most opposite results each from its exclusive and ruling theory, —that the prison system can reach the highest possible degree of perfection.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE POOR AND THE POOR-LAWS.

MANY causes and circumstances have hitherto concurred in preventing *pauperism*, that scourge of Europe, from becoming prevalent with all its depressing and frightful consequences in the United States. Among these causes we enumerate the youth of the States, the ease of finding remunerative employments, the more equal division of property, the laws of inheritance (which are not favorable to the accumulation of wealth), the cheapness of land, emigration to the West, low taxation generally, and the absence of all excise laws, which are so peculiarly oppressive to the mass of a people.

If in spite of all these favorable circumstances there are still poor people in America and in some sections many poor, this may be accounted for as follows:

1. Even the most perfect civil institutions cannot protect every citizen from blameless poverty and want, that cannot be remedied by the sufferer's unaided efforts.

moderate drinkers, 1,115 white men and 571 black men, 29 white and 63 black women, 1,086 unmarried and 582 married, 104 widows or widowers, 6 divorced, 1,250 punished for the first time, and the remainder up to the ninth time.

2. Idleness, sloth, and drunkenness (that great fountain of poverty) are found even where labor is well paid.

3. In several states the poor-law is defective, reminding us of that of England, and the number of paupers increases rather than diminishes.

4. Emancipated negroes and needy immigrants (the latter particularly in the seaports) become a charge on the poor-houses.*

5. False philanthropy increases the evil, and strict measures are regarded as unrepugnant or cruel. In the Southern states, where every proprietor must provide for his own slaves, and whither immigrants rarely resort, there are not so many poor as in some of the North-Eastern states.†

In a Boston Report, complaint is made that many paupers wander about the country, shun labor, and claim support as a right;‡ these go into the poor-houses only when they like, in order to get through the winter, and in the spring resume their idle way of life. The new laws of *Massachusetts* are directed against these and similar evils.§ The next of kin are bound to provide for the poor of their own family, and each town for such as have gained a settlement in it. The overseers of the poor have many rights and duties. They are especially to direct their attention to paupers not belonging to the town, to bring them into the poor-houses or remove them according to law.|| Captains of vessels who knowingly bring over bad characters or criminals to America, are liable to punishment. Able-bodied persons must work or go to prison.

In some states there is a fixed poor-rate, and the paupers are put out to the lowest bidder to be taken care of.¶ Their number is very different in proportion to the population. It is greatest in the large towns on the sea-board. In Illinois, on the contrary, there are no poor-laws; because there are no poor, or perhaps so few that assistance is readily obtained without legal provision.** “Mrs. Trollope,” says an American, “complains of meeting dogs in the streets of Cincinnati; she met at least no human dogs in the shape of beggars.” An industrious laborer can in one day earn as much as will supply himself, wife, and four children, with food for three days.†† Undoubtedly the poor in America are even rich in comparison with the Irish in Europe.

In *Virginia* there were some time since about 2,500 paupers, who were provided for as far as possible by relatives and private individuals; some however were placed in the poor-houses, where

* Warren i. li.

† Buckingham's Slave States, i. 114.

‡ Report on the Pauper System, 1832. § Statutes, p. 369.

|| In 1843, 15,655 paupers received assistance in the state of Massachusetts; of these, however, about one quarter were foreigners, mostly English and Irish.

¶ Amer. Almanac for 1838.

** Hall's West, ii. 203.

†† Warren, i. l.

by strict attention to industry, regularity, and temperance, their number was much diminished.

In *South Carolina* the overseers of the poor are empowered to purchase land and build houses out of the proceeds of the poor-rate, in order to provide support and occupation for paupers.* Illegitimate children, who are a charge on the state or who are liable to become corrupted through the evil example of their mothers, are to be bound out to respectable people—girls till they are 16, and boys till they are 17 years of age.

In the state of *New York* there were stated to be 37,000 paupers, in 1836, and 82,000 in 1843—an uncommonly large number for America;† but among them were very many foreigners and immigrants.‡ A pauper costs from 58 to 64 cents a week. In the city of New York there were in the alms-house, the Lunatic Asylum, and the prisons, 2,790 persons, of whom two thirds were foreigners,§ at a charge in all of \$150,000. Complaints were made, that paupers and criminals were not properly separated and employed; and that able-bodied persons crowded in to be provided for during winter, who in summer went out and mingled in the elections as free citizens. Appropriate laws have since been passed to counteract these abuses. In every town in the state of New York there are annually elected from three to five overseers of the poor, to whom is committed all business relating to this class. The necessary means are raised by a tax on property, and the influx of foreign paupers is guarded against by strict regulations respecting settlement.

In *Philadelphia* there is an extensive Alms-house with precise rules with regard to settlement, reception, duration of stay, employment, superintendence, taxation, &c. &c.

In *New Hampshire*, the overseers of the poor are directed to convey idle beggars to the work-house for a period not to exceed one year, and to compel by legal process the fathers of illegitimate children to maintain them. A settlement is gained through parentage and the place of birth. Otherwise there are required the age of twenty-one years, the payment of taxes, and real estate of the value of \$150 or personal property amounting to \$250.

* Statutes, vi. 410.

† American Almanac, 1838, p. 207; 1845, p. 227.

‡ For example, 668 Germans, 285 Scotch, 1,404 English, 196 French, and 7,291 Irish.

§ In the City Hospital there have been received, since 1792, in all 56,920 persons. Among these were:

Citizens of the United States.....	29,870
Irish	13,791
Germans	1,362
Prussians	283
Norwegians	283
Swedes	883
French	855

In *Baltimore*, the care of the poor has cost in different years from \$17,000 to \$27,000. Among them are usually found numbers of needy immigrants; in the year 1843, there were 250 Irish and 180 Germans. By far the greater number of paupers were addicted to drinking; of 892 only 63 were reported as temperate. They are employed in various sorts of manufacture, and in the cultivation of land appropriated to this purpose. Although allowed with undue lenity tobacco and tea, still many went away, especially in summer, in hopes of spending an idle and easy life in the country.

The danger of the formation of a pauper population in the large sea-port towns is not lessened, but increased by extravagant, I may say luxurious provision for them. Against this the *temperance societies* operate with a truly beneficial effect, and demonstrate that even whalemens in the highest latitudes need no ardent spirits.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

Lunatic Asylums—Deaf and Dumb Institutions—Institutions for the Blind—
Houses of Refuge—Hospitals—Widow and Orphan Asylums.

THE reproach that "Americans think only of money-making and of physical enjoyments," is nowhere so clearly shown to be void of truth, as in their very numerous benevolent institutions for the aged, the sick, the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the lunatic; which owe their origin solely to voluntary contributions and self-taxation. It is impossible to enumerate them all, and, to describe their specific advantages; still it seems proper to speak of a few of them in different parts of the Union, by way of example.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

In the year 1843, there were 26 lunatic asylums in the United States, and one out of 978 persons became deranged. The reluctance to send insane persons to public institutions is wearing off; since the conviction has gained ground that those institutions are admirably conducted, and that cures are much oftener effected in them than by the most careful private nursing. Some principles are universally adopted in the treatment of the insane, and certain conclusions have been confirmed on all sides.

Among them are the separation of the deranged into different classes; the entire rejection of all harsh and cruel remedies; the benefits of varied occupation, of instruction, and religious teaching; the impropriety of artificial deceptions, &c. When the deranged are immediately brought into these institutions at the very commencement of the disorder, very many are easily and speedily cured; on the other hand, the longer the disorder has continued, the seldomer and more protracted is the restoration, and consequently the greater the expense. Before the reception and the discharge of the insane, a careful investigation is usually made in the presence of physicians and magistrates.

In *Columbia*, South Carolina, the managers of the Insane Hospital are chosen for six years by the two houses of legislature; and these appoint and remove all the subordinate officers. The first of these receives a salary of \$1000, two physicians \$300 and \$200, and each attendant \$200. One attendant is allowed to fifteen of the insane. Among them were found in general more men than women, and more single than married people. For a pauper, the poor-officers pay \$100 a year; persons of property give from \$250 to \$650, according to what is required and afforded.

In *Hartford*, Connecticut, the Insane Hospital has an annual income of about \$17,000; and in 1843 it took care of 169 patients, 97 men and 72 women. Among 1,327 cases, the following causes of derangement were assigned: 224 hereditary complaints, 174 ill health, 113 religious apprehensions, 6 Millerism, 104 intemperance, 20 secret practices, 10 disappointed ambition, 6 jealousy, 94 excessive mental exertion, 69 domestic distress, 45 child-birth, &c. There are almost twice as many single as married patients. As a relief from employment properly so called, lighter amusements are provided: as walking, riding, books, games, music, and the like.

The new splendid Insane Hospital at *Philadelphia* has been built and established entirely by voluntary contributions. Since 1751, when an older institution was opened (the oldest in the United States), 38,400 persons have been received and treated. Among 439 patients, there are now 166 unmarried men, 84 unmarried women, 75 married men, 65 married women, 17 widowers, and 32 widows. The causes of derangement assigned are: ill health 64, intemperance (men) 26, accidents 32, religious excitement 21 (12 men and 9 women), political excitement 2, metaphysical speculations 1, tight lacing 1, excessive study 8 (among them 1 woman), opium 2 (both women), tobacco 2 (both men). Out of 258 insane men, 32 were farmers, 21 merchants, 23 clerks, 13 physicians, 3 lawyers, 6 clergymen, &c. Among 181 women, 20 were seamstresses. Severe measures are hardly ever resorted to: at the worst, a short confinement

and the putting on of mittens to prevent the very violent from injuring themselves or others. All the arrangements at this institution seem excellent,—air, water, warming, food, &c. A great variety of occupations are followed by amusements equally varied: such as walking in the beautiful garden, books, newspapers, music, concerts, circular railroads, &c.

In the Insane Hospital at *Worcester*, Massachusetts, 1,777 persons were received in 11 years, and 792 restored to health. Out of 699 patients, whose illness had not lasted a year, the large number of 622 were either wholly or almost wholly restored. The cost for each amounted on an average to two dollars and a half a week. Among others, a Mr. Johannot gave the institution \$44,000. More lost their reason from physical causes (intemperance, sickness, &c.) than from moral ones. Nevertheless, the superintendent, Mr. Woodward, remarks in his instructive Reports: The operation of the causes that produce insanity is an inexplicable mystery: the same cause and the same character may lead to different diseases. Insanity arises from political contests, religious fanaticism, debt, sudden misfortune, disappointed hopes, bankruptcy, bad diet, unsuitable clothing, excessive lacing, &c. There were among the lunatics the mother of Christ, the wife of Napoleon, the empress of Russia, the queen of England, the grandson of the Almighty, a turtle, and a woman with 100,000 hogsheads full of bank-notes. For the treatment of the insane, Mr. Woodward lays down the following rules: Respect them, and they will respect themselves; treat them as reasonable beings, and they will take the greatest pains to show that they are so; place confidence in them, and they will strive to deserve it, and will rarely abuse it.*

In *Boston*, Massachusetts, 1,191 persons gave voluntarily \$131,000 for the founding of an Insane Asylum and Hospital, and among them a Mr. William Appleton gave alone \$10,000.† The gradual voluntary contributions amounted to \$581,000. The arrangements at this asylum are not only neat and well adapted to the purpose, but are in fact splendid, comprising carpets, hangings, mirrors, mahogany furniture, pianoforte, &c. &c. More than one half of all the patients received are maintained wholly free of expense. The paying patients give more or less according to what they require; the lowest rate is three dollars a week.

The reports of Mr. Bell, the head superintendent, are highly instructive. He asserts and proves that it is extremely difficult to

* Woodward expresses himself opposed to an unconditional separation of the sexes.

† In *Maine* two gentlemen gave toward the establishment of an Insane Hospital \$10,000 each.

determine the commencement and the primary cause of insanity. What is designated as the cause is often but the effect and consequence ; wherefore the usual divisions of statistical tables, into *mania*, *dementia*, &c., as well as the figures designating the number of persons rendered insane by such and such causes, are not at all to be relied on. The grounds and symptoms are by far too manifold and too much involved in one another, to justify us in hastily setting down the result under one of the old accustomed heads, such as pride, religion, and the like. Where the tendency to the disorder exists, the occurrence of this or that circumstance may easily bring it on ; but the primary cause is often to be sought behind and beyond the last occasion. Mr. Bell is moreover of the opinion, that far more crimes have their origin in insanity than is commonly supposed ; still he grants that the public should be secured by the confinement of such persons, although they are not accountable beings.

The Insane Hospital at *Columbus*, Ohio, I shall notice in another place.

DEAF AND DUMB INSTITUTIONS.

There are in the United States several excellently conducted institutions for the deaf and dumb.* Yet Mr. Horace Mann, who has so highly distinguished himself in the cause of education, remarks that the German institutions deserve the preference, inasmuch as they teach their pupils to communicate not only by *signs*, but also by *sounds*.† To this it is objected :

1st. "The Germans aim indeed at this ; but they accomplish nothing by it, and for the sake of it neglect other instruction." Both objections may be pronounced exaggerated.

2dly. "The dumb can never communicate except with those who understand their language." Certainly ; but this natural limitation applies to all mankind, and the *signs* of the deaf and dumb are understood by nobody who has not learned them. Words however find a much more general acceptance and understanding than signs, and the alphabet of sounds opens a much wider and more convenient sphere of communication than the alphabet of signs and figures.

3dly. "The idea that the mere ability to pronounce a word is a help to understanding it, is so palpable an absurdity as to need no serious refutation." A parrot or a starling certainly does not arrive at the meaning of a word by pronouncing it ; but for man, speech is the vehicle of thought, and where (as in the case of the

* E. g. one in New York with a yearly income of about \$31,000 and numerous pupils, who are employed as gardeners, shoemakers, tailors, cabinet-makers, book-binders, &c. In Philadelphia there is a Deaf and Dumb Institution with 121 pupils, and the state contributes to it \$11,000.

† North American Review, No. 125.

deaf and dumb) speech is wanting, its place must be supplied by signs. If these signs are useful for the interchange of thoughts, why deny to sounds and words their greater natural advantages?*

The true reason, which has deterred people in England and America from teaching this language of sounds and from succeeding in the endeavor, lies undoubtedly in the want of tone in the English language, its very different pronunciations of the same letter, and its excessively arbitrary orthography. Certainly no deaf and dumb person can learn to understand an Englishman; because he *sees* only, and does not *hear* the language. Scarcely one Englishman in a thousand speaks distinctly, in the sense in which the German and Italian languages, for instance, require and produce distinctness; scarcely one moves his lips so that it is possible to translate the motions into sounds, and recognise the latter from the former.

INSTITUTIONS FOR THE BLIND.

Among several very excellent institutions for the blind, I mention first that in Philadelphia, which numbers about 70 pupils. They are well taught in reading, writing, cyphering, and singing, as also in different sciences; and at the same time they are occupied in various ways, such as making wicker-work, carpets, brushes, and the like. At the printing-press there have been printed various religious and secular works (some German) and suitable pieces of music for the use of the blind.

The Perkins Institution for the Blind in Boston takes its name from an individual who gave \$50,000 towards its establishment. Another legacy, that of Mr. Tidd, amounted to \$17,000. About 70 blind persons are supported out of the annual income. A Bible printed here costs \$20, and is distributed to the poor and to Bible-Societies gratis. The reports of Mr. Howe, the superintendent, are highly instructive. His remarkable acuteness and untiring patience have been admirably shown in the case of the blind, deaf, and dumb girl, Laura Bridgman; of whom Mr. Dickens, guided by the official reports, has already given a very circumstantial account. The instruction began with placing before her objects with their names placed upon them in raised letters, until by repeatedly and carefully feeling them, she at length comprehended their connection, and could herself find out and compose the inscription for each object. By degrees she learnt the signification and use of adjectives, verbs, pronouns, &c., and to talk with wonderful rapidity with the signs of the deaf and dumb. She writes correctly and legi-

* "Men did not select vocal sounds for a colloquial medium from among other possible media, but it is the natural one."—Howe, Report on the Perkins Institution, 1843, p. 28.

bly, and keeps a journal of the events of her life. Especially touching are her great cheerfulness and the gratitude which she displays to her instructor and instructress. She certainly possesses great natural talents; for a blind boy named John Cankford, from Annapolis, Maryland, who has also lost hearing and speech, makes but very little progress, notwithstanding all the efforts of his teacher, Miss Colton, and after short intervals of excitement falls back into a state of stupidity.

Mr. Howe justly remarks, how necessary it is for the blind, even after their education properly so called is completed, that they should all be assisted onward in the path of life. He directs attention also to their talents and aptness for music. This however is necessarily limited, where the reading of notes, along with others is concerned; while in giving instruction, the want of sight must render it difficult for them to guide the fingering and the position of the hands.

HOUSES OF REFUGE.

The houses of refuge are also worthy of particular mention. In several cities, as New York and Philadelphia,* they are established upon an excellent footing, for forsaken, orphan, vagrant, or begging children, and even for youthful criminals. No regular jury decides upon their reception or punishment, but judges and overseers especially appointed; since in general the design and object are not punishment, but to offer—and excellent results have attended the plan—a place of refuge and reformation. Good instruction, both secular and religious, is intermixed with many kinds of labor; such as book-binding, chair-making and mending, umbrella-making, cooking, washing, sewing, &c. In New York, since 1825, there have been trained there 2,367 boys and 953 girls; and the yearly expenses of the establishment amount to near \$20,000 for about 320 individuals. In Philadelphia there were received in the year 1843, 110 boys and 58 girls; and besides the committee of inspection consisting of men, there was chosen one of women also. The average cost for a child, including food, clothing, bedding, fuel, washing, furniture, superintendence, &c., amounted to about two dollars and thirty cents per week. They are supplied with rye-bread in summer, and wheat-bread in winter. For dinner they have soup, meat, and vegetables; for supper mush or boiled rice.

HOSPITALS; WIDOW AND ORPHAN ASYLUMS.

These are so numerous and in general so well conducted, that I can here only bestow upon them a general commendation, without entering into particulars.

* In New York colored children also are received, but not in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE POLICE.

Gambling-houses, Lottery-offices, Hotels—Drivers, Cruelty to Animals—Games of Chance—Vagrants—Firemen.

It is evident, that many kinds of European *police* and police supervision cannot be employed in the United States. It would however be a great mistake to suppose that they take no trouble about any thing of the sort, and allow every man to act according to his own will and pleasure. On the contrary, the police-laws are for the most part excellent; and in many states (as Massachusetts) there are even traces of the ancient puritanic strictness in the punishment of adultery, fornication, selling obscene books, blasphemy, swearing, and drunkenness. But if in Europe unnecessary supervision and tyrannical intermeddling often occur, there is frequently felt in the United States a lack of useful and essential restraint. *Too little* is more easily borne with than *too much*; and if police-officers in the one country are sometimes arrogant and rough, in the other they are obliged to study an excess of politeness. Thus a police-officer is said to have addressed a rioter in the following terms: "My dear, good sir, will you not have the kindness to go home? Your worthy wife and amiable children must be anxious about you," &c.

I subjoin a few more specimens from the police laws of Massachusetts. Gambling debts are not valid; gaming-houses and lotteries are prohibited;* *inn-keepers* who turn away travellers without sufficient reason, and fail to provide suitably for their entertainment, are fined \$50, and lose their license. Such license is to be given only to persons of good morals and blameless reputation. They are bound to make up the loss of stolen goods;† are not to sell liquor to the point of drunkenness, are to give none whatever to minors or servants, or to grant them any credit. If an inn-keeper allows games with cards, dice, or billiards in his house, himself and the gamesters are punished. The selectmen may prohibit a tavern-keeper, under a penalty of twenty dollars, from furnishing dissolute and profligate fellows with any thing whatever. On week-days these public houses are closed at ten

* Statutes, p. 376.

† Kent, ii. 593.

o'clock, and are not opened at all on Sundays. Only one spirit-shop is allowed to 2,000 inhabitants. Should a *driver* leave his horses unfastened when he has passengers in his carriage, he is liable to two months' imprisonment, and a fine of fifty dollars. *Cruelty to animals* is punished by a fine, not exceeding \$100, and imprisonment not over one year. If people are killed by officers in the use of legal force, the latter are not liable to indictment.

In South Carolina all *games of chance* are strictly forbidden. The gamblers are fined not over \$500, and the keeper of the house not over \$1,000; they are imprisoned not over a year, and the money staked is forfeited, one half to the informer, and the other half to the state. On any probable grounds of suspicion, a forcible entrance into the gambling-room is allowed. Equally strict are the laws in Illinois and Kentucky.* In the latter state what is lost in play may be demanded back by the loser, and heirs and guardians retain this right for five years.

In New Hampshire a justice of the peace, on evidence being adduced, is allowed (though under reservation of certain rights of appeal) to send to the work-house for six months, not only *vagrants* and other idle and worthless persons, but also players at forbidden games, all fortune-tellers, or those who offer, through secret arts, to discover stolen goods. Also all pipers, fiddlers, vagabonds, stubborn servants and children, night-revellers, tipplers, obscene talkers,—all who neglect their business, waste their substance, and provide neither for themselves nor their families. Similar enactments exist in New York; but of course they must be enforced with great caution, in order not to lead to abuses.

In the *fire department* of the police, many evils have arisen from the exemption of young men from militia duty, on condition of enrolling themselves as firemen. They are seldom inclined to obey strictly the orders that are issued; besides which they fall into bad company, and, in some places, into violent and even bloody contests. The firemen of Philadelphia are accused of purposely allowing a church to burn down, because they did not like the doctrine preached there. In Boston these companies have already given place to better arrangements; and some other cities would do well to follow the example.

* Hall's West, p. ii. 202. Statutes of Kentucky, i. pp. 242, 756, 758.

CHAPTER XXX.

ADMINISTRATION, CITY REGULATIONS.

Self-Government—Counties—Communities—Baltimore, Boston, Charleston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Richmond, Washington—Change of Officers.

No country of the world is so little governed by authority as the United States; and nowhere is so much left to the immediate regulation and decision of the people themselves. This absence of all pupillage and centralization lessens, without doubt, the strength of the general government; as was seen, for example, at the breaking out of the war of 1812, the contests on the Canadian frontier, the affairs of the Bank, &c. Legal means, however, have still been found of sufficient power to produce obedience on the part of the several states (as in South Carolina, on the question of nullification), and also to bring into harmony with the jurisdiction of each state, the authorities of its cities and towns. Moreover the right of self-government, thus granted, induces every individual citizen to understand and take part in public affairs, lessens discontent and opposition, and leads to maturity and independence in the best sense of the word.

If the general government has but four ministers (for the Departments of State, Treasury, War, and the Navy), it is plain, from this small number, that it does not extend its attention and co-operation to the great variety of objects, which elsewhere occupy an immense number of officers, and impose heavy cares upon them.

The same holds good of the government of the separate states, Each state is divided into a certain number of *counties*; though these do not so much form peculiar political corporations, as divisions for certain branches of administration. All the voters in a county choose, usually every year, three commissioners and a treasurer. The business of the former is to take care of the public buildings, the highways, licenses, the division and liquidation of the county-taxes, the administration of the prisons, poor-houses, county property, &c. Sheriffs are usually appointed by the governor, and confirmed by his council, or the senate, for a greater or less number of years. † They watch over the public

* They have neither seat nor vote in Congress.

† Mason's Treatise, p. 49.

peace, guard against and punish all breaches of it, superintend the prisons, and execute all commands emanating from the higher officers. Registers of deeds are often chosen for five years by the whole body of voters. The duties of officers are minutely prescribed; and in the *justices of the peace*, and especially in the meetings composed of several of them, there is a peculiar means for compelling the officers to perform their duties. The functions of coroners and constables are similar to those of the same officers in England.

In direct opposition to the institutions of many other countries, the *community* is the source and the life, the *punctum saliens*, of every common public undertaking. It is entirely independent in all matters that relate to itself alone; for example, buying, selling, laying taxes, conducting law-suits, &c. The community of inhabitants or voters elects for every considerable department of business special officers (usually for a year), and even furnishes them to the state for certain purposes; while it nowhere asks or permits the interference of the state-officers. The town-officers frequently receive no fixed salary, and have no prospect of further advancement; but they are paid according to the particular services rendered, and return after the expiration of their term of office, unless re-elected, to the body of their fellow-citizens.

The following is taken from the laws of Massachusetts. In the *town-meetings* every one is entitled to vote, who is twenty-one years of age, has resided a year in the town, is not a pauper, and pays a tax. The *selectmen* elected by the citizens appoint the meetings, and make known publicly the precise objects for which they are held. What ten or more voters propose in writing must be taken into consideration. If the town-officers do not perform their duty in this matter, a justice of the peace may at the request of ten or more qualified persons call a town-meeting. A moderator is chosen to preside. He gives permission to speak, and all others must quietly listen; disorderly and disobedient persons are removed and punished. In these town-meetings all the necessary town-officers are chosen for a year by ballot. No one is obliged to fill the same office two years in succession. The presiding officer is often re-elected, and so remains in office for two, four, or six years. The citizens are obliged to serve in the city-watch, unless they prefer to pay the cost of a substitute. The town-clerk keeps a record of births and deaths.

Similar regulations are found in all the states, and the principles of organization are substantially the same for all the cities;* such as the general right of suffrage, a mayor, two coun-

* The selectmen are in the towns nearly what the aldermen and council are in the cities.

cils, and several subordinate officers, most of whom are elected for one year. In order however to a better understanding of the subject, I will enter more particularly into the institutions and circumstances of a few of the cities; from which some further general conclusions may be drawn.

The city of *Baltimore* had in 1840, 102,000 inhabitants; which number has since increased to 164,000. It is at present divided into fourteen wards, and governed by a mayor and a council of two branches. For the first or lowest branch all the citizens of a ward choose annually by ballot two persons, 21 years of age, residents of the city for three or more years, and possessing a property of not less than \$300. For the second or highest branch the citizens of a ward choose every two years one member 25 years of age, 4 years a resident, and possessing a property of \$500. The mayor, who holds his office for two years, must be twenty-five years of age, a resident of the state for ten years, and of Baltimore for five; he must possess a property of \$500 value, and receives a salary of \$2,000. He is empowered to lay before the council proposals for laws and administration, to the adoption of which a vote of two-thirds is requisite. Exact lists are made of those entitled to vote, and perjury in this respect is punished with from two to five years' imprisonment. Newly made citizens must present in time the necessary proofs of their claims. Notwithstanding these well contrived regulations, many abuses still take place at the polls; accordingly severe penalties are inflicted in case of illegal or double voting, and one half of the amount goes to the informer.

The police regulations respecting all matters that occur are remarkably complete and judicious; e. g. respecting the harbor, the streets, lighting, fires, gunpowder, cleanliness, health, inns, markets, theatres, gambling, wells, aqueducts, pumps, railroads, carriages, measures, weights, chimneys, street-music (prohibited), the observance of Sunday, stamping of silver, privies, dogs, swine, &c. Police laws are transgressed in Baltimore, as every where else. For instance, rewards are offered for taking up and killing dogs and hogs found running in the streets. So soon however as the money is exhausted (in the first months of the year), those persecuted animals are at liberty; and I saw as early as in May several large sows busily engaged in street-cleaning.

The mayor brings forward another complaint in his official report: viz. that unmannerly boys at all times, and especially on Sunday, disturb quiet citizens by unseemly noises; and that the day and night watch are not sufficient to find out, apprehend, and punish them. For more serious cases there is organized a city-guard, which bitter experience shows to be necessary; and these have precise directions how to proceed in case of riot. If

the authorities have not done every thing in their power to protect the innocent, the latter are indemnified at the public expense.

The city revenue is raised from the market receipts, harbor and ship dues, licenses, the dog and water-tax ; but chiefly by a property-tax. The valuations of individuals are here tested by assessors elected for the purpose, and from them there is an appeal to higher commissioners. There are taken into the account farms, houses with their appurtenances, household furniture, silver, slaves, and all personal property. The necessities of life, tools and farming implements, clothing, and all property under forty dollars value, are exempt from taxation. Very lately proposals have been made for more rapidly enforcing the payment of arrears that have improperly accumulated. The value of taxable property has most rapidly increased. In 1839, it amounted to \$56,000,000 ; in 1842, to \$68,000,000. This increase is shown also by the great number of houses newly built.

In 1837 there were erected 368 houses.

1838	"	"	"	366	"
1839	"	"	"	465	"
1840	"	"	"	457	"
1841	"	"	"	596	"
1842	"	"	"	558	"

The property-tax is not the same in all years ; it rose from 60 to 85 cents on the \$100, that is, less than one per cent. ; and it would not exceed $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., to accomplish all the undertakings now partly laid aside. The city debt has grown to \$5,325,000 ; of which the greater part pays an interest of 6 per cent., and about a fifth 5 per cent. Of this gross amount \$4,967,000 were expended for great internal improvements, as harbor, the canals, and rail-roads ; which are already useful, and will speedily become profitable also. The property-tax amounted in the year 1844 to 77 cents on the \$100. This was raised under the following heads :

Court-tax,	. . . . .	4 cents,
Poor-rate,	. . . . .	$3\frac{1}{2}$ "
County-tax,	. . . . .	$3\frac{1}{2}$ "
School-tax,	. . . . .	5 "
General property-tax,	. . . . .	61 "

77 cents.

The entire yearly expenditure (including the various improvements and the interest of the debt) is very great ; the current expenses of the city however amount to only \$229,000. Among them are :

for harbor improvements,	\$19,000
administration and salaries,	38,000
lighting and the city watch,	50,000
cleaning and improving the streets,	15,000
institutions belonging to the health department,	4,000, &c.

In *Boston* the majority of qualified voters annually elect a mayor, eight aldermen, forty-eight councillors, a city clerk, and some other officers. Every one is entitled to vote who is twenty-one years old, has been a resident of the state for at least one year and of the city for six months, and has paid taxes or is legally exempt from them. The mayor is president of the council of aldermen, but has no veto; one branch of the council however has this right in respect to the other. Both boards have the power of projecting laws, levying taxes, laying out the public money, and regulating all matters of general interest. In these respects there is no direct appeal to the body of the citizens in the course of the year. Their right of election suffices; though they may apply to the mayor and aldermen for an extra meeting, and procure assent to a desired measure. The mayor grants all licenses, and appoints many officers or nominates them to the boards.

The city derives its income from the renting of farms, the letting of houses, stalls, &c. By far the largest amount is procured from the property-tax of about 60 cents on the \$100. The entire income and outlay amount to about \$700,000; and the debt of the city to about \$1,423,000, mostly at 5 per cent. interest, and a little at $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 per cent. In the year 1843, \$94,000 of the debt were paid.

The police-laws and also the regulations for the assessment of property are similar to those of Baltimore. Paid firemen are substituted for volunteer companies; and the consequence has been greater order and obedience. Still in 1843 there were 232 alarms of fire, and the loss amounted to \$128,000.

Much has been already done in various ways for embellishing the city; and it is to be hoped that the immediate neighborhood of the lofty Bunker Hill Monument will soon be included in the list. Some years ago the voluntary contributions and gifts which had up to that time been made in Boston for public and benevolent objects of all kinds, amounted to \$1,801,000; in one period of eighteen months the amount subscribed for these purposes was \$250,000.

In *Charleston*, twelve aldermen and a mayor are annually elected by all the citizens, and re-elections are frequent. There is no second board. The city debt pays from 5 to 6 per cent. interest.

New York was first colonized by the Dutch in 1609. In 1674

it fell into the hands of the English; in 1686 it received its first charter, and in 1732 a second charter from George the Second, which gave the citizens many privileges, but allowed the governor appointed by the king a veto upon every measure.

In the year 1844 the city (exclusive of Brooklyn) numbered 364,000 inhabitants. For each one of the 17 wards the citizens elect annually by universal suffrage one member for the board of aldermen, one for that of assistant aldermen, and a mayor who receives a salary of \$3,000. No alderman receives pay, and none is allowed to engage in any profitable city business or undertaking. The meetings of the boards are all public, unless in particular cases a secret meeting should seem indispensably necessary. They publish the resolutions and even the several votes. All laws, resolutions, &c. are passed by both boards and then transmitted to the mayor. He has the right to return them with his objections. After a second deliberation a majority of the two boards decides. For the preparation of particular measures, numerous committees are appointed, chiefly by the mayor, who is also a member of each. He provides for the maintenance of order and the laws, and makes at least once a year a general report on the progress of city legislation and administration.

The city revenues are derived from ground-rents, booths, market-stalls, house and water rents, &c.; but the tax on property is here also the chief source of income. The taxable real estate amounts to \$164,000,000, the personal to \$64,000,000, and the sum raised (from 70 to 80 cents on the \$100) to about \$1,750,000. Among the expenses I particularize the following:

for schools,	\$76,000
the poor, the prisons, and hospitals,	251,000
the fire-department,	45,000
the police,	50,000
printing and binding,	27,000
salaries,	51,000
the streets,	23,000
county charges,	51,000, &c.

The usual receipts and expenses amount to about \$2,185,000; what with loans, arrears, supplies on hand, and under extraordinary circumstances, they have sometimes risen to \$5,000,000. The city has now a debt of \$13,322,000, of which \$12,000,000 were incurred for the great water-works. The receipts from these works must speedily increase with the increase in the number of houses. There were built,

in the year 1841,	971 houses.
" 1842,	912 "
" 1843,	1273 buildings of all kinds.

Particular sources of income are appropriated for the extinction of this debt.

The elections in New York, the greatest city in America, have hitherto gone off pretty quietly; especially since the number of places for holding the polls has been increased. It is asserted also that since the enlargement of the elective franchise, and the removal of qualifications and property restrictions, the elections and the government have remained about the same as before, while the population has become more contented.

In *Philadelphia* the citizens annually choose an alderman for each ward, and a mayor for the city twenty-five years old, a resident of the state for four years, and of the city for two. He receives a salary of \$3,000. That the adjoining suburbs are not under the same magistrate was attended during the late riots with very pernicious consequences. On the other hand all the public institutions, those for the poor, the blind, the deaf and dumb, the insane, widows and orphans, the water and gas works, the schools and academies, the medical college, &c., are deserving of the highest praise. Their construction is appropriate and even splendid; and the great Girard institution, after many evasions and hindrances, will finally come into existence.

The chief income of the city is derived from a tax on real estate (about 36 cents on the \$100); the tax on personal property is not yet completely arranged. Of late years the expenses have been diminished by good management to about \$430,000. In the year 1843, they were:

for the water-works, . . .	\$43,000
“ city debt, . . .	127,000
“ police and watch, .	76,000
“ lighting, . . .	39,000
“ streets and lanes, .	23,000
“ extinction of debt, .	36,000, &c.

In *Pittsburg* there are annually chosen two councils and a mayor, the latter having no veto upon the joint action of the former.

In *Richmond* the citizens choose annually twenty-seven persons, who appoint the mayor and eleven aldermen out of their own number. The remainder form the so-called legislative council.

In *Washington* twelve aldermen and a mayor are chosen for two years, and a second council of eighteen members for one year. Nothing is more striking to an observer of the American, and especially of the city administration, than the remarkably frequent change of officers; and we are inclined at the outset to think that the government must be incompetent and fickle. On the other hand we must observe:

First, that too infrequent changes bring with them other evils;

and that the filling up of vacancies from the limited circle of magistrates and councillors, is still worse than a free system of election which by repetition corrects itself.

Secondly, that in other republics archons, ephori, consuls, tribunes, podestà, mayors, rectors, &c. were changed just as frequently; that in general, the idea that every office must be occupied for life, is here altogether unsuitable and out of date. A brief tenure of office produces stricter responsibility, and lessens the possibility of an abuse of power.

Thirdly, that in America there is far less governing than elsewhere; and that every citizen partly on that very account is better acquainted with public affairs, and more capable of managing and judging of them than in Europe, where only a few after long preparation acquire and use the necessary knowledge. There is besides more reason to fear the lack of fidelity and honesty than of capability, because one can support another.

Fourthly, every American magistrate exerts himself during his brief stay in office to accomplish something valuable and lasting; and though his ambition does not lead him like the Roman consuls to gain battles, yet he takes a pride in founding schools, useful structures, and public institutions, and even in devoting his official income to the common weal.*

Fifthly, that it would therefore be most injurious, if in the choice of magistrates more regard were had to their political views than to their capacity and fitness for office, and if in the administration, party purposes were kept more in view than the general welfare.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OUTBREAKS AND PARTY SPIRIT.

Murder of the Mormon Prophets—Anti-Rent Excitement in the State of New York—Philadelphia Riots—Disturbances in Rhode Island—On Outbreaks—Parties—Federalists, Republicans, Democrats, Whigs—Concluding Remarks.

ALTHOUGH, for reasons already given, more single outrages are perpetrated in the interior and in the newly settled regions of the West, we have unfortunately to lament acts of injury and tumults on a larger scale in the rapidly growing cities on the sea-board.

* The mayor of Boston, Mr. Brimmer, had 3,500 copies of an excellent book, "The Schoolmaster," printed for distribution at his own expense.

Such were the destruction of a convent in Boston, of a private dwelling in Baltimore, and in Philadelphia that of a negro-school and a hall where the abolitionists had met. This is not the place to recur to these old and half-forgotten evils; yet I must dwell somewhat in detail upon a few more recent instances of violence and commotion, as an introduction to some general observations and conclusions.

MURDER OF THE MORMON PROPHETS.

I shall speak in another chapter of the sect of the Mormons and their adventures: but aside from their doctrines, the murder of these soi-disant prophets is a crime of the greater atrocity, inasmuch as they were already imprisoned on specific charges, and there was not only reason to expect an impartial sentence, but the Governor of Illinois had pledged himself for their safety. The allegation, that the Mormons had attempted to rescue the prisoners by force, had fired the first shot, and so brought on a bloody contest, is not true. The governor in later official statements charges the crime, which had been previously resolved on, solely upon persons disguised for the purpose as Indians, and expresses himself forcibly and impressively with regard to the offence. It is earnestly to be hoped, that his determination to apprehend the perpetrators and bring them to trial may experience no obstacle in the ruling passions of the day.

ANTI-RENT EXCITEMENT IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

As early as the time of the Dutch government, large tracts of land on both sides of the Hudson were assigned to the Van Rensselaer family, under conditions which founded a sort of feudal relation. The family subdivided the land among numerous tenants, who engaged to render certain dues (e. g. of grain, wood, fowls, &c.), and in case of a sale, to pay to the patroon a fourth of the purchase-money, as proprietary fee. Those dues were not high, even at first; and by reason of the uncommon rise in the value of the lands, they can still less be deemed oppressive in modern times. The wealthy predecessor of the present proprietor had been far from urgent in demanding these dues, but had suffered large arrears to accumulate. When his heirs, in conformity with their rights, demanded payment of the outstanding and accruing debts, there arose disputes and lawsuits, which the plaintiffs gained, according to the plain letter of the ancient laws and contracts. No sooner, however, did the sheriff attempt to execute the sentence of the court, and to levy upon property, than he not only met with resistance, but, for more effectual intimidation, was tarred and feathered by persons in disguise. Such an outrage committed upon a public officer

merits severe punishment, which it is to be hoped it will soon experience ; if not, it is evident that the evil and license are likely to increase, and to involve innocent persons as well as irresolute magistrates in redoubled anxiety and suffering. In such cases, half-measures never succeed. But putting these improper proceedings out of the question, there is also another light in which such a state of things may be viewed, and which shows how useful and necessary it is in all countries to change, though gradually and with cautious foresight, such institutions as are no longer suited to the times. The longing for a property wholly free from encumbrance or obligation of any kind is so excessive in the United States, that even an inconsiderable tax is esteemed an oppressive burden, and its payment shunned as almost a degradation and disgrace. For this reason, real estate so encumbered finds comparatively few who desire and purchase it. Should however a purchaser appear, the seller regards it as intolerable, that he should pay, as fee to the proprietor, a quarter of its value—a value that has been greatly increased by the application of his own capital and industry. In former times, when real estate changed hands very rarely, this encumbrance was not a heavy one ; but in these days of purchase and sale, the whole value might easily fall into the hands of the proprietor in the course of a few years, in consequence of an alienation four times repeated. Such views and circumstances explain, at least, the disinclination and opposition of those who are liable to such payments ; and it is to be desired and hoped, that an amicable adjustment will not much longer be deferred.

RIOTS IN PHILADELPHIA.

Well informed people maintain that the riots in Philadelphia were not caused by an irregular, licentious passion, breaking out on the spur of the moment ; but were the effect of causes that had been long in operation, and of a relaxation of moral principles and restraints. In this respect, it is said, an evil example was set by those in authority, and even the government itself—as for instance, by their predilection for the debauching and dishonest banking system, by the doubly mean and reprehensible suspension of the payment of interest on the state bonds with sufficient means on hand for the purpose, and also by their manifold exhibitions of frivolity and licentiousness. Be that as it may, the recent riots produced on all sides and in every quarter a display of error, guilt, and crime. No party can be pronounced innocent and wholly acquitted of blame, when, in a city boasting of its quiet, good order, and brotherly love, robbery, murder, and incendiarism rule for three entire days unchecked. We ask in astonishment, How was this possible ? and the answer explains

the fact and proves the guilt, while it produces some palliating circumstances and announces better prospects for the future.

In Philadelphia a great number of Irish had gradually settled. Their competition in many branches of industry was looked upon by some with an evil eye; and the joy which they manifested at their newly acquired freedom, amounting sometimes to arrogance, was censured by many more. But the greatest offence was given by their zealous Catholic spirit, their confidence in their priests, and their dependence upon them. Like the Protestants, they sent their children to the public schools, and here the question, as to the reading of the Bible, became the pretext and ground for all the subsequent controversies and deeds of violence. Instead of learning concord out of the book of love and piety, and of coming to a real Christian union in spite of minor differences of opinion, zealots without authority seized upon this doubtful theme, in order to stir up and control those of their own faith. First of all, the Catholics demanded that, as they were obliged to contribute to the school-tax, in proportion to their property, their children should not be compelled to receive Protestant instruction in religion, or to be present at the singing of Protestant hymns.* The school-authorities agreed perfectly with this view of the matter, so entirely in conformity with American religious freedom; but a ready compliance with their directions was by no means general in the schools.

In connection with this question, another was immediately raised: What translation shall be used in reading the Bible? The variations between the Catholic and Protestant translations are by no means either numerous or, so far as the scholars are concerned, important; but if the Protestants, right or wrong, insist positively on using their version, it is not to be wondered at that the Catholics on their side do the same. These disputes soon extended beyond the circle of the authorities and school-officers: intolerant clergymen found fault from the pulpit, and violent writers in the journals of the day; it was no wonder that the multitude also was roused to passion, when one party called the other heretics, superstitious, infidels, who wanted to rob the people of the Bible, or impose a creed upon them by force.

Many native citizens, relying on their superior numbers, made a point of stirring up the too easily excited Irish; bitter and coarse objurgations were succeeded by clubs and fire-arms, by murder and conflagration. The very declarations and testimony of the officers demonstrate the universal lack of order, celerity, harmony, and obedience. The mayor of the city proper was not allowed to act in the suburbs, and the authorities of the suburbs did

* With regard to similar claims and controversies in New York, see the chapter entitled Religion and the Church, the Catholics.

not go beyond their own limits. It was well known, that violence was about to be committed, and no steps were taken to prevent it. Deliberations were held about the meaning of existing statutes and the contents of future ones, while the populace were already bringing up the cannon, and battering down the churches. Those summoned to the defence remained away, or disputed whether they should engage in the strife as citizens or as deputy-sheriffs; nay, even after a Captain Hill had been thrown down and trampled under foot, after some of the militia had had their ribs broken, and one his head cut off,—after all this, people were still found who looked upon this rabble of plunderers and incendiaries as the sovereign people, whose will must be held inviolate and not opposed by force.

It is without doubt highly dangerous for an individual to set himself above the law, or to decide upon his own authority what the law is or should be; but there are moments, when safety wholly depends on such boldness and ready assumption of the greatest responsibility. Had there been in Philadelphia one man of such strength of will and character as General Jackson possessed, he would in one quarter of an hour have dispersed the rioters, caused the laws to be respected, and entitled himself to the warmest gratitude.

Newspapers boasted, and respectable citizens in Philadelphia confirmed the statement, that in the midst of the bloody tumult all was entirely quiet in the most frequented streets; and gentlemen and ladies were seen walking about in as good spirits as usual. Other eye-witnesses affirm, that upon receiving information that a church was going to be set on fire, gentlemen and ladies assembled as spectators, and then declared they would go home unless something was done soon. At length, after seeing street-boys beat in the windows and put fire on the inside, people thought it might be as well to retire!

I earnestly hope that these accounts are not true; for if they are, they prove that here that disgraceful neutrality existed which Solon justly reprobated; or rather that indifference and want of feeling prevailed, in a moment when the weal and woe of so many fellow-citizens were at stake. It was not a time for the young gentlemen to be twisting their cravats, pulling up their wristbands, twirling their canes, and playing the agreeable to the ladies; it was incumbent on them to be thinking of their duties as men and citizens, and to come forward with a resolute and determined spirit, even before the call of the tardy and timid magistrates, and offer themselves for the maintenance of order and of the laws. For a man afterwards to wash his hands in innocency, or hug himself on his peaceful demeanor, certainly

does not manifest the correct tone of thought and feeling, which leads back to the ways of uprightness and virtue.

To these severe charges let us subjoin what may be said by way of apology. The regulations and spheres of action of the city of Philadelphia and of its suburbs did not harmonize at all, but formed an obstacle both to the formation and execution of proper plans. The laws were not clearly expressed as to the powers of the magistrates or the duties of the citizens: and anxious doubts are, if not commendable, at least natural, where the hitherto unheard of question was: whether and when one citizen was to shoot down another.

Other circumstances are still more important and more consolatory. That perverted sympathy was speedily put an end to, which in the outset expressed itself in favor of the rioters, and against the laws which the people themselves had made, and the magistrates whom they had chosen, and who had done nothing amiss. The press likewise, with few and unimportant exceptions, stood up decidedly in favor of law and order;* and in consequence of resolutions of urgent necessity adopted on the spur of the occasion, the attempt at a second horrible riot was immediately and effectually suppressed. A repetition of similar scenes is therefore not to be feared; since the courts of justice have already brought the guilty to trial, juries have passed verdicts upon them, and recognized the right of innocent sufferers to indemnification.†

DISTURBANCES IN RHODE ISLAND.

The first charter of Rhode Island, of the year 1643, gave political rights to all the inhabitants, with the privilege of altering the constitution by the resolutions of the majority. After the Restoration, a new charter, that of 1663, established that only freeholders should have political rights, and that they should determine who were entitled to admission among their number. The qualifications of a freeholder have not always been the same; for the longest period there was required a freehold of 134 pounds value. So long as farming was the chief occupation and the number of the unprivileged party was very small, no complaints were heard. But at length, with the growth of towns and manufactures, the number of those excluded from political rights daily increased;

* As for instance, when it declared: "The people of Philadelphia have been vindicating their capacity for self-government exactly after the manner of the Parisians in 1793. The police of that city is a disgrace to civilization, and the people are little better than the savages of Hayti."

† It is to be hoped that the account is untrue, which states that the Irish only have been sentenced; while it has been found impossible (either from want of power or inclination) to bring satisfactory proof against the natives, who to say the least were equally guilty.

and these complained that the small landed proprietors decided every thing and set themselves above those who were wealthier and better informed. 108,000 inhabitants were ruled by 3,558 persons; and the county of Providence with three fifths of the population sent only 21 representatives, while the remaining two fifths sent 50. To the assertion that every one might easily buy land and thus acquire the right of voting, the reply was, that such purchase was almost impossible, and at any rate an extreme hardship upon all who would not and could not pursue the business of agriculture. The assembly of freeholders was also charged with refusing even landowners who were not agreeable to them. The argument that no practical hardship was experienced—that property was protected and justice duly administered—it was said, did not apply to the case. These circumstances might exist under any form of government; here, on the contrary, the question was respecting the exercise of political rights, which twenty-five North American states granted to all their inhabitants who were of age; but which the monopolists of Rhode Island alone, in contradiction to all modern principles of government and to all experience, absurdly refused to them. In addition to this, the politically disfranchised were subject to hardship in many matters of private right: they could not serve on juries, nor could they bring a suit at law without obtaining the signature of a freeholder.

Formal complaints of all these grievances were made to the government in the years 1797, 1811, 1820, 1824, 1829, 1832, 1834. The government took no notice of them; partly because it was unwilling to relinquish long enjoyed rights, and partly because it thought the clamor was raised by a few vain and restless spirits. Lastly, not a few were fully convinced that the plan which had thus far prevailed was better than the one proposed, and that much evil and scarcely any good could come from universal suffrage. It was said that at any rate the limitation of the elective franchise could not be regarded as sufficient ground for a violent revolution.

Dorr and his party entertained very different sentiments from these. They averred, that if the former holders of power constituted the people, the majority of the disfranchised was absolutely nothing; and that this system led to the conferring of despotic powers on the authorities, against which it would be pretended that even unanimity on the part of all the inhabitants was of no weight or efficacy. This principle however contradicts every doctrine of American political rights, from Washington and Hamilton to John Quincy Adams and Tyler; it contradicts the decisions of all law-professors, and is opposed to all the American constitutions. The people therefore must now take the matter into their own hands, and form a new constitution for themselves.

The malcontents maintained, that a decided majority of the people had declared themselves in favor of the draft of a constitution laid before them in lawful assemblies; while their opponents denied it, and alleged great abuses in the manner of taking the vote. If the question were asked of the majority, whether its object was to take away the monopoly of the minority and transfer to itself the privileges now held by the latter, their answer would assuredly *not* be in the negative. The more important question was, whether the people, in consequence of the refusal of all amendments of the charter and the denial of every peaceful petition, had the right to rise against the government, which was a party and in the minority; whether irregular attempts and movements of this kind would not plunge the country into a series of revolutions without object and without end; and finally, whether a mere numerical majority is sufficient to abrogate every thing old and introduce any thing new. Even Washington said in reference to his day: "If a constitution is defective, let it be amended; but do not suffer it to be trampled under foot as long as it is in existence."*

Although the government of Rhode Island might have counted on the assistance of its sister-states for such an extreme case of irregular rebellion; yet they felt convinced that it would be better to follow the prudent example of Connecticut, which under similar circumstances altered its constitution in the year 1818, and gave general satisfaction. The first constitution (the Landholders' Constitution) drawn up on the part of the qualified voters, was, notwithstanding the freedom of its provisions, rejected by the zealous partisans of the old or the new order of things; and to a second one more favorable and proposed by the government, it was objected, that it was adopted under the influence of an intimidating martial law, which produced an artificial and untrue majority.

Now would have been the time for Dorr to accept the proffered constitution, which agreed in every important particular with his own propositions, and led out of the path of violent revolution into that of peaceful amendment. By a course of moderate, conciliatory measures, he would have made himself acknowledged as the benefactor of his country, and would probably have been placed at the head of the administration. Instead of this, he neglected the proper moment, from passion, vanity, or delusion; and

* It has been maintained by American writers, that every revolution without the assent or even without the direction of the government is to be condemned; and this is no doubt true, where the government proceeds from the choice of the majority, as for example in Massachusetts. In that case all are heard, and the majority decides for and through the government. An amendment takes the place of a revolution. But if the highest power proceeds from a small minority, which obstinately resists every proposed amendment, there is no course left but unconditional submission or resistance. The American Revolution was certainly not brought about with the consent of the English government.

foolishly believed, that the people would engage in a civil war on account of small variations in the letter of the constitution or of abstract questions of right, and would decline the compromise which had been tardily but commendably offered by the government. As soon as Dorr undertook to prosecute his plans with troops and cannon, his supporters, who before formed the majority, dwindled down to a very small minority. He was compelled to fly, and the new constitution was adopted by the great majority of voters both under the old and new system. It ordains that each town shall choose one senator; each district, divided according to the population, one representative. The right of voting is given to all who are twenty-one years of age, provided they have resided two years in the state, and pay taxes to the amount at least of one dollar, or serve in the militia. Judges are elected and removed by a majority of both houses. No change can be made in the constitution, without the observance of certain forms and the assent of three fifths of the electors.

When Dorr returned to Rhode Island, he was imprisoned and tried for treason and levying war. The judges and jury did not concern themselves with his theoretical demonstration, that he was right and had a decided majority in his favor; but they regarded particularly his *last* steps and measures. The ancient forms and laws were made the foundation as still applicable to his case, and from them the guilt of the accused was deduced. We cannot here examine whether this was strictly logical, after the adoption of the new constitution, or whether certain legal forms, in the selection of the jury for example, were violated. If the majority of the new citizens are really on his side, and if they believe that he was condemned according to European rather than American views, and that the sentence pronounced against him was too severe, they will find no difficulty in procuring his discharge at the next election.

Allow me to add to these accounts a few general remarks. American democracy certainly produces many individual cases of injustice and arrogance. The sovereign people consider it sometimes their right and duty to govern and decide, in place of the officers and judges legally appointed for the purpose; as European sovereigns (no less erroneously) are given to disturbing the course of government through orders in council, *lettres de cachet*, ordinances, and the like. Those who regard such acts of violence as a natural necessity, an inevitable consequence of republican institutions, take a one-sided and erroneous view of the matter, and confound disease and degeneracy with health. In fact, American disturbances have hardly any where sprung from democracy, but much oftener from fanaticism and imperfect regulations; and are to be charged

to the upper and cultivated portions of the community, rather than to the masses. Besides, tumults raised by mobs must not be confounded with natural and proper movements on the part of the people. The former can only occur when the populace is feared, or courted, or used for party purposes. Censurable as such tumults are, and necessary as it is that they should be suppressed, they are in my view less dangerous, injurious, and immoral, than the swindling operations of banks and tariffs, as well as certain bankruptcies; in which the populace have no share, but which take root and originate in higher regions. Finally, such disorders are in themselves a less evil than the power of committing them with impunity, where a disregard for truth renders it impossible to obtain testimony, and where juries are more swayed by prejudices and passions than by a regard for law and justice. At all events, the necessity imposed on each community of making good the damage done to innocent persons by unlawful disturbances, is highly commendable and well calculated to discourage such excesses.

The assertions of the English press, which are re-echoed by others, to the effect that some three or four outbreaks of this sort are bringing America to utter destruction, may be answered by the fact that the incendiarism of a single year in England, the disturbances in Bristol and Manchester, the doings of Rebecca and her children in Wales, the outrages of the Orangemen in Ireland so long suffered by the magistracy, and the excesses in the neighboring colony of Canada almost amounting to a civil war, weigh much heavier in the scale than all that the Americans have ever been guilty of. Nor must it be forgotten, how widely extended their country is; nor that since 1787 in the cities of Europe, nay in Paris alone, more irregularities have been committed than in all the United States put together. Let then exertions conducted with earnestness and mildness every where be made, to remove the causes of civil discontent, and repress the lawless proceedings of both high and low; but let there be no cowardly despairing or folding of arms upon the breast, because the evils are too great or too inconsiderable to be removed.

A great statesman has remarked: "In free states there can be no anticipation." Perfectly true: men will pass no law before it is urgently needed; and even after it is passed, they would like not to put it in force, for the sake of upholding a supposed greater degree of freedom. But if frequently bitter experience has first shown the necessity and benefit of a law, it finds its way readily to the approbation and good will of all; and there remains no opposition between the rulers and the ruled, no suspicion, envy, and contention between those above and those below. But do more absolute governments possess in fact the

advantage of a wholesome power of anticipation? Have they prevented disobedience and commotions, from Naples to Russia and Turkey?

Reprehensible as we have already declared these tumults and acts of violence to be, and greatly as it is to be wished, nay demanded, of all citizens, and especially of judges and juries, that they put them down with decision and punish them in the most exemplary manner; still are they only local evils,* breaking out in particular spots, and in my opinion not infecting and endangering the entire Union. But whether this greater and more general danger is not now impending or has not even already made some progress, through the violent *spirit of party* which over-spreads the whole Union, is a highly important question, which we will examine somewhat more closely.

In every country where tyranny does not compel the inhabitants to have but *one* opinion, or at least to acknowledge and express but one, free citizens must and will entertain and defend different views respecting a vast variety of circumstances. This freedom, this variety is the living principle of every progressive development; and all attempts at prescribing or even at bending, educating, or correcting views and convictions, made by overbearing kings, popes, princes, ministers, officers, confessors, censors, pastors, inquisitors and the like, have ever done more harm than good; have crippled kings, governments, and peoples; have stripped off their blossoms, checked their growth, and nailed them fast to the trellis-work of diminutive laws, that they might afterwards pamper themselves at their ease on the fruits of these stunted wall-trees.

* Justice requires that I should present a counterpart to the statements made, which is worthy of commendation. "As I was returning one evening," says Ferral, *Rambles*, pp. 246, 295, "to my lodgings in New York, I heard a noise in a grocery, and entered with some other persons in order to see how fractious citizens here were apprehended. A constable came entirely alone; and it seemed to me morally impossible that he should conduct to prison half a dozen fellows, who just now were with difficulty kept from giving each other a sound beating. But his hand seemed like the wand of Armida; for scarcely had he laid it upon the shoulders of the brawlers, before they went with him quiet as lambs. The explanation of this matter is this: these people had all practised the right of suffrage, if not in the choice of this constable, yet in that of some other, and consequently not only held it a duty to support the constable's authority, but were strongly prompted to it by inclination. They knew that the power he was using had been committed to him by themselves; and if they opposed him, they opposed their own sovereignty. Thus the magistrate every where finds the strongest support in the citizens themselves." All the minor defects of the United States, as well as their greater evils and dangers, are nothing, and in fact lose all their importance and weight, in comparison with what Central and South America exhibit in such astounding magnitude (see for example Stephens' *Travels*). There we find coarseness, arrogance, ignorance, superstition, fanaticism, revenge, bloodthirstiness, persecution, murder, robbery, and civil war—all mixed up in the strangest confusion and frightful violence. Every vestige of genuine humanity disappears by the way; and the natural life of the brutes deserves a higher rank in comparison.

On the other hand liberty, besides the noblest triumphs, has also the greatest dangers; only they are dangers of another and peculiar kind. In the first place, true liberty rests not on *license* but on *self-control*, and this virtue is every where rare.

When Solon required that every citizen should embrace some party, the condition was tacitly implied, that this should be done after the most careful examination, to the individual's best knowledge and conscience. He would have in his commonwealth no cowardly non-entities without a voice in public matters; but just as little did he wish for fanatical partisans of unworthy demagogues or of reprehensible measures. To join sides with a party, may be well or ill, wisely or foolishly done. Those who boast, merely that they have joined a party or that they have not joined one, fall under neither of these predicaments. It is wrong, without a closer investigation, to designate every clinging to a set of opinions, every persevering effort to promote certain objects, as unworthy partisanship; or, on the other hand, to laud too highly every passionate movement, every want of patience and moderation.

Scarcely ever is *any* party *wholly* right; this can be found in God alone: perhaps, too, none is ever wholly devoted to falsehood and injustice; otherwise Satan himself would be its unquestioned chief. Hence Jefferson said in his inaugural address: "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists." In like manner Washington, Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and all distinguished Americans, have uttered their warnings against the excess of passionate party-spirit. It has universally borne the most pestilent fruits, and has always been especially fatal to republican freedom. Boldly as violent party-spirit can behave on the one hand, on the other hand it lowers itself with equal meanness to equivocation, shuffling, and flattery; which produce at length indifference to law and justice, insolence, and impudence.

"It is," said Clay,* "the misfortune in free countries, that, in high party times, a disposition too often prevails to seize hold of every thing which can strengthen the one side or weaken the other."—With equal justice he objects to a perpetual opposition that finds fault with every thing, and wrongly styles itself systematic. "The harmony of our system," says he, "can only be maintained through conciliation, liberality, practical sound sense, and mutual forbearance. Carry but these dispositions into the administration of our manifold institutions, and all apprehensions

* Speeches, ii. 402; i. 111, 171.

of collision and contests between the government and corporations will vanish like a dream.”*

Listen to American partisans, and you would think the salvation of the country depended on *their* views, no matter how changeable and transient these are. The excess of American party-spirit has done much harm already; it has concealed the truth, and given excessive prominence to certain one-sided notions. Those times were surely not the worst, when, in the presidential elections, all, or at least the great majority, forgetful of party spirit and party objects, united their voices in favor of *one* great man. But even where active and powerful opposition has been made, perfect quiet has hitherto immediately followed the decision, and no one has thought of setting the power of party in motion against the law. Thus in Massachusetts, in 1840, a democratic governor was elected by a majority of only a *single* vote (51,034 out of 102,066), and his claim was acknowledged without the slightest hesitation. Those who designate the American party agitation as of the worst character, should cast an eye upon that of Central America as described by Stephens.† “Both parties have a beautiful way of producing unanimity of opinion, by driving out of the country all who do not agree with them. In consequence of this, I saw palaces in Leon, where nobles once dwelt, now dismantled and roofless, and occupied by half-starved wretches, pictures of misery and want; and on one side an immense field of ruins, covering half the city.”

After these general remarks, let us look somewhat more closely into the principles and position of the great American parties. The loyalists, who remained constant to England, were subdued or driven away in the course of the revolutionary war by the friends of the new Union. Much however as the victors (the federalists) had in view the independence of America, they still cherished a reverential respect for many English institutions, and believed that it was desirable and even necessary to conform to them as the most perfect models. Hence Hamilton and those who thought with him recommended presidents and senators for life, the strengthening of the power of the general government, a veto of the president upon the acts of the states, &c. Many even cherished a predilection for the right of primogeniture and a national church. All these and similar views were, as we have seen, entirely defeated by Jefferson and his friends; the entire direction of affairs fell into the hands of the republicans; and if Madison, Jefferson's friend and follower, is extolled as the milder of the two, we ought not to forget that at the time of his presidency the contest was victoriously ended. Madison bore the

* Then too will vanish Clay's dread of the veto-power and the sub-treasury.

† Travels in Central America, i. 200; ii. 24.

same relation to Jefferson, that Melancthon did to Luther. It is easy to find out defects in the American institutions, and to ascribe them at once to republicanism; but there is no doubt whatever that still greater evils would have arisen from the prevalence of federal views, and would have arrested the Union in its rapid and genuine development. Republicanism is the true vital principle of the United States—their characteristic peculiarity; and though its partialities may be corrected and its excesses restrained, it is impossible to eradicate it, and it would be madness to attempt to do so.

All parties now call themselves Democrats; one great party however, the Locofocos,* retains this name without any addition; while the other prefers that of Whig Democrats. Both acknowledge Jefferson as their leader and head; neither any longer appeals to Hamilton and the federalists, and their views differ only as to how certain expressions and acts of Jefferson are to be understood, and what measures he would have sanctioned or rejected in given circumstances. In my opinion, he would certainly disapprove of what *both* parties at the present day esteem injurious; and as to those points which *one* only approves and recommends, he would stand (with very slight reservations) on the side not of the whigs, but of the democrats. So long indeed as both parties limit themselves to general expressions and modes of speech, there is properly no ground of strife. Good government, a sound currency, reasonable duties, and the like, are what all commend and aim at. With these decoys however it is impossible to continue to catch votes or to gain any thing in the long run. Significancy and character can be given to these general abstract propositions only by reducing them to the individual concrete particulars that remain concealed behind them. Let us then designate more precisely some of these differences. The democrats are opposed to an enlargement of the powers of Congress, and demand a strict construction and application of the Constitution. They demand that the veto-power of the president, and the liberty of re-election conferred by the Constitution, be maintained unabridged. They are opposed to restrictions on the right of voting now possessed by foreigners and immigrants, as well as to the re-establishment of a great, powerful bank; they condemn the division among the states of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands; they are in favor of the annexation of Texas, of the utmost freedom of trade, and against high protective duties, &c. In all

* It is said that in a meeting of Democrats in New York, one of the minority turned the cock of the gas-pipe in order to break up the discussion, and that another lighted it again with a *locofoco* match. Hence the term, which soon led to ironical allusions.

these and some other particulars, the views of the whigs, if not altogether opposed to, are at least very remote from those of their adversaries.

As these points have already been discussed in their proper places, another examination of them here would be superfluous; still I should not omit to mention that many whigs said to me, "All these things are in truth of slight importance; but they are rendered artificially prominent by the excitement of the election." There is no doubt, that party spirit represents and judges of every thing in a harsher light; but I cannot persuade myself that those circumstances are of no great importance in themselves. They are the gravest that now remain to be decided; or if not important, why is there any dispute about them? Clay said: "The whigs now stand where the republicans of 1798 stood, battling for liberty, for the people, for free institutions; against power, against corruption, against executive encroachments, against monarchy."* But at the moment of making these accusations, was he not himself possessed of the same party spirit which he condemns so bitterly and with so much justice in others?

"In the back-ground, behind those disputed points," observed the whigs above mentioned, "lie hidden many greater dangers, which without constant attention and ceaseless effort on our part would burst forth and involve us all in ruin. The locofocos might finally subject all laws to popular license, invert the order of society, and abolish the right of property. We whigs are the conservative class; our opponents, the destructive."

Here we may repeat: It is possible that there are individuals in the democratic party, who go beyond all reasonable bounds, and who would introduce by force or fraud their absurd fancies as new revelations essential to the well-being of mankind;—as there may be individual whigs who would fall into similar follies in the opposite direction. Never has a democrat of note, or a creditable newspaper organ of the party, advocated or given currency to the doctrines complained of. The rights of the people in America are as great as they can be: and therefore it is wholly unnecessary to invert the order of things, neither is there any sufficient ground for considering the people as the populace, and the populace as the people. When monopolies, excessive imposts, and unjust banking privileges, are esteemed as unassailable species of property, the democrats are certainly opponents of *this kind* of property; but it is for the very reason that they hold property sacred in a higher and more general sense. The fear that any great American party would or could at any time abolish the rights of property, is wholly groundless. Attacks upon these rights have been far more violent and dangerous in Europe,

* Speeches, ii. 432.

and the absurdities of St. Simon, Fourier, and the Communists did not spring from the American democracy. In general, property is a relation so entirely natural and necessary, that it will be able to maintain itself through its own inherent, indestructible strength; and even if violated in particular instances, it can never be overthrown as a general principle. To attach civil rights and their exercise to the person and not to a certain amount of property, does not destroy the latter in any of its other relations; indeed, in most countries of the world, private property is wholly disconnected from political rights. By what right the whigs call themselves conservative *par excellence*, it is not easy to perceive; because they wish to *alter* the constitution in some important particulars, which the democrats wish to preserve: for example, in reference to the election of president, the veto, the proceeds of the land-sales, &c. If however it should be asserted, that alteration is in a higher sense a conservative measure, it would require much stronger proofs than any that have hitherto been given.

In May, 1844, about the time of the great convention in Baltimore, the whigs had apparently so much the advantage and displayed such confidence, that even the leaders of the democratic party gave up the election for lost. Instead however of despairing and idly folding their hands upon their breasts, the democrats, having discovered their weak point, set aside the different candidates, and united on Polk. By this means and by the withdrawal of President Tyler, harmony was restored to their ranks; and what was represented as the resort of weakness or the result of unworthy artifice, was the work of genuine sagacity and commendable patriotism. The victory of the democrats was in reality the result of the most open and searching examination, to which for six months the principles and views of both parties were subjected, and of the conviction thus arrived at that they had the majority. I have already shown how untrue and ridiculous the assertion is, that the important decision was brought about by the votes of a handful of immigrants. It certainly ought not to be made a subject of reproach to the latter, that after examining the systems of both parties, they chose the best according to their judgment,* and ranged themselves on the side where *most of the native Americans* already stood. If the answer be, "The question is, not of the immigrants of the last few years, but of the five millions of American citizens of German descent;" the declaration is too silly and odious to deserve the slightest attention.

Polk's moderate, conciliatory, and sensible declaration, that while he would maintain in their integrity the great principles of democracy, he would not remove officers for holding different

* Immigrant Germans very naturally failed to perceive the attractions of paper money, high duties, and the like.

opinions ; and that he would not be the president of a party only, but keep in view the good of the whole,—will and must soften the bitterness of opposition, and bring parties to a better understanding.

The voluntary or compulsory indifference and apathy of many inhabitants of European states in respect to public affairs, cannot be recommended to free American citizens ; they can only smile at the fears of the timid, and despise the rancor of the disaffected. But perhaps they should give more heed to the remarks of sincere friends,—that people may busy themselves too much and too zealously with politics, especially when innumerable meetings and speeches as well as the constant reading of newspapers leave neither time, strength, nor inclination for other things. There is a deal of political parade to be gone through, as well as of hard service to be done ; which contract the mental horizon, and repress more general culture. There is also a race of political dilettanti, who indeed stand sufficiently high in their own estimation, but are of as little benefit to the state as pretenders of the same class are to the fine arts. Sometimes such amateurs are drilled into real artists, by entering Congress and ranging themselves under more eminent men ; sometimes they think this too much trouble, and it is well if they grow tired of politics, and return to other business at home.

The oft repeated assertion that in our day individuality has lost all its importance, is untrue in America as well as in Europe. There also, in spite of the power of the people, a few distinguished men only take the lead ; and it is delightful to observe, how well this people understand the art of uniting a due respect for their own position with enthusiastic regard for the highly gifted. The path lies open to all ; but only a few prejudiced travellers sigh for distinction of castes, as a means of putting the ablest at the head. The views of the leaders influence the people, and public opinion acts upon the leaders ; both deserve more praise than blame. We can also approve of the endeavor to prevent, by means of a friendly understanding, collisions of the two parties in meetings, processions, caucuses, speeches, &c. ; that is to say, in so far as such precautions do not widen the breach between the parties, and render their views more one-sided still. After all, parties in America approach much nearer to each other, and an understanding between them is much more practicable, than it is among the directly opposing principles of European politics.*

May good sense and reverence for pure, simple truth not be annihilated by party excesses ; nor the laws and magistrates be disregarded through popular excitement ; nor any bad means be

* What if in Europe all questions on the internal affairs of a country were connected with the election of a king ?

resorted to for securing ostensibly good ends ! Such a respect for truth, justice, moderation, and harmony, is infinitely more to be prized than the glittering rhetorical flourishes so often inconsiderately admired, which stir up unholy passions, while they dazzle the understanding.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES.

Schools and Universities—Governments and Schools—Principles of Education—America and Europe—Praise and Blame of Schools—Germans—Public Schools, Colleges, Universities—Negro Schools—Religious Instruction—Female Teachers—Labor in Schools—Alabama—North and South Carolina—District of Columbia—College of Jesuits—Connecticut, Yale College—New Hampshire—Illinois—Kentucky—Louisiana—Maine—Maryland—Michigan—Missouri—Ohio—Pennsylvania—Vermont, Burlington—Virginia, Charlottesville—New York—Massachusetts, Boston, Cambridge School and University—Medical Institutions, Physicians—Summary, Remarks—District Libraries.

I HAVE several times alluded to the reproach, that the thoughts and actions of the Americans are directed solely to the material, the palpable, and the immediately useful ; that in these things they have certainly made great progress, but have done nothing, given nothing, and spent no time or exertions, for advancing the more general cause of mental development. These censures made by Europeans are confirmed, as it appears, by many Americans : for they complain, in reference to education and schooling, of the indifference of parents ; the incapacity, too frequent changes, or extreme youthfulness of the teachers ; the short period allotted to schooling ; negligent attendance ; defective school-books ; bad methods of instruction ; lax discipline ; improper efforts to gain popularity ; dependence on contributions ; squandering of money ; useless architectural display in buildings ; appeals to false ambition ; the erroneous importance attached to mere outward worldly objects ; the excessive variety of subjects of instruction, and consequent superficial treatment ; the injurious influence of political parties, &c. &c.*

These bitter complaints undoubtedly prove on the one hand the existence of considerable defects ; but on the other, they evince great interest in the subject, and serious efforts at improvement on all sides. In fact the distinction or opposition between materialism and spiritualism, between light and shade, is in gene-

* Mann's Reports. Potter and Emerson, *The School*, p. 187.

ral wholly erroneous: for as on the material side, of which we have until now been treating, we have found that wonderful improvements were accompanied by errors and defects (e. g. in the case of the banks, repudiation, slavery, the tariff, &c.); so too on turning to the spiritual side, we discover principles, exertions, and advances, that deserve our highest praise. The interests of *schools* and *education*, for example, have been earnestly promoted, especially in the northern states, ever since the first settlement of the country. And since the independence of the Union, Washington and Jefferson's loudly expressed convictions have met with general acceptance: That in proportion as a free country grants greater rights to its citizens, it must attend to their education and mental culture. Washington in his very first message to Congress said: "You will no doubt agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in *every* country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionably essential. The people themselves must be taught to know and value their own rights; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience, and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments with an inviolable respect to the laws."* In like manner De Witt Clinton declared: "Knowledge is as much the cause as the effect of good government."†—And in a School Report for New York (1840, Doc. 40) it is stated: "The rising generation is destined to rule the country at a future period; therefore it must be formed and educated, that it may be secured against the wiles of demagogues, and so exercise its invaluable rights as not to lose them through abuse."

According to the laws and the prevalent feeling, the general government cannot directly conduct the system of education: hence there is no ministry of public instruction, no general plan for schools, no general school fund; on the contrary all movements attended by great results proceed from the separate states and from individuals. One-sided interference and compulsory uniformity are much more dreaded than occasional defects of judgment and system. The teachers usually have the assistance of trustees, who are elected by the community to manage the

* Messages of the Presidents, p. 22.

† The Schoolmaster, p. 111.

business transactions. Although one party sometimes complains of the other and with reason, this arrangement is nevertheless better than if the whole power and direction were placed in the hands of one.

The general government, by granting to the schools (as we have seen) one thirty-sixth of all the public lands,* has bestowed on them an inestimable gift, which is daily increasing in value. The state governments, however, are on their guard against a lavish use of this treasure; on the contrary, they require as a condition of any grant, that each district shall first exert itself, build school-houses, appoint teachers, and raise four times or at least twice what the authorities give. Almost all the constitutions contain very commendable clauses on the value of education, and provide the means of covering the expenses necessarily connected therewith. That in the United States, especially in the South, all the children do not go to school;† and that in the Western states, in consequence of the thin and scattered population, there is still a deficiency of schools, are matters of course: but then there is no country on earth, where all claims and wishes in this respect are fully met. Yet M'Gregor testifies, that in America the country people are not so rude, and certainly not so ignorant as in England; and Caswall, another Englishman, says: "Education in America is more general, if not so thorough and exact as in England."‡ This deficiency in thoroughness and accuracy refers particularly to the study of the ancient languages and of history; and also to the disposition, more prevalent in the northern than in the slave states, to enter early upon the active business of life.§ This disposition springs quite naturally from the ease with which a man becomes master of an independent and profitable calling. The American needs a multitude of practical acquirements that a European scarce thinks of; and multiplicity of preparation is of more importance to him than thorough acquaintance with a single subject. If even in Europe objections have been made to the method and the benefits of a learned and philological education, it may much more readily be excused in the Americans that they do not pursue precisely the same course. If however it should appear necessary for higher grades of culture, it would be speedily adopted,—nay it has been already, and with good results.

With regard to the course and objects of instruction in Yale College, one of the most celebrated institutions of learning in

* Accordingly there were in the western states about 2,166,000 acres appropriated to schools, whose value years ago was estimated at \$4,332,000.—Long's *Rocky Mountains*, i. 53.

† Grund, pp. 21, 122. Abdy, ii. 333. ‡ M'Gregor's *America*, i. 52. Caswall, p. 211.

§ Fidler, pp. 83, 121.

America, the faculty thus express themselves: "The object of the system of instruction to the undergraduates in the college, is not to give a *partial* education, consisting of a few branches only; nor on the other hand to give a superficial education, containing a little of almost every thing; nor to finish the details of either a professional or practical education: but to commence a *thorough* course, and to carry it as far as the time of the student's residence here will allow. It is intended to maintain such a proportion between the different branches of literature and science, as to form a proper symmetry and balance of character. In laying the foundation of a thorough education, it is necessary that *all* the important faculties be brought into exercise. When certain mental endowments receive a much higher culture than others, there is a distortion in the intellectual character. The powers of the mind are not developed in their fairest proportions by studying languages alone, or mathematics alone, or natural or political science alone. The object, in the proper collegiate department, is not to teach that which is peculiar to any one of the professions, but to lay the foundation which is common to them all. The principles of science and literature are the common foundation of all high intellectual attainments. They give that furniture, and discipline, and elevation to the mind, which are the best preparation for the study of each individual profession."

Knowledge in general, like sound limbs, reason, and other gifts of humanity, is a good in itself. Without knowledge, man would be a brute; and if it is not always brightened into and united with the highest wisdom and virtue, it is certain that ignorance far seldomer goes with these latter hand in hand.* The dangers however of a partial, egotistical mental development, are admirably shown in a school report of Mr. Dwight for Albany.† Among other things it is there said: "The moral influence of schools has undoubtedly improved our social relations; but it has not yet given to virtue that energy and strength so essential to security and happiness. The common virtues are mostly comprised in mere prudence; they spring from selfishness and lead to wealth and reputation, but not in an equal degree to real welfare and happiness. Many men have lost faith in man; for successful villany goes under the cloak of dexterity unblushing through the streets, and claims the approbation of society."

Eloquent admonitions of this sort, joined to very bitter experience, will lead back into the right way, and also lessen the force of similar complaints. Thus many say that the Americans have too little respect for science properly so called, and look upon it

* Proofs that ignorance and crime go hand in hand. Education and Labor, 1842; Hartford, p. 31.

† For 1844, p. 158.

with distrust as a sign of aristocracy, always asking, "Of what use is it?" They regard the learned as hurtful drones, are generally content with mediocrity in literary composition, and have no knowledge of the perfection of art and feel no desire for it. Here certainly a weak side of the American condition is pointed out; but might not an American acquainted with European education reply: We admit that scholars in Europe, or at least in Germany, learn more Latin and Greek than in America; yet how many* (teachers and philologists by profession excepted) after leaving the schools and universities continue to read the classics? how many really acquire a fondness for them? Hardly any attend the universities, except those who are to fill some public station; and after quitting them, all further improvement is to be obtained upon the management of petty affairs. But the green cloth table hardly educates him who sits at it and does not look beyond it,—and still less others, by its countless ordinances and decrees. Our practical, political life requires from all the citizens of our country a varied and perpetual mental activity; and the results of this whole bringing up in the real business of life, are entirely different and far greater than those produced by the pedagogism and eternal pupilage of Europe. How many in Europe are old and *blasés* even in youth; critics without spirit, knowing every thing better, and yet knowing nothing; ever discontented, as though contentment were synonymous with dulness and want of spirit; without faith or confidence in parents, guides or teachers; arrogantly censuring the whole world and all the social relations, instead of humbly beginning with the reform of self; and without hope, consolation, or redemption, but what can be derived from their own all-sufficiency and supreme contempt for all that is and all that has been.

If, as is affirmed, the German colonists in some states of America show themselves more indifferent towards the establishment and improvement of schools than the more active Yankees; still habit, sloth, and stupidity are not the only causes. They perceived, or rather felt, the consequence of these one-sided European proceedings, and that mere reading and writing do but little to improve the understanding, while they leave the character unformed. With this view even Pestalozzi observed: "I esteem those evils as great, which are produced by placing children too early in school, and by all that is artificially driven into them away from their homes."† The danger of these "artificial" acquisitions appears far less great in America than in Europe; because there the period of school and education is

* In Prussia many go from the lower schools into the gymnasia, and there is no distinction of caste.

† Raumer's *Pädagogik*, ii. 316. Vigne, ii. 72.

followed by a fresh, free, active life; and discontentedness with the state, the constitution, the church, and society, is especially, or rather unfortunately, a disease of old Europe.

We find in America Sunday-schools, common or elementary schools, grammar-schools going somewhat further, colleges (which may be compared with our gymnasia), and universities with from one to four faculties. Very naturally and after a thoroughly republican fashion, the greatest amount of zeal is shown for the common schools, and to them the most minute superintendence is directed; still it has been rightly observed, that a neglect of the highest culture would also impede the progress and elevation of the masses.

Between the colleges and universities, the number of which is sufficiently great, there is an important difference: since some of them are just beginning, and have but few teachers, scholars, and books; while others, as Cambridge in Massachusetts, and Yale College in New Haven, Connecticut, are abundantly and appropriately provided with professors, students, libraries, and other collections. According to European ways of thinking, we should prefer a smaller number of complete institutions to a greater number of imperfect ones: in consequence however of the great size of the states and their scattered population, every father of a family naturally wishes an institution of learning in his neighborhood; it also becomes in a manner a point of honor not to be behindhand in this respect with any neighboring state.

In the colleges or gymnasia the students usually remain four years, from fourteen to eighteen; and in the more advanced institutions, from sixteen to twenty. There is generally required for admission more or less knowledge of English grammar, arithmetic, geography, a beginning in Latin and also in Greek. These two languages are then further taught, and occasionally Hebrew or the modern tongues, mathematics, rhetoric, natural and mental philosophy, as also something of American laws and the law of nations. Instruction in history is often defective; indeed it is sometimes wanting altogether. On leaving college, most of the students receive the diploma of bachelor of arts or belles lettres; and then go commonly for two or three years more to an institution of theology, law, or medicine.

No distinction of ranks and in the mode of treating them is of course ever thought of; but on the other hand a most violent opposition is found between the whites and blacks. While many friends of the negroes recommend their instruction in common with the whites; others would, for reasons already given, either abolish it altogether, or (on the plea of their unpleasant odor) provide for black children separately. The latter is in fact the most frequent practice.

Of the evil consequences which have ensued from the unhappy controversy about reading the Bible in schools, I shall again speak in another place; and here only remark in general, that there is by no means a unanimity of opinion on the subject of religious instruction in schools. Many sects would found it altogether on their own creed; others would propound only those religious principles on which all Christians are agreed; others again would wholly separate scientific from spiritual instruction, and hand the latter over to the clergymen of the different denominations. With this view, the state of Illinois provides by law, that no literary institution or school shall have a religious department. Many *female teachers* have been placed even in boys' schools with excellent effect. They form in Ohio about one half, and in Massachusetts as many as two thirds of the whole number of teachers. For the lower classes in the schools they are uniformly preferred to men; since they are more affectionate, more patient, better bred, and—being without any interfering plans of life—are more devoted to the calling they have chosen.

Another peculiarity in several schools, especially in the western states, is the union of scientific instruction with bodily *labor*. The scholars devote to work commonly three hours a day (as printers, bookbinders, cabinet-makers, farmers, &c.); and thereby strengthen their health, and earn a great part of the expense of their education.* An institution at Palmyra in Missouri owns land, which the scholars hire and cultivate, and in this way maintain themselves.

Although it would be very tedious, if not impossible, to describe in detail the school regulations of twenty-six states, still it is necessary to adduce something by way of example, in order to show that the reproach of disinclination or indifference on the part of Americans to mental culture and training is wholly unfounded.

In *Alabama*, the thirty-sixth part of the land of every township forms a school-fund, and forty-six thousand acres besides are set apart for a university, which are already worth a million of dollars.†

In *North Carolina*, the schools in 1838 owned a million and a half of acres, which in part at least admit of cultivation. Other school-funds amounted to about a million of dollars.‡

In *South Carolina*, clergymen and school-teachers are exempt from taxation.§ There had been at different times appropriated :

for the library capital,	\$2,000
“ “ annually,	610

* Reed, ii. 137. Arend's Missouri, p. 279. † Buckingham's Slave States, i. 279.

‡ American Almanac, 1838, p. 220. § Statutes, vi. 606, 610.

the librarian,	600
each professor in the college,	2,500*
several free scholarships,	400
free schools annually,	37,000
a building for collections of natural science and for experiments,	6,000
a deaf and dumb institution,	25,000

The free school system, for reasons which this is not the place to state, has not yet produced a satisfactory result.†

In the year 1801, a college was founded in *Columbia*, the capital of South Carolina. The state gave money for the erection of large buildings, and (as was required by the expensiveness of the place) for liberal salaries. Trustees, chosen by the legislature and presided over by the governor, manage the business of the institution; whilst the instruction is committed chiefly to the head of the college and the professors. The trustees appoint all the professors, and have also the power of dismissal. There are seven professors:

1. For Belles Lettres and Logic.
2. For Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.
3. For Biblical Literature and Evidences of Christianity.
4. For Greek and Roman Literature.
5. For Chemistry, Geology and Mineralogy.
6. For History and Political Economy.
7. For Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy.

Every professor, upon his induction to office, must deliver an address relative to his department. The students, as in all similar institutions, are divided into four classes, which are named oddly enough: Freshmen, Sophomores, Juniors, and Seniors. They are received at the age of fourteen. Every half year there is an examination, and every year an advance to a higher class. The students as well as the professors live in the public buildings. Each professor has a certain number of students under his charge, whose rooms he must visit at least once a day. The professors have also by turns the superintendence of their meals. The scholars wear a simple uniform of dark grey. They are forbidden to chew tobacco, to keep dogs, to drink ardent spirits, to play musical instruments on Sunday, or to indulge in other common amusements and dissipations. The students' money all passes through the hands of a treasurer. No one is allowed to spend more than \$350 a year; as experience shows it to be attended with the worst consequences. The term lasts from the first Monday in October to the first of July. Only three hours a day are devoted to instruction; one after morning prayers, one at eleven,

* Only \$1000 a piece less than the governor gets.

† *American Almanac*, 1845, p. 252.

and one at four o'clock : exact regulations are however prescribed respecting the further division and improvement of time. I have no room to discuss this plan of an academy, which departs widely from those of Germany. I speak of the oratorical exercises in my Letters.

In *Georgetown*, District of Columbia, the Jesuits have established in a charming spot an institution, the object of which is to unite the instruction of a college with that of a partial university. The principles adopted are in general those laid down in the *Ratio atque Institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu*, and which on that account it seems unnecessary to repeat here. Warning is given against untried novelties and anti-church tendencies ; the desire of learning and knowing a great many things, as well as mere trifling, are highly censured : on the other hand, the study of the classics, as ever-enduring models of just thought and beautiful style, is carried to a greater extent than is usual in America. Still it is found necessary to make many changes in the ancient course of study and to bestow the requisite time on the natural sciences, modern languages, and the mother-tongue. Thus the mathematics are pursued for one hour and a quarter daily ; French is taught, &c. The course lasts from the 15th September to the 31st July. After four years in the college classes, the student enters the higher grades, which still bear the ancient names of Poetry, Rhetoric, and Philosophy.*

* To explain its character more completely, I annex the following extract from the Prospectus of the school.

The course of the preparatory schools is as follows :

FIRST CLASS.—Latin Grammar, Viri Romæ, or Cicero's Select Letters, Geography, English Grammar, History of the Bible, Latin and English Exercises, Arithmetic.

SECOND CLASS.—Nepos's Lives, Cicero's Letters, Fables of Phædrus, Greek Grammar, Latin Grammar, English Grammar, Æsop's Fables in Greek (second term), Geography of North America, History of the Bible, Latin and English Exercises, Arithmetic.

THIRD CLASS, *First Term*.—Curtius, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Græca Minora, Ancient History of the Republics of Athens and Sparta, Greek Grammar, Latin Grammar, English Grammar, Latin, Greek, and English Exercises, Geography of South America and Europe.

THIRD CLASS, *Second Term*.—Cæsar, Ovid's Tristium, &c. &c.

FOURTH CLASS, *First Term*.—Sallust, Virgil (Eclogues and Georgics), Lucian's Dialogues, Anthology (Greek), Geography of Asia and Africa, History of Greece, Mythology, Doctrine of Particles (Tursellini), Alvarez' Prosody, Latin Grammar, Greek Grammar, Rules for the composition of Letters and formation of Style, Exercises in Latin, Greek, and English.

FOURTH CLASS, *Second Term*.—Cicero's Minor Works, Virgil's Æneid, Xenophon's Cyropædia, Anthology.

In the senior classes the following course is pursued :

IN POETRY, *First Term*.—Livy, Virgil's Æneid, Horace's Art of Poetry, Xenophon's Cyropædia, Theocritus.

Second Term.—Cicero's Orations, Horace's Odes, Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, Thucydides, Homer.

Every scholar must go through the entire course, and no exceptions are made for particular cases. No travelling is allowed or visits made except to parents and guardians. All letters not from parents are opened by the principal; who decides what books the scholars may read. The yearly charges for rent, tuition, superintendence, washing and medical attendance, amount to \$200. All else is paid separately; but an excessive amount of pocket-money is not permitted. Protestants are also received into the institution. The chewing of tobacco is forbidden, but nothing is said of smoking.

Theology, which is designated as the light of philosophy, is to be studied four years; profane studies are to be entirely laid aside, and all are to apply themselves to Thomas Aquinas.

In *Connecticut* there arose gradually out of ancient landed-possession a school-fund of about 2,000,000 dollars invested at a high rate of interest, to which is added a yearly tax of about 12,000 dollars.* The whole income is divided among from eighty to eighty-four thousand children; notwithstanding this, every thing has not yet succeeded as might be wished. A school-house which I visited in New Haven was roomy and well adapted to the purpose; and the scholars, who were instructed on the Lancasterian method, among other things multiplied in their heads numbers extending to five places of figures.

Yale College in New Haven, founded in 1701, and gradually much enlarged and enriched,† is justly reckoned among the best literary institutions of America, and unites the characters of a college and a university. The laws for undergraduates and other students contain the usual rules, but the following deserve particular mention. They must contract no debts, and can take lodgings in the town, with the consent of their college-guardians, only when all the rooms in the college-buildings are occupied.

Both Terms.—Precepts of Rhetoric and Poetry, Greek Dialects and Prosody, History of Rome, Ancient Geography. English, Latin, and Greek style particularly attended to, in prose and poetry, and specimens from approved authors committed to memory.

IN RHETORIC, *First Term.*—Cicero's Orations, Horace's Satires and Epistles, Livy; Demosthenes' Orations, Homer's Iliad.

Second Term.—Cicero's Orations, Juvenal and Persius, Tacitus, Demosthenes, Sophocles.

Both Terms.—Precepts of Rhetoric, with criticisms on the most celebrated authors, Quintilian's Institutions of Rhetoric, Cicero's Rhetorical Works, American and English History, History of Latin, Greek, and English Literature. A greater, if possible, attention is paid to style in the three languages, and orations are composed.

IN PHILOSOPHY.—The students learn Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics. Lectures on these branches are delivered in Latin, and a daily examination is held on the lecture. In Natural Philosophy the lectures are given in English. The Mathematics are taught in three classes.

* Duncan's Travels, i. 110. Hinton, ii. 480. Buckingham's Eastern States, i. 352.

† The institution is named after Governor Yale, who was a great benefactor to it. He died in 1721.

Whoever remains out or comes late to the recitations is marked and censured. Particular tutors have the oversight as to diligence and good behavior. No one is permitted to put on female clothing, to visit the theatre, act plays, or join in any game, or to purchase cake or fruit within the college walls. Whoever marries can no longer remain a student. On Sunday every one must go to church and keep the day strictly.* Whoever publicly denies that the Holy Scripture or a portion of it is of divine authority, is dismissed. The management of the funds, the appointment of teachers, and the general interests of the institution, are under the charge of a particular corporation; the president, professors, and tutors, compose the faculty for instruction and discipline.

Professors are appointed for :

Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology,
 Latin Literature,
 Greek Literature,
 Mathematics.
 Natural Philosophy and Astronomy,
 Rhetoric and English Literature,
 Divinity,
 An assistant for Latin and Greek,
 Seven Tutors.

After a student has spent four years in the very peculiarly arranged college course and has received the Baccalaureate, he passes on (if designed for a profession) to one of the university faculties. Four professors are appointed in the theological faculty, and no fee is paid for the three years' course. The medical department has five professors and a three years' course; that of law three professors and a two years' course: both faculties receive fees, since here the funds are not sufficient to dispense with them. The vacations (summer, winter, and spring) last about twelve weeks. The library of the college contains about 12,000, and those of the students' societies about 20,000 volumes. There are at present* 111 freshmen, 88 sophomores, 77 juniors, 107 seniors, 60 medical students, 44 law students, and 66 in the theological department.

I give as specimens the subjects of some orations:† The Immutability of Principles; Nature; The Deceiver; Washington's Administration; The Language of Silence; Moral Courage; The Study of American History; Poetry; The Heathen Mythology; *Vox populi, Vox Dei*; Our Politicians no Statesmen;

* The laws ordain: Whoever violates the Sabbath by unnecessary business, amusement, or visiting; whoever quits his room on that day, or admits other students or strangers, &c., shall be punished according to the nature of the offence.

† That is, in the term of 1843-4.—Tr.

‡ Compare those of Columbia in my Letters.

Obstinacy; The Well Balanced Mind; The Influence of a Corrupt Court; The Tyranny of Fashion; The Respect that Philosophy owes to Theology; The Tendency of Mankind to Free Constitutions; Woman's Mission.

In *New Hampshire* there are annually raised for schools about \$90,000, chiefly from a tax on property. Every bank must likewise pay for this purpose a tax of one half per cent. on its capital.* There is also a separate income for school-houses and academies. A select committee examine the teachers, and choose the school-books. None are adopted which favor a particular sect or creed.

In *Illinois*, the salaries paid to teachers amounted as early as the year 1839 to \$44,000; and a part of the proceeds from the sale of public lands is devoted to school purposes.†

In *Lexington*, Kentucky, there are a college, a law school, and a medical institute. The term time lasts from November till March, and from April till August. The students are under special supervision, and reside in the public buildings, or in the town if approved of by their college guardians. The hours of attendance are from 9 to 12 A. M. and from 2 to 5 P. M. The tuition fees for half a year amount to from ten to twenty dollars.

In *Louisville* an excellent medical institute has been established. The city gave towards it \$115,000. The lecture-rooms in the large and beautiful building are well arranged and well-lighted; and collections are begun for the natural sciences, chemistry, and anatomy. The library contains already from four to five thousand volumes; and in six years, eight professors have given instruction to 1060 students. The lectures last only from the first of November to the last of February; but are given for six hours daily. The fees for each professor amount to from ten to fifteen dollars, matriculation and library fees to five or six, and the doctor's diploma to twenty dollars.

In *Louisiana* about \$40,000 were expended in 1827 for the instruction of the poor.‡ In 1841 very judicious acts were passed for the establishment and extension of schools; and the teachers, many of them females, are very well paid.

In *Maine* every town has its free school, supported for the most part by a general tax on property. Still the general fund of the state contributes a considerable sum.§

In *Maryland*, and especially in Baltimore, schools are also in a very advanced state. Thus thirteen school commissioners are

* American Almanac, 1841, p. 179.

† American Almanac, 1841, p. 240.

‡ Encyc. Americana, art. Louisiana. Amer. Almanac, 1844, p. 269.

§ Hinton, ii. 460. Buckingham's Eastern States, i. 166. Provision has already been made for colleges and theological institutions. Am. Almanac, 1845, p. 203.

annually appointed, and a school-tax of $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. is raised on property.

Michigan has about a million of acres set apart for schools,* and levies a school-tax besides. The entire expenditure for schools amounts to \$87,000, which exceeds the cost of the whole state-government. The number of scholars in the year 1844 rose to 66,000. In 1837, a law was passed for the establishment of a University with three departments, of law, medicine, and arts and sciences. Forty-eight thousand acres of land were appropriated to it; and its collections in botany, mineralogy, geology, and zoology, are already quite extensive.

Missouri has two other funds set apart for common school purposes, besides that arising from the sale of the public lands: these are a fund from the sale of certain salt-springs lying within the state with the land adjacent to them, and which in 1839 amounted to \$480,000; and another of \$400,000, being the portion of the surplus revenue received by the state.†

Of the state of schools in *Ohio* I give an account elsewhere.

In *Pennsylvania* complaint is made that factory labor already keeps many children from the schools; still the cause of education has recently made astonishing progress. The indifference, the prejudices, and even the opposition formerly made to gratuitous instruction, have mostly disappeared; and the money required for schools is ungrudgingly contributed. The cheaper Lancasterian system is gradually giving way to the common mode, now that a greater number of teachers prepare themselves for the work. New school-houses have been erected, libraries and collections increased, and some attention bestowed on colored children. In the year 1839, \$309,000 were bestowed on schools out of the public treasury. There were 4,488 male and 2,050 female teachers;‡ the former received on an average \$19.39½ a month, and the latter \$12.03. 5,494 school-houses were in use, and 887 more were to be built. The county commissioners and a person for each school district determine the amount of school-tax to be raised. It must be at least double the amount given by the state.

In the *Philadelphia* city district there were in 1843, 214 schools: among which were one high school, 40 grammar schools, 18 lower schools, 76 primary schools, and 80 in the suburbs; with 499 teachers—87 male and 412 female. The salary of a teacher amounted on an average to \$274; the entire outlay for schools to \$192,000. The number of scholars was 33,130, and had received in a year and a half an increase of 5,222. If Philadel-

* Amer. Almanac for 1844, p. 283.

† In New Jersey there is a school fund of about \$350,000, and a yearly payment from the state fund of \$30,000. Amer. Almanac, 1845, p. 230.

‡ Amer. Almanac for 1841, p. 203. North Amer. Review, li. 26.

phia goes on in this path of improvement, riots of a rude and destructive character will not recur.*

Rhode Island expended for instruction in 1843, from public and private sources, about \$48,000.† There were 342 male and 173 female teachers, and the scholars numbered 11,960 boys and 8,132 girls.‡

Vermont appropriated 80,000 acres of land and a considerable sum of money for schools. Besides this, a school-tax is levied on property. The university or college at Burlington§ is under the direction of sixteen trustees, who fill vacancies in their own body. They select the requisite teachers from persons nominated by the professors. The institution has little or no connection with the state. Each student pays for instruction about twenty-five dollars per annum. They are required to attend morning and evening prayers, and to go to church on Sundays. Smoking and music are prohibited during the hours of study. After the college-course is ended and an examination is passed, students receive the degrees of bachelor and master of arts. The vacation lasts thirteen weeks.||

In *Virginia* the worthy governor M'Dowell laments that many children do not go to school at all, or only for a short time, and that irregularly. "Parents," says he in his message, "should be induced by the strongest considerations to permit their children to attend the schools." Still the attention to the subject of schools and the interest in them are gradually increasing; and an annual appropriation to common schools of about \$64,000 has already been made.

The illustrious Jefferson very early perceived how necessary both popular education and higher culture are in a republican confederation. "Educate," says he, "and inform the whole mass of the people. Enable them to see that it is their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve them."¶ Accordingly he exerted himself in the cause of schools, and founded the University at Charlottesville. While he is acknowledged to have effected much good, two objections have been made in regard to this:

The first is, that he placed the University in the lonely town of Charlottesville, instead of in Richmond, the capital of the state. The reasons for and against this course are the same which are urged in Germany for and against establishing universities in

* For 1843 I find the following statement: 6,156 schools; 5,264 male, 2,330 female teachers; 161,000 male and 127,000 female scholars; state contributions \$272,000. and school-tax \$419,000.

† Am. Almanac for 1844, p. 219.

‡ For well contrived laws and regulations in Tennessee, see Am Alm. 1845, p. 269.

§ Warden, i. 443. Amer. Almanac, 1845, p. 208.

|| Appendix III. shows the subjects of instruction and the division of the hours.

¶ Tucker, i. 255.

large or small towns. Probably Jefferson wished not to expose science to the danger of being overshadowed by the ascendancy of mere practical tendencies and the predilection for business and social amusements.

In the second place, Jefferson has been bitterly reproached for excluding clergymen from all immediate influence upon his institution. Here, it is supposed, were manifested his unbelief and enmity to Christianity. Religious dogmas have certainly no direct connection with instruction in Latin and Greek, mathematics and chemistry; they have their own peculiar province, which is in no way infringed upon by that institution. He wished to secure a free choice and development to each individual;—for which of the many sects should he have made the ruling one in his institution, and to which should he have surrendered its absolute spiritual control? Or was it possible to instal a clergyman for each denomination, and then to maintain uninterrupted peace? In order however to meet the clamor and to ward off the danger of unpopularity, there is now chosen, at certain intervals and in a prescribed order of succession, a university clergyman from certain favored or more numerous denominations. As was formerly asserted of the planets, so here certain doctrines rule in particular years, and make way for others when their time has expired. On the contrary, and in exact accordance with Jefferson's views, the laws of New York direct, that no school, in which any religious sect is preferred, or its tenets taught or inculcated, or its peculiar rites performed, shall receive any portion of the public money. And in another commendable work it is said: "Too many of our literary institutions appear to cherish sectarian views. They ought to be founded on the broadest principles of Christianity, without any reference whatever to any one of the different sects into which Christianity is divided and subdivided."*

The University receives annually from the state the sum of 15,000 dollars. Seven trustees appointed by the governor manage many of its concerns; besides whom a rector is annually appointed, and also a treasurer, who keeps a book of all the receipts and expenses of the students. There are nine professors: the branches taught are mathematics, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, chemistry and materia medica, anatomy and surgery, medicine, law, and the ancient and modern languages. History, as is too often the case in America, is omitted. Every professor has on an average a salary of \$1,000, a dwelling rent free, and the fees from his lectures. The fees from each student are:

* Atwater, Ohio, 286.

for hearing one professor only,	50 dollars
“ two professors, each,	30 “
“ three or more, each,	25 “
“ certain lectures,	15 “
There are appropriated for the library and	
newspapers,	350 “
for anatomy,	50 “
chemistry,	50 “
the librarian,	250 “

The students (about 160 in number and at least sixteen years of age) are under the supervision of the professors. They are subjected by the latter to rigid examinations; and if they pass, they receive the degrees of bachelor and master of arts. They are not suffered to reside without permission out of the University buildings, and they wear simple summer and winter uniforms. No student is allowed to receive and spend above a certain sum, except for books. The laws for the maintenance of discipline and good order are strict, and abuses have always been mastered in the end. The whole institution bears an intermediate character between a college and a university, and would readily admit of such further improvements as the present time demands.

New York. The sad, yet encouraging experience is often repeated, that the more an institution advances and approaches to perfection, the more clearly are its remaining defects observed, and the more severely censured. Thus it happens with the school system, especially in New England and New York. Let us then place praise and blame side by side, as worthy men express both,* or as they force themselves on the observer.

The first great impulse towards the improvement of the school system was given in the year 1795 by Governor Clinton, who exclaimed in his Message, “I regard our school system as the palladium of our freedom!” Several governors, as Gideon Hawley and others of the same stamp, exerted themselves indefatigably in the cause. In 1805 there was formed a society for the improvement of schools, and in the same year the first great appropriation of land was made for the same object. The unsold lands still amount to 400,000 acres. In 1812 a general school law was passed; which however in the years 1838 and 1844 underwent essential alterations and improvements. The system for city and country is now made uniform, and by means of town and country officers is worked up into small districts with great advantage. The supervision and management of the whole is in the hands of a state superintendent of instruction. The system thus stands

* Randal, Digest of the Common School system. American Almanac, 1840, p. 225; 1841, p. 195. Chevalier, iv. 234. Encycl. Americana, art. New York.

complete and united in all its parts; and neither excellences nor defects, activity nor negligence, can long remain unperceived. Suitable persons are appointed for the usual half-yearly inspection of the schools, as well as for the examination of teachers applying for places; and it is only to be hoped that political party-spirit may not force its way into these independent orbits and disturb their equilibrium.

During the last year there were paid out of the public funds of the state, to teachers,	\$565,000
For books for the district libraries,	95,000
Raised by citizens,	509,000

Total, \$1,169,000

Large as this sum appears, say the friends of the school system, it is still small compared with what is granted and expended for other purposes.

The contributions from the public funds are regularly distributed, according to the number of scholars who really attend school. Each district must raise as much for schools by a tax on property, as it receives from the state. It has been remarked, however, that the poorest and smallest communities, which keep a teacher for a few children, fare the worst; and therefore it has been proposed to change this principle of distribution. Those known to be poor do not pay for schooling; it has however been pointed out as a defect, that in New York even people who are well off pay nothing for the time their children remain out of school—a plan which encourages absence, while in Massachusetts the school-money is always paid for the whole term. The pay of the teachers is often still so small, that they are glad to get into other employments; and the school-houses are some of them in such a wretched condition, as to form no attraction for the calling. Lastly, the time of attending school is far too short, and the assertion is often heard: “What is learnt at school neither forms the character nor teaches how to make money. In this the ignorant get along just as well as the educated.” Yet eloquent figures show that these objections are not to be taken in all their extent and significance, without some grains of allowance. Thus in the year 1816 there were 140,000 scholars, and the state gave \$48,000. In the year 1844 there were about 660,000 scholars, and the state gave \$565,000. Upon the whole, the school system is doubtless regularly advancing; and the attempt to split it up among the different sects, has happily failed altogether, as will be shown in the sequel.

In *Massachusetts* and in all New England, there have existed, ever since the settlement of the country, excellent laws for the founding and support of schools. They were suffered however to lie in abeyance; and it was not till of late that attention has

been directed anew and with the happiest results to this important subject. The following is taken from the recent laws.* "In every place where fifty or more families are found, a school shall be kept at the public expense by one or more teachers of good morals and acquirements, for at least six months in the year; and the youth shall be instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, orthography, English grammar, geography, and morals." Where there are one hundred families, the instruction lasts the year round; where there are five hundred, the subjects of instruction extend to the history of the United States, geometry, surveying, algebra, and book-keeping. A place with four thousand inhabitants must have an academy with teachers for Latin, Greek, history, rhetoric, and logic. All teachers shall according to their ability inculcate the principles of piety and justice; a strict regard for truth, patriotism, humanity, and benevolence; temperance, industry, frugality, chastity, and all other virtues which adorn human society and lie at the foundation of republicanism. Every one is obliged to contribute to the school-tax according to his means, whether he sends children or not. Should a town fail to raise the required sum, it is mulcted in certain damages, and receives no assistance from the considerable state school-fund, which is derived chiefly from the produce and sale of lands.

Persons yearly appointed in each town conduct the school business, choose teachers and books, fix the number of free scholars, provide for diligent attendance, and are bound to see that no books are bought or used which are calculated to favor the tenets of any one Christian sect.

Since 1837, there has existed in Boston a board of instruction for the whole state. The governor and eight persons (of whom one goes out of office every year) receive all the reports of the local officers; from which the secretary, at present the active and sagacious Horace Mann, forms his general yearly reports. These instructive documents comprise the course of education, the number of teachers and scholars, the school fees, the time and circumstances of instruction, &c. They compare the institutions in Massachusetts with those of other countries,† contrast excellences and defects, and show the ways and means of further improvement. Progress is perceptible to every observer, notwithstanding the continuance of some defects. There is an increase in the contributions; in school attendance; in the duration of instruction; in the ability, number, and salaries of male and female teachers; in the convenience of school-houses, &c.‡

* Statutes, p. 218.

† Meetings of teachers and school-periodicals produce similar useful results.

‡ A very instructive work has appeared in Massachusetts on the building of school-houses, seats, ventilation, warming, &c.

Three schools, endowed with \$6,000 per annum, are provided for the education of male and female teachers. The former are received at seventeen, and the latter at sixteen years of age; and the course of instruction lasts from one to three years. According to the latest reports, there were 2,500 male and 4,282 female teachers, in a population of about 735,000. There were moreover four colleges with 769 students;* 251 grammar schools with 16,447 scholars; and 3,362 common schools with 160,258 scholars, of whom 158,351 receive instruction at the public expense, that is, out of the school-fund and tax. In the last year \$509,000 were raised by the school-tax. The contribution amounted in different counties to from \$1.10 to \$6.27; the average was \$2.84. The school-tax was about $\frac{3}{1000}$ of the property. In the course of five years, \$634,000 were paid for building new and repairing old school-houses; and the amount contributed by citizens for private schools was said to be nearly equal to that paid for public ones.

In Boston there are a Latin school, with five classes; a high school, where mathematics, the natural sciences, French, and English are chiefly taught; further, 13 grammar and 95 common schools, with 46 male and 148 female teachers. The school hours are in summer from 8 to 11, and from 2 till 5; and in winter from 9 to 12, and from 2 to half past 5. Separate schools are established for colored children. The school system is managed by the mayor, the chairman of the common council, and 24 assistants chosen from the 12 wards. Among other things they appoint and dismiss teachers, and fix their salary.

It deserves the most honorable mention, that in Massachusetts very large donations have been made for educational purposes. A single individual gave \$20,000 to found a professorship of Greek literature, and another the same sum for one of modern languages. Mr. Samuel Abbott gave \$120,000 to found an academy at Andover.

The highest and most deservedly celebrated literary institution in Massachusetts is Harvard College or Harvard University at Cambridge, near Boston.† It owed its establishment in 1636 to the gifts of the most meritorious John Harvard; during the seventeenth century, however, it not only had to struggle with extreme poverty, but unfortunately became entangled in the violent theological controversies of the age. Even in the middle of the eighteenth century there were people who would compel a lite-

* Mr. Mann animadverts severely and with justice upon the fact, that through the unskilfulness of the teachers, and still more through the disobedience and waywardness of the scholars (to which the parents are often accessory), schools are sometimes completely broken up. Here strict discipline is very necessary; otherwise unruly schoolboys will become in later years rioters and criminals, as has unhappily been seen to be the case in the disturbances in Philadelphia.

† See Josiah Quincy's excellent history of that institution.

rary institution to take the color of a particular sect, and who declared that the Holy Spirit and knowledge were at enmity with each other. Deficiency in the latter was declared to be more than compensated by extraordinary gifts of grace. More just and liberal views, however, finally prevailed; and the institution became so much enlarged by new foundations and donations, that a university is now joined with the college. As however the pecuniary means of the institution are not yet wholly sufficient for its wants, education at Cambridge is expensive, and the revenues of the college remain distinct from those of the university or faculties. The former amount to about \$41,000 per annum. A great part of the capital was loaned out to banks, insurance companies, manufactories, canals, railroads, &c.; and it has not escaped without loss. The salaries of the professors vary from \$1,000 to \$2,000; the president of the institution receives \$2,235. Teachers of languages get about \$500. The fees are received from the students in a fixed sum, and go to the treasury of the university. Besides the teachers of languages, assistants, and tutors, there are in Cambridge ten professors of the college (the faculty), two of theology, three of law, and six of medicine. The college students are divided, as every where in America, into four classes; and are under the supervision of the above mentioned tutors and professors. The college and university laws contain in general the same regulations as are found elsewhere. Every thing worthy of praise or censure is strictly noticed, and a scale of merits formed accordingly. The collegians almost without exception receive the degree of bachelor of arts upon leaving the institution; the university students, that of master of arts. These diplomas are not given on the ground of unusual examinations or extraordinary attainments, but answer to our university certificates of residence.

In the term of 1842-3 there were in Cambridge:

Seniors,	68
Juniors,	62
Sophomores,	64
Freshmen,	68
Those who claimed no degree, . .	4
	—266
Theological students,	22
Medical “	107
Law “	108
Resident graduates,	2
	—239
Whole number of collegiate and university students,	505

All are to attend morning and evening prayers, to wear a black

or dark-colored coat with black buttons at church and on public occasions, not to carry canes to church or recitations, to reside only where college officers give permission, to smoke no tobacco at table, &c. The vacations are two in number: one of six weeks, from the 12th of January; and another of six weeks, from the 12th of August.

In the new and tasteful library, built with a legacy left by Mr. Gore, there are about 1,800 theological, 1,000 medical, and 6,100 law books. Besides these, the college library has 40,000 volumes, and the students' library 9,000. The institution has lately received a donation of \$21,000 for the purchase of books, and \$25,000 for an observatory; all the scientific collections, however, need to be enriched.

The table in Appendix IV. shows the particular division of the hours of study. When, in the year 1841, the corporation resolved, that it should depend on the decision of parents and guardians, whether the college students should learn mathematics, Latin, and Greek, during the freshman year,—very serious objections were made. Parents and scholars, it was said, could seldom judge what and how it was best to study. They are generally inclined to suppose that a scanty foundation will serve for a lifetime; and that to hurry half prepared into practical business, is better than to possess all the acquirements that science can afford. The institution too, by thus yielding to the superficial wishes of the day, seeking to entice a greater number of students, and lowering its standard of education, will injure both itself and the community in an equal degree.

To this it was replied: It is impossible to study all the sciences, and it is necessary to make a choice among them. This the parents, after hearing the opinion of the college authorities, are entitled and the best qualified to do. If many of them even wrongly consider mathematics, Latin, and Greek as superfluous, it is absurd to set oneself against public opinion and endeavor to control it. In this way the institution will become constantly less popular and less frequented. Better remove the discontented and dissentient, and thus effect much greater objects with those who will give their willing co-operation.

Such were the reasons adduced for and against the measure; but the result has certainly surprised both parties. What in the true American spirit was objected to, because it was compulsory, appeared, after liberty of choice was allowed, in such a favorable light, that the number of those who learn mathematics, Latin, and Greek has not diminished, and the interest in those studies has increased. A choice is also permitted between learning Italian, Spanish, or German (French is prescribed); and the greater number choose the latter language.

There is no printed syllabus of the university lectures ; it would also have but a meagre appearance, in comparison with those of the German universities ; for the theological students resort mostly to institutions of their own creeds, the medical lectures last but four months in the year, and the law course comprises two years only. We miss here also the philosophical principles of law, Roman law, the history of law, and the constitutional law of other countries.

The method pursued by the excellent Judge Story in one of his instructive law lectures, seemed to me worthy of remark. With us the increase of examinations is recommended by some ; while by others it is opposed, chiefly because it would be attended with a great loss of time, or necessitate an increase in the number of lectures. Judge Story interwove in his rapid flowing delivery some questions, which he put to certain of his hearers by name. These answered the questions on the spot, merely completing the period as it were, so that the lecture went on without suffering any interruption.

The *medical schools* are not regulated alike in all the states. In consequence of republican views and of institutions still partially incomplete, the supervision is on the whole less extensive and the requisitions less strict than in many countries of Europe. In America it is expected that each physician will distinguish himself to the best of his ability, and that every patient will make the best choice for himself.

In the year 1837 there were printed at *Washington* the laws of a medical society. Praiseworthy regulations respecting the conduct of physicians were accompanied by a high tariff of fees. Each visit was set down at one dollar ; a first consultation, five dollars ; a night visit, from five to seven dollars ; vaccinating, three dollars ; a medical or surgical operation, from forty to one hundred dollars. It was forbidden to take less, or make any agreement to receive in payment a stipulated sum. Perhaps these rules met with opposition. At all events, Congress granted a separate charter in the year 1838 to a medical society of the District of Columbia. It was empowered to examine young physicians, and to give them a license to practise ; provided they had pursued the proper studies and passed with credit. Whoever practised without such license should have no power to enforce payment for the same. The society were to have nothing to do with settling the rates of fees.

Similar arrangements exist in *Baltimore*. The examiners of applicants are chosen from a society of all the physicians and the professors of the Medical University.

In *New York* there is a Board of Health, consisting of the Mayor and some other members of the corporation. There is a

medical society of the state, and others of the several counties. Every physician must become a member of the former, and exhibit certain qualifications; otherwise he is forbidden to practise. The county societies can propose the expulsion of a physician for ill conduct or gross mistakes; and the decision rests with the legal tribunals, unless the accused voluntarily submits. No college can confer the degree of doctor of medicine, and the medical faculty of the University require three years' study and a scientific thesis in English, Latin, or French. As however the annual lectures begin on the last Monday in October, and close on the last of February, the three sessions of four months each make in all but *one* full year. Should a county society reject a doctor, the matter goes for final decision to the state society. Study at home and under the eye of a physician is sometimes substituted for a portion of the university course.

The Medical Department of the University of New York now receives from the government \$3000 annually, but is otherwise entirely independent. The management of the business and the delivery of lectures are performed by a council chosen by election and the six professors of the faculty. The latter are nominated by the council and appointed by the faculty. Public notices are previously given, inviting applications for the vacant place. The number of students is now 325. The fees for six courses of lectures (one by each professor) amount to \$105. There are no examinations by the state properly speaking.

The Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia stands in particularly good repute. It numbers seven professors, and requires three years' study; here also the lectures last only from November to March.

According to a general enumeration, there were in the year 1843 in the United States, 108 colleges, 9 law schools, 28 medical and 37 theological institutions. The number of teachers in a college varies from four to thirty-one; in the higher institutions, for a single science or faculty, from one to eight; the number of college students to from 10 to 411, that of other students to from 30 to 444. The books in the libraries belonging to these institutions number from 225 to 45,000. For the year 1840 the number of those attending the common schools was put down at 1,845,000, that of students so called at 16,233.* According to another account, the number of pupils was:

in the colleges about	0.8 per cent.
grammar schools (academies)	8.1 “
primary schools	91.1 “

* Poussin, *Puissance Améric.*, ii. 263. The uncertainty of all these numbers however is shown in the *Amer. Almanac* for 1845, p. 136.

In the Southern states attendance in the lower bears to that in the higher schools the proportion of 3 to 1; in the Northern states, of 12 to 1. The culture of the higher classes is then more general in the former, and of the people in the latter; and advantages and defects show themselves on both sides.

On taking a re-survey of all that we have stated, some general remarks are suggested.

First. The American universities, libraries, and scientific collections (which it is impossible to create at once), are behind those of Europe, and especially of Germany; but on the other hand, as regards the education of the people, many of the United States are on a level with the most cultivated European countries, and far before several, including even England.

Secondly. No nation has done so much for schools in so short a time as the Americans. For ancient foundations are almost wholly wanting, and even though we should not rate very high the appropriation of wild land, which at first is nearly worthless, still other nations who have also plenty of wild land have done nothing similar; and it has only been with difficulty that here and there in Europe a poor strip of land has been obtained for schools and schoolmasters, when some "common" has been divided. But it deserves especially to be repeated, that the principal funds for the support of schools are raised, not from school-money paid by the *poor*, but by a property-tax, which particularly affects the *rich*,* whether they send children to school or not. In New England, for example, people of property (about one fifth of the inhabitants) pay half the cost; though they do not send one sixth of the children to the schools. This regulation brings by its re-action security and advantage to the rich; it is republican, and in entire conformity with human rights and feelings.

Thirdly. There is in the United States no danger of an education too elevated for the condition and relations of the educated. Such are their political privileges, that nothing is placed wholly out of the reach of any one; wherefore the outlay goes to the education not of subjects merely, but of rulers also.† "Knowledge," De Witt Clinton rightly observed, "is as well the cause as the consequence of good government."

I mentioned that no libraries in America could be compared with the great European collections; still there are, especially in the larger Eastern cities, many libraries founded by individual exertion for particular purposes (such as for lawyers, clergymen, physicians, merchants, and others), and these have been diligently used. They did not operate, however, upon the masses of the people; and the city circulating libraries, filled mostly with bad

* Encyclop. Americana, art. Education. Hall, ii. 165.

† The Schoolmaster, p. 111.

romances, were destructive to time, to taste, and morals. Hence arose the just complaint, that the people were taught reading with a great outlay of time and trouble, and much boasting at the result; while after all they had nothing to read. The Bible is not even put into the hands of the Catholics, and has often been misused by Protestants who were deficient in all other knowledge for the purpose of kindling a wild fanaticism. It is a common objection in Europe that the peasant has neither inclination nor time to read. But inclination will not be wanting, as soon as suitable books are offered to him: and he has more time to read than chancellors, secretaries, privy councillors, and ministers of state. And what does he now in winter? He sits by the stove, quarrels with his wife, beats the children, and then goes into the beer-house or spirit-shop in order to maintain the patriarchal equilibrium of his innocent mind, which has not yet been sophisticated by the knowledge of books!

By reading the daily papers, the citizens of the United States are certainly excited and instructed in a greater variety of ways than those of any other country; still this source is not always pure, and is never quite sufficient. It was therefore a new, valuable, and commendable idea (first broached in New York by Wadsworth and Marcy, and afterwards adopted by Massachusetts), to found *a library for each school district*; and that not for the scholars merely, but chiefly for adults. The first choice belongs to the trustees of the place; but the school superintendent of a higher grade has a right to propose the removal of ill-chosen books. If the board of trustees do not follow this counsel, they forfeit their claim to a contribution from the general school fund. From these collections there are very properly excluded all books relating to political and religious controversies, or bearing any sectarian character, and also all romances. Notwithstanding these limitations, the choice remained difficult, and there was still a lack of uniformly printed books at moderate prices; consequently, by the advice of benevolent and judicious individuals, entire series of books for the young and for grown persons were printed in New York and Boston, and even many works were written expressly for this purpose. Among them are works on agriculture, technology, natural philosophy and chemistry, together with travels, histories, biographies, translations of the classics, &c.*

In the year 1843, these new collections in the state of New York contained already 875,000 volumes; and the government contributed towards them \$94,000. In the year 1844 the number

* For example, Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, Robertson's Charles the Fifth, Bancroft's History, Washington's Life, Histories of the several states, Homer, Plutarch, Herodotus, Goldsmith's History of Greece and Rome, Jos. Müller's History of the World, Manuals of Physiology, of Agriculture, of Trade, &c.

of volumes amounted to a million. As the districts must contribute at least as much, there was a voluntary outlay in one year of \$188,000 for the mental improvement of the people by means of reading. Similar regulations with equal success have been adopted in Massachusetts; and many other states will speedily follow such noble and salutary examples.

It is only in this way that mental and moral culture can spread beyond the limited circle of the schools over the whole life of a people, and raise them to a higher grade of genuine knowledge. It is an absurd apprehension, to imagine that religious feelings are weakened in consequence; as if religion and ignorance went always hand in hand! The attainment however of this higher intelligence will render it impossible for any one hereafter to smuggle in a narrow fanaticism as a gift of the Holy Spirit, or to preach up the principles of Caliph Omar.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LITERATURE AND ART.

For and against America—Freedom of the Press—Newspapers and Periodicals—
Defence of Newspapers—Congress on Newspapers—German Newspapers—Periodicals—Libraries—Fine Arts, Music, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture—History—
Eloquence—Webster, Clay, Calhoun—Poetry—Philosophy.

THE Americans, it is said whenever literature and art are mentioned, have no antiquity and no monuments, no youth and no poetry, no literature and no art; and this is regarded as conveying a perfectly true and at the same time bitter censure, or rather as the most complete sentence of condemnation. But might not an impartial spectator reply: England's antiquity and monuments belong equally to the Americans; they may justly reckon Chaucer and Shakspeare as their own. Should this however be denied—for what reason I know not, and the first day of America's independence be regarded as her real birth-day; why then she stepped forth like Adam, who came perfect from the hand of God, without wearing children's shoes; or like Minerva, who sprang from the head of Jove, and never was tutored by a *bonne*. Every body in America, it is said, works *to live*, but no one *to think*. What a one-sided, untrue antithesis! Labor is not wholly without thought, nor are the idle—from many an eldest son down to the lazzaroni—always thinkers.

Others maintain, that the average of culture is indeed higher in America than elsewhere, but that there is a want of prominent, lofty intellects. The last at any rate does not follow from the first; on the contrary, as the whole broad foundation rises to a higher point, the summits also mount at length into a purer atmosphere.

Every thing has its time. Girls of eight and grandmothers of eighty bear no children; but the Americans—so think their censors—should do every thing at once, every thing at the same time,—that is to say, at the *wrong* time! How many poets has France produced in a thousand years, and whom can Germany name between the author of the *Nibelungen* (who by the by is either disowned or reviled) and Klopstock?

America has no monuments, it is true; but she has a nature which joins all the venerableness of age to the elastic vigor of youth. And do pyramids, and colossuses, and robber-castles exhibit more the value and progress of art, or the misery which tyranny ever produces? The poetry of the Americans lies not in the past, but in the future. We Europeans go back in sentiment through the twilight of ages, that lose themselves in night; the Americans go forward through the morning dawn to day! Their great, undoubted, historical past lies near them; their *fathers* did great things, not their *great-great-grandfathers*! Athens at the time of Miltiades, and Rome at the time of Scipio, had as yet no *ancient* history; and the year 1813 is more glorious for Prussia than the time when the margraves fought with the Quitzows. It is better to build, to found, and to act—to live and improve in the present,—than to have ruins pointed out and explained by *valets de place*. Will America become greater, more profound, and more wonderful, when it shall lie in ruins; or would one rather see Athens as she now is, or as she was at the time of Pericles, Phidias, Plato, and Sophocles?

The first condition of all progress in art and science is, to know its value. No European has ever spoken on this subject more impressively and warmly than De Witt Clinton, when he says: Pleasure is only a shadow, wealth only vanity, and power only a semblance; knowledge on the contrary gives the greatest enjoyment, the most lasting glory, is boundless in space and endless in time.* Nor is this a solitary and inoperative sentiment of one distinguished man; but all the states, as we have seen, are doing wonders in behalf of schools, and almost as much for science. New York and Massachusetts, for example, have by the most liberal appropriations (amounting in New York to \$200,000) provided for surveying those states, preparing maps, drawing up a complete natural history, and examining into their

* School Report for Cincinnati, 1839, p. 8.

early records; and eighteen other states have already followed their praiseworthy example. In a like spirit, the general government ordered the circumnavigation of the globe under Commander Wilkes, the results of which are not inferior to those of any other. But after all, what the government directly undertakes and supports is of less importance than the fact, that it places no obstacle in the way of the free development of all minds. The *absolute freedom of the press* in America is the great lever of this development. All are agreed that, with regard to books properly speaking and to genuine literature, this freedom has been of the greatest utility, and has very rarely been abused. Opposite opinions however are expressed respecting the newspaper and periodical press. Thus, while the majority behold in it the palladium of all truth and liberty, some consider newspapers the source of almost all the evil there is in America. Before I produce the facts that bear on this matter and give the reasons on both sides, it is necessary to make some statistical statements.

In the year 1704 the first American newspaper was printed in Boston.*

In the year 1720 there were	3 newspapers.
“ 1771 “	25 “
“ 1801 “	200 “
“ 1810 “	359 “
“ 1828 “	851 including journals.
“ 1834 “	1250 and 140 journals.
“ 1840 “	1400–1600 newspapers.

In the year 1810, there were in the United States 26 periodicals; in 1834, their number amounted to 140. Among them there were:

medical journals,	8
legal,†	52
theological (including religious newspapers),	120
agricultural,	12
temperance,	18

Of those newspapers and journals there appeared in New York, 274; in Pennsylvania, 253; in Ohio, 164; in Massachusetts, 124; in Indiana, 69; in Virginia, 52; in Tennessee, 50; in Wisconsin, 5; in Iowa, 3; &c. In the Northern and Northwestern states there is in this respect more literary enterprise and activity than in the South; while Ohio in this as in many other points distinguishes herself above all.

I now pass to the more particular characteristics of the newspapers, and begin with the reproach to which they are most

* Encyclop. Amer., art. Newspapers. Chevalier, i. 210. Amer. Almanac, 1835, p. 266; 1840, pp. 69, 196. The numbers of course change every year.

† Amer. Alm. 1835, 277.

obnoxious, and which is most frequently uttered. If even a newspaper-writer, the editor of a widely circulated New York paper, finds occasion and materials for numerous extracts from the papers of all parties, under the title, "The Party-Press of the United States, its Licentiousness and Immorality,"—the evil must certainly have reached a great height. For the furtherance of party views and party aims, there are employed not only good, but also bad reasons; not only truth, but also falsehood and slander; not only wit, but also ribaldry in the greatest profusion. No external position affords protection against such treatment; thus one of the candidates for the presidency is now designated as a breaker of all the ten commandments, a gambler, a drunkard, a protector of brothels, a duellist, &c. Other paragraphists attacked the deceased grandfather of another candidate, and asked if he was not a tory before the Declaration of Independence. Another paper took from an old book of travels an anecdote (true or false) of some cruelly branded slaves, impudently substituted the name of Mr. Polk for that of the real offender, and shifted the whole occurrence to the present time.

Bishop White of Philadelphia has justly remarked: "No one who lives uprightly can ever be entirely put down in America by slander. Whatever the momentary effects may be, he will live down the falsehood." But even the passing, momentary effect is an injurious one; and the proverb is but too often confirmed that, "Something always sticks," *Semper aliquid hæret!* As it is seldom possible to bring newspaper-writers to justice, and only in case of gross slanders and falsehoods, they constitute in effect a completely independent, unassailable power.

But aside from all considerations of morality,* the press too often sins against good taste, and the writers who should educate and instruct the people sink even below them. It is impossible however to lay all the guilt upon the writers, and acquit the readers; for if the bad and mischievous papers were not read, they would not be written and printed. The excuse of many persons of education, that they do not touch the vile class of papers, does not remove their vileness or their evil consequences; and if the people are to make real progress, the demagogues must improve themselves too.

Bad means are never to be employed for professedly good ends; and moreover, if both parties enter on this objectionable course, the imaginary advantage is on both sides completely annulled! No stranger is able to say or repeat so much that is unreasonable, unjust, and offensive about America, as the newspaper writers daily heap together. It sometimes seems to one,

* Poussin (*Richesses Américaines*, ii. 272) maintains that the French daily press is in many respects still more immoral and corrupt.

after a varied, indiscriminate reading of these publications, as if truth and history had no existence.

Whoever cherishes a sincere reverence for great republican institutions can never allow that the reprehensible course pursued by many journalists springs from them, or is their necessary and natural result. On the contrary, he lives in the hope, that journalism will gradually adopt a better taste and a more worthy demeanor.

The evils here animadverted upon are already of ancient date. Not only was Jefferson, that bold champion of a hitherto unknown human development, violently attacked; but also the noble, virtuous, moderate Washington. The day before he resigned his presidency, a newspaper published in Philadelphia contained these words: "‘Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.’ This was the exclamation of a man who saw a flood of blessedness breaking in upon mankind. If there ever was a time that allowed this exclamation to be repeated, that time is the present. The man who is the source of all our country’s misery is this day reduced to the level of his fellow-citizens, and has no longer the power to multiply the woes of these United States. Now more than ever is the time to rejoice. Every heart which feels for the liberty and happiness of the people must now beat with rapture at the thought, that this day the name of Washington ceases to give currency to injustice and to legalize corruption. There is opened to the people a new era, and one full of promise. Public measures will henceforth stand on their own merits, and base undertakings can no longer be propped up by a great name. When we look back upon the eight years of Washington’s administration, it strikes us with astonishment, to think that one man could thus poison the principles of republicanism among an enlightened people, and carry his designs against the public liberty so far as to endanger its very existence. Yet such is the fact; and if this is apparent to all, this day should form a jubilee in the United States."

Two brief passages will show, that since that day the form of virulence at least has not every where improved. In one paper we are told, "The common hangman never burnt beneath the gallows more reeking treachery than is embodied in that shameful declaration abominably entitled, *Whig Principles*."*

Of the last Congress another paper says: "Congress adjourned yesterday, and we are now justified in speaking of it. Our first remark, for which we have ample grounds, is that in degeneracy

* It is remarkable that the *truth* of a libel justifies it when directed against public officers and measures. Many constitutions even allow any charge, so far as it is true and uttered from good motives. The jury decide both on the law and the fact.

and ignorance it exceeds every Congress that has assembled since the adoption of our Constitution. We are ever inclined to speak respectfully of legislative bodies; but we are in doubt whether this deserves more the hatred or the contempt of the people. It was niggardly towards useful objects, extravagant towards worthless ones, small in great matters and contemptible in small ones. It was at the same time arrogant and selfish. The confusion which ruled in the lower house, was the only favorable circumstance; for it concealed the enormity of some offences, and prevented the example of wickedness from coming in its full extent before the public. The petitions of the people remained unheard, the public service was neglected and abused, statesmen brought themselves into contempt, and the morals of the people were corrupted by their indecent conduct and perversion of law and justice. The only commendable act performed by that body was—to adjourn!"

Loud complaints are also heard of the free press in Canada, and especially in Montreal. By this, says a printed letter, more than by all other causes put together, mischief is produced; public morals corrupted; and narrow, perverted, and hurtful views and projects engendered. "Newspaper writers," said an American to me, "have in general the least knowledge and the most superficial judgment respecting public affairs."

Thus do all noble-minded Americans acknowledge and lament the faults of their press. It is impossible to remedy them by compulsion and force; but (and this we are ready to hope and believe) by greater delicacy of feeling, love of truth, abhorrence of slander, aversion to idle gossip, refusal to read vicious prints, and by the increasing refinement of free and independent citizens.

It would however be wrong and unjustifiable, were I not also to present the bright side in contrast with the dark. This is all the more necessary, because the friends of a strict and anxious censorship would otherwise find occasion from this to celebrate a premature triumph, and confirm themselves in the opinion, that their erasing and clipping institution is an absolutely necessary and eminently salutary panacea for all literary crimes and misdemeanors. Without entering at all into the general question of censorship or no censorship, which is already decided in all free states, I shall confine my remarks simply to what takes place in America. First of all, the abuse of the freedom of the press does not by any means extend, as I have already remarked, to the writers of books—to literature in its proper sense; on the contrary, every one must acknowledge that in these regions the most delightful fruits of liberty are shown. The abuses spoken of appear only in the newspaper press; they are however by no means general even

there, and it would be in the highest degree unjust, on account of a few violent and censurable prints, to overlook the greater number of better ones, or to bring them under the same condemnation. It is certainly an unreasonable demand, that 1500 writers for 1500 newspapers (and the number of writers must be doubled at least), should all be men of great genius and favorites of the muses and graces ! Are then the few select newspaper writers in countries subject to the censorship all such extraordinary people ; and would the abuses charged upon the Americans fail to make their appearance in Europe also, if all the old fetters were suddenly stricken off ? Would the writers be more polite and temperate, the readers more impartial and discerning ?

It is a highly important consideration, that in America sooner or later the unrestrained power of truth and justice ever prevails over the effects of falsehood and slander ; whereas, in many parts of Europe the chief complaint is, not so much that something—offensive if you please—is stricken out ; but rather that many able men are deterred, by a guardianship both arrogant and timid, from writing what is good, true, and useful. How often is there exhibited on the one hand a malicious pleasure at having cut up or cut out powerful, bold, and characteristic thoughts ; and on the other a childish delight at having concealed and smuggled in, in spite of the censor's Argus eyes, some solitary, insignificant, ambiguous passage !

As early as the year 1827, some remarkable debates were held in Congress, respecting the erroneous reports of speeches and the scandalous comments of the daily press. The following are among the sentiments uttered on these occasions :

Mr. Bartlett. " I should be sorry ever to find newspaper paragraphs becoming the grave subject of deliberation here. The standing which any and all of us must have, if we have any, must rest upon a better foundation. Our lives and our acts, and not newspaper puffs or squibs, will be the standard of the estimation in which we may be held. Upon whom was more newspaper slander ever heaped than upon Jefferson ? and yet he never condescended to utter a complaint. Has his character suffered ? "

Mr. Hamilton. " Let it be admitted that we all of us may occasionally suffer from the strong and pungent thrust of this subtle engine ; we must bear this with what philosophy we can, in order to insure blessings of incalculable value. One might as well quarrel with a poor worm for wallowing in his own slime, as get into a passion with those who indulge in low and pitiful scandals. "

Mr. Weems. " I have been the humble object for twenty-eight years of editorial abuse ; and hope I may be permitted to say here, that it was perhaps, under Providence, one of the most

powerful means by which I have obtained the confidence of those high-minded, honorable freemen who sent me to this house."

Mr. Mitchell. "The moment we attempt to draw the line of demarcation between the liberty and licentiousness of the press, our liberties are gone, and all we hold most dear is destroyed. Let our conduct be honest and upright, and their shafts of malignance will fall harmless at our feet."

Mr. Dorsey. "In all the revolutions of parties, I recollect not one printer who has changed the party character of his press. They have died the death of political martyrdom rather than deny their political faith."

Mr. Lumpkin. "Let truth and falsehood appear in print: the spirit of the people will meet the evil and set it right."

Mr. Vance. "If the reporters do sometimes err as to the proceedings in Congress, and give occasion to well-founded complaints, after all they yet correct more blunders than they commit."*

On these and similar grounds, no measures whatever were adopted against the daily press. In comparing all these circumstances with those which exist in many European countries, the conclusion forces itself upon us: That either the government of the United States rests on a far firmer foundation; or the people are better qualified to pass judgment on public matters, than in those countries where a censorship protects the government, restrains the writers, and keeps the readers in a state of pupilage.

An *enslaved* press neither exhibits the real opinions of a people nor does it form them; a *free* press is more characteristic, though it is impossible to judge a whole people by it alone. As there are good and bad books in the same literature, so there are good and bad newspapers. It is certainly unadvisable, as respects both the mind and the taste, to read nothing but newspapers; and still worse is it, to read a newspaper of *one party* only. But the Americans read books as well as newspapers; besides which their newspapers treat of an extraordinary variety of topics. They do not confine themselves to the politics of the day; but form a general depository, a storehouse for much that is old and all that is new: science, art, inventions, humor, poetry, &c. Nothing remains unnoticed or unexamined; and the majority come forth at last purified from the fiery ordeal. In general, the untrammelled presses of America show far *more* excitement, and those subject to the censorship far *less*, than really exists; an important circumstance, which is too often forgotten by those who wish to inquire into the real state of things, to form a judgment respecting American affairs.

That the usually well conducted *German* newspapers in the

* Register of Debates, pp. 818, 1104, 1518.

United States cannot take for a model the curtailed, fear-stricken papers of the old continent, and that the Germans of America would read nothing so excessively tame, is a matter of course. Still it is to be wished, that while they strongly condemn what is faulty and evil, they should also acknowledge what is good; because it is only by weighing both that it is possible to attain a true knowledge of Germany and also of the United States.

I conclude these observations with some words of Jefferson, who was so incredibly abused by the newspaper press. "Error of opinion," says he in his bold manner, "may be always tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide, whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."*

The greater American *periodicals*, or critical reviews, distinguish themselves by propriety, moderation, and dignity; they display an accurate knowledge of all sciences, and often contain criticisms which are masterly both in form and substance.

Authors of really able productions are liberally rewarded in America; they also enjoy a copy-right for twenty-eight years, which is renewed for fourteen years longer, in case a widow or child survives. Very many good and bad European works are reprinted in America, and are sold for the most part exceedingly cheap; but the importation of foreign printed works is subjected to various but always very high duties. Thus English books pay 30 per cent., Latin and Greek books, 15 per cent.; works in other foreign languages pay five cents a volume.

It is evident that no American *library* can be as rich and furnished with as many rarities as the great collections of Europe. But the greatest interest is every where manifested in their establishment and increase, both on the part of the governments and by numerous societies. If the latter for the most part purchase only for single objects and with some limited aim, still a greater and more profitable use is often made of the materials so collected. Certainly the district libraries, already mentioned with approbation, and amounting in New York alone to a million of volumes, give the people access to the noblest literature in a way that in Europe is almost wholly unknown.

Nine thousand dollars are annually appropriated for the purchase of books and the care of the public library at Washington. The two librarians, Meehan and Stelle, receive yearly, one \$1,500 and the other \$1,150.

Several Western states (*Illinois* among the rest) have appro-

* Tucker, *Life*, i. 230.

priated a part of the proceeds of the land-sales to the purchase of books. *Kentucky* granted \$500 per annum and one half of the income accruing to the state from the bank to scientific purposes.* All public libraries moreover are exempt from taxation. *Massachusetts* has also made appropriations for the increase of its libraries. Taken together, they contained in all the towns about 300,000 volumes;† and the number of books in the Sunday school libraries is estimated at 150,000 more. A Mr. Perkins gave to the Literary Athenæum in Boston \$20,000. *Mississippi* has appropriated \$4,000 annually to the foundation of a library.‡ Congress devoted \$10,000 a piece to *Wisconsin* and *Iowa* for establishing libraries; the former having then 18,000 inhabitants, and the latter 21,000. *Circulating libraries* are found in many places. One established in Cincinnati in 1814 numbered as early as 1816, 8,000 volumes.§ Nowhere are there so many associations of every kind for the promotion of learning and science, in proportion to the population, as in the United States. So too in those states which sprang as it were but yesterday into existence, a great number of essays there composed and delivered have been printed; and their value is every where acknowledged. Not less useful are the numerous lectures, which are delivered by competent persons in various places, and particularly Boston, before mixed audiences, and which meet with great and deserved approbation.||

If the *fine arts* have not yet reached their highest perfection among the Americans, there is less reason to lament over it, than to congratulate them upon the circumstance. For so soon as a people has arrived at that high pitch of civilization, it usually begins to decline, and rarely survives to witness an after-growth of Alexandrian refinement. The Americans are still ascending, not descending; and although this process is laborious, the prospect widens at every step. Among the peculiar difficulties which oppose the development of art in America I reckon: First, the still frequently predominant views respecting art in general. The Puritans may have chosen the better part in other respects: but the artist's wreath was never theirs.—Secondly, the strict observance of Sunday herewith connected, stands in the way of popular improvement in music, and produces in the higher circles only a one-sided and excessive veneration for mere virtuosoship.—Thirdly, the lack of great treasures of art in America and the difficulty of procuring them in Europe. At least the actual perception of them through the senses is enjoyed by

* State Laws, pp. 1373, 1415.

† Amer. Almanac for 1841, p. 188. Duncan's Travels, i. 85.

‡ Amer. Almanac for 1840, p. 255.

§ Warden, ii. 367.

|| A. Mr. Lowell left a large legacy there for these purposes.

but few; and the study of the nude figure being found offensive, an intimate knowledge and appreciation of the real beauty of forms are not possessed.

The contemplation of beautiful works of art and the general diffusion of a knowledge of music, lend a brightness and cheerfulness to life, such as mere political and religious excitements can never give. It is a serious error to disregard and despise the one on account of the other.

Notwithstanding these natural and artificial obstacles, an encouraging progress is every where manifest. Thus in Boston a society was formed some years since which attempted to correct the superficial character of *musical* attainments; and their choice of a name—that of Handel and Haydn—bears evidence of right views and a proper spirit. The performance on Sunday of genuine productions of art, and the musical instruction which has been begun to be given in schools, must soon enlarge their capacity for musical enjoyment, and in time be productive of good indigenous fruits.

A similar effort is making in *painting*,* and perhaps with greater success in *sculpture*, in which Crawford, Greenhow and Hiram Powers are named with deserved respect. For *architecture*, canals, railroads, bridges, and aqueducts furnish worthy opportunities for the attainment of excellence. They are more useful and bolder monuments than the pyramids; and if the Americans themselves rightly find fault with certain prevalent tastes in architecture, there is by no means a total lack of buildings constructed in a beautiful and noble style.

As *historical composition* is certainly an art, it may also be mentioned in this connection. Men like Bancroft, Prescott, and Sparks, have effected so much in this respect, that no living European historian can take precedence of them, but rather might feel proud and grateful to be admitted by them as a companion. With their own history the Americans are well acquainted.† In this respect they study the past with great care, and are commendably supported by the state governments. New York, for example, gave \$12,000 for the purpose of collecting and transcribing materials in Europe for the history of the state. General history, on the contrary, is less and indeed too little taught and learned; for as in general Europeans make too much of their past, so Americans bestow a too exclusive attention on their present and future.

In no art have the Americans more practice, and in none have they made greater progress, than in *eloquence*. The more impar-

* A praiseworthy beginning of collections is found in New Haven, Hartford, and other places.

† It was indeed only a rare exception, that one American thought Jefferson was a federalist.

tially this is acknowledged, the more natural is the friendly wish that the still existing deficiencies and excrescences may be perceived and removed. An acute American says: "A vast number of examples of detestable bad taste might be selected from the orations of our eminent men."* Let us subjoin a few remarks on this text. The Americans have exhibited hitherto more talent and practice, than art and taste; yet both must be united, if they would rise to the models of the Greeks and Romans. Many of their speeches are wanting in a well considered arrangement and regular progress,—a proper beginning, middle, and end. Occasionally something might be taken from the latter part and put in the former, and *vice versa*. A more careful study of the ancient rhetoricians and orators, of Aristotle and Quintilian, of Demosthenes and Cicero, would also guard them against the tendency to excessive diffuseness, and remind them of Göthe's saying: "Compression shows the master's power." Their eloquence is not yet rounded off, and many of their *vitia* are not even *dulcia*. The more we are compelled to acknowledge in general the presence of knowledge and acuteness, even in the midst of partiality and party-spirit, the more earnestly it is to be desired that no indulgence should be shown to evil habits. Not every one can be or become a great orator; but every one should strive to raise himself to the proper dignity of his calling, and avoid falling into extravagances and absurdities, nor strive to pass them off for efforts of genius and inspiration. Even in Congress some go beyond all bounds: shouting, screaming, sudden changes of the voice, smiting the table with the hand, sawing the air with the arms, shaking or nodding the head, stretching out the knee and bending back the body,—these and similar indecorums will, it is to be hoped, not long give occasion for remark.

The argument, that in Congress not the present only but the absent are addressed, justifies neither a useless prolixity nor the adoption of bad habits; and as little worthy of attention is the reference to a southern, fiery climate. Burke and Fox, those men of the north, were not cold and frosty; Demosthenes and Cicero never spoke as though in a raging fever. The Athenians spoke indeed too much and admired speaking too much; but they had more taste than the Americans. Hard indeed would it be for the latter, if for every spoken word they must render a strict account.

In spite of these, not as I believe unjust remarks, on the mass of their countless public speakers, there is no doubt but that the Americans, every thing considered, speak better, more skilfully, more to the purpose, and more effectively, than most nations. The

* North American Review, July, 1844, p. 47.

gift of the highest eloquence is very rare, and like that of the poet, artist, &c., comes direct from God. On this one of the greatest American masters, *Webster*, discourses in the following admirably eloquent strain : " When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech, further than it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness, are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence indeed does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from afar. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way ; but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after it—they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent ; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object—this, this is eloquence ; or rather it is something greater and higher than all eloquence, it is action—noble, sublime, god-like action."*

To the specimens which I have already quoted from the speeches of Mr. Webster in several parts of my book, I will add but one other, principally because it exhibits clearly the opposition between American views and those of the European school. " The Holy Alliance," says Mr. Webster, " professes, by means of a series of measures, to establish two principles which the allied powers would enforce, as a part of the law of the civilized world ; and the establishment of which is menaced by a million and a half of bayonets. The first of these principles is, that all popular or constitutional rights are holden no otherwise than as grants from the crown. Society upon this principle has no rights of its own ; it takes good government, when it gets it, as a boon and a concession, but can demand nothing. It is to live in that favor which emanates from royal authority ; and if it have the misfortune to lose that

* Speeches, i. 84.

favor, there is nothing to protect it against any degree of injustice and oppression. It can rightly make no endeavor for a change by itself; its whole privilege is to receive the favors that may be dispensed by the sovereign power, and all its duty is described in the single word, *submission*.—This is the old doctrine of the divine right of kings, advanced now by new advocates, and sustained by a formidable array of power. That the people hold their fundamental privileges as matter of *concession* or *indulgence* from the sovereign power, is a sentiment not easy to be diffused in this age any further than it is enforced by the direct operation of military means. The civilized world has done with the enormous faith, of many made for one. Society asserts its own rights, and alleges them to be original, sacred, and unalienable. It is not satisfied with having kind masters; it demands a participation in its own government: and in states much advanced in civilization, it urges this demand with a constancy and an energy, that cannot well nor long be resisted.”

“These doctrines from Laybach are totally hostile to the fundamental principles of *our* government. If they be true, we are but in a state of rebellion or of anarchy, and are only tolerated among civilized states because it has not yet been convenient to conform us to the true standard.”*

In another place we are told, “Many misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still under a new cultivation they will grow green again and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered with the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall rear again the well proportioned columns of constitutional liberty? Who shall frame together the skilful architecture which unites national sovereignty with state rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, gentlemen; if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them, than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw—the edifice of constitutional American liberty.”†

I have likewise already quoted several passages from the

* Speeches, i. 247, seq.

† Speeches, ii. 46.

speeches of *Henry Clay*; and a further choice from much that is excellent would be difficult, had I not by accident something to guide me. An English traveller, ignorant of constitutional law and politics, anathematizes Jefferson and all his principles and proceedings. This writer hopes "every thing from Clay and the whigs, as the true gentlemen." Let us hear then how Clay (without doubt a gentleman) expresses himself on the occasion of an earlier attack of the same kind. "Neither Mr. Jefferson's retirement from public office, his eminent services, nor his advanced age, can exempt this patriot from the coarse assaults of party malevolence. No, sir; in 1801, he snatched from the rude hand of usurpation the violated constitution of his country, and *that* is his crime. He preserved that instrument, in form, and substance, and spirit, a precious inheritance for generations to come; and for *this* he can never be forgiven. How vain and impotent is party rage, directed against such a man! He is not more elevated by his lofty residence upon the summit of his own favorite mountain, than he is lifted, by the serenity of his mind and the consciousness of a well spent life, above the malignant passions and bitter feelings of the day. No! his own beloved Monticello is not less moved by the storms that beat against its sides, than is this illustrious man by the howlings of the whole British pack, set loose from the Essex kennel! When the gentleman to whom I have been compelled to allude, shall have mingled his dust with that of his abused ancestors, when he shall have been consigned to oblivion, or, if he lives at all, shall live only in the treasonable annals of a certain junto, the name of Jefferson will be hailed with gratitude, his memory honored and cherished as the second founder of the liberties of the people, and the period of his administration will be looked back to, as one of the happiest and brightest epochs of American history."*

Webster and Clay in their speeches by no means always maintain a consistent position, or reject in the handling of party questions irrelevant, rhetorical expedients and exaggerations; they hereby only injure their own cause, and in consequence have several times, in the view of unprejudiced persons, been driven from the field of argument—for instance, by the sagacious and eloquent Buchanan. *Calhoun*, on the other hand, is always logical and consistent with himself; a man of solid, well grounded convictions, perfected both by theory and practice.† Even those who do not share them, must allow that he is *totus, teres, atque rotundus*; and this no man can ever be in such an elevated station without possessing a greatness of character that is worthy of all honor. In the nullification controversy he dared to stake even

* Speeches, i. 38.

† Fragments of his speeches have also been quoted in various places.

his popularity, in order, by pushing his self-defence to an extreme, to restore things to their just medium; concerning the question of slavery, he dared to assert unpalatable facts, in opposition to principles which, though founded in philanthropy, could not so hastily be carried into effect; neither did he ever forget that practical skill, however great, cannot dispense with scientific knowledge and principles.

We lament that among so many distinguished American orators we can mention only so few, and quote so little; but we hope soon to see more extensive specimens translated and printed in German compilations devoted to this purpose.

That among every people with any pretensions to cultivation there are found many writers of verses, certainly proves little or nothing of the existence of the art of *poetry* in the highest sense of the word; still the power of expressing the feelings in a suitable form is the sign of a lively sensibility and of a certain degree of skill. Legends from which an *Iliad* or a *Lied der Nibelungen* could be constructed, are wanting in America; still the founding of the states might well afford materials for epic recitals, if the zeal of puritanism did not too much limit the circle of the poetic art. The same spirit for a long time restrained the development of the drama; so much so, that in many of the states the theatre was looked upon as so immoral and profane, that dramatic productions were allowed only to be read or recited. Then the notices announced, "A moral Recitation, the affecting story of *Jane Shore* told in dialogue by the celebrated *Rowe*."* Or "the entertaining Story of the Poor Soldier, delivered in prose and verse by the facetious *O'Keefe*." In the year 1762, the first public theatrical representation was given in Providence, and since then ecclesiastical opposition has gradually ceased. Still there is a lack of American comedies and tragedies of the first class; although indeed those imported from France and England often labor under as great defects. While scarce any American drama has found a place in Europe, the novels of the best writers, *Irving* and *Cooper* for example, are in every body's hands; so that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them in this place.

The richest or at least the most prolific department of poetry is the lyric. But as in thousands of years there have been but one *Pindar* and one *Horace* (although every spring puts forth countless pleasing yet mostly perishable lyric blossoms), it is performing a valuable service, when a man of taste and information makes a suitable, well assorted selection, and guides the friend of poetry in his ramble through those groves, from which he might otherwise be deterred by their immensity. Such service

* *Warden*, iii. 467.

has been rendered by Mr. Griswold, in his *Poets and Poetry of America*.* Besides the great number of poets, of whom he gives specimens, there must doubtless be many more of those of whom Mr. Clifton (p. 36) says :

Touched with the mania now, what millions rage
To shine the laureate blockheads of the age !
The dire contagion creeps through every grade ;
Girls, coxcombs, peers, and patriots drive the trade.

That there is in America no lack of a certain kind of political poems, the following satiric lines are a proof :

Thus swarming wits, of all materials made,
Their Gothic hands on social quiet laid ;
And, as they rave, unmindful of the storm,
Call lust refinement ; anarchy, reform.

If American writers of lyrics and novels are behind many others in boldness of thought, splendor of imagery, and variety of invention, on the other hand they never violate the laws of decorum and good morals ; the absence of which, even in the most distinguished men, they severely censure. Thus Walter Colton says of Byron :

He might have soared a miracle of mind,
Above the thoughts that dim our mental sphere,
And poured from thence, as music on the wind,
Those prophet tones which men had turned to hear,
As if an angel's harp had sung of bliss
In some bright world beyond the tears of this.

But he betrayed his trust, and lent his gift
Of glorious faculties to blight and mar
The moral universe, and set adrift
The anchored hopes of millions ;—thus the star
Of his eventful destiny became
A wild and wandering of fearful flame.

That orb hath set ; yet still its lurid light
Flashes above the broad horizon's verge ;
As if some comet, plunging from its height,
Should pause upon the ocean's boiling surge,
And, in defiance of its darksome doom,
Light for itself a fierce volcanic tomb.

That the perception and description of the charms of Nature should predominate and be successful in America seems quite natural. We should less expect sensibility and elegiac sadness ; yet we find very interesting and even excellent poems of this class ; perhaps because a right feeling impels Americans to such

* See also Bryant's *Selections from the American Poets*.

a supplement or contrast to the eminently practical character of their existence.*

With respect to the *philosophy* of the Americans there are two things to be observed: first, what position they themselves assume, and what they undertake; and secondly, how they

* We may be allowed to give a few examples from lyric poets less known among us.

What is that, Mother?—DOANE.

What is that, Mother?—The lark, my child!
The morn has but just looked out and smiled,
When he starts from his humble grassy nest,
And is up and away with the dew on his breast,
And a hymn in his heart, to yon pure, bright sphere,
To warble it out in his Maker's ear.
Ever, my child, be thy morn's first lays
Tuned, like the lark's, to thy Maker's praise.

What is that, Mother?—The dove, my son?—
And that low sweet voice, like a widow's moan,
Is flowing out from her gentle breast
Constant and pure, by that lonely nest,
As the wave is poured from some crystal urn,
For her distant dear one's quick return.
Ever, my son, be thou like the dove,
In friendship as faithful, as constant in love.

What is that, Mother?—The eagle, boy!—
Proudly careering his course of joy;
Firm, on his own mountain vigor relying,
Breasting the dark storm, the red bolt defying,
His wing on the wind, and his eye on the sun,
He swerves not a hair, but bears onward, right on.
Boy, may the eagle's flight ever be thine;
Onward, and upward, and true to the line!

What is that, Mother?—The swan, my love!—
He is floating down from his native grove.
No loved one now, no nestling nigh,
He is floating down by himself to die;
Death darkens his eye, and unplumes his wings,
Yet his sweetest song is the last he sings.
Live so, my love, that when death shall come,
Swanlike and sweet, it may waft thee home.

Passing Away!—PIERPONT.

Was it the chime of a tiny bell
That came so sweet to my dreaming ear,—
Like the silvery tones of a fairy's shell,
That he winds on the beach, so mellow and clear,
When the winds and the waves lie together asleep,
And the moon and the fairy are watching the deep,
She dispensing her silvery light,
And he his notes as silvery quite.
While the boatman listens and ships his oar,
To catch the music that comes from the shore?—
Hark! the notes, on my ear that play,
Are set to words:—as they float, they say,
“Passing away! passing away!”

regard the philosophy of other nations. With reference to the first point, different views seem to prevail. While, for example, one American writer says, "We lead too public a life, and our attention is kept too much upon the stretch, to allow us to pursue unpractical speculations to any great extent;" a second tells

But no; it was not a fairy's shell,
Blown on the beach so mellow and clear;
Nor was it the tongue of a silver bell,
Striking the hour, that filled my ear,
As I lay in my dream; yet was it a chime
That told of the flow of the stream of time.
For a beautiful clock from the ceiling hung,
And a plump little girl for a pendulum swung
(As you've sometimes seen, in a little ring
That hangs in his cage, a canary bird swing);
And she held to her bosom a budding bouquet,
And as she enjoyed it, she seem'd to say:
"Passing away! passing away!"

O how bright were the wheels, that told
Of the lapse of time, as they moved round slow!
And the hands, as they swept o'er the dial of gold,
Seemed to point to the girl below.
And lo! she had changed:—in a few short hours
Her bouquet had become a garland of flowers,
That she held in her outstretched hands, and flung
This way and that, as she, dancing, swung
In the fulness of grace and womanly pride,
That told me she soon was to be a bride;—
Yet then when expecting her happiest day,
In the same sweet voice I heard her say:
"Passing away! passing away!"

While I gazed at that fair one's cheek, a shade
Of thought, or care, stole softly over,
Like that by a cloud in a summer's day made,
Looking down on a field of blossoming clover.
The rose yet lay on her cheek, but its flush
Had something lost of its brilliant blush;
And the light in her eye, and the light on the wheels
That marched so calmly round above her,
Was a little dimmed,—as when evening steals
Upon noon's hot face:—Yet one couldn't but love her;
For she looked like a mother, whose first babe lay
Rocked on her breast, as she swung all day;
And she seemed, in the same silver tone to say,
"Passing away! passing away!"

While yet I looked, what a change there came!
Her eye was quenched, and her cheek was wan:
Stooping and staffed was her withered frame,
Yet, just as busily swung she on.
The garland beneath her had fallen to dust;
The wheels above her were eaten with rust;
The hands that over the dial swept
Grew crooked and tarnished; but on they kept,
And still there came that silver tone
From the shrivelled lips of the toothless crone
(Let me never forget till my dying day
The tone or the burden of her lay),—
"Passing away! passing away!"

us, "We are eminently a theorizing people, and general principles are soon stated and easily learned." Others still hope and prophesy, that America will have a school of philosophy of her own, distinct from those of France, England, and Germany. As in America so many new and peculiar developments have been

My Child.—PIERPONT.

I cannot make him dead !
His fair sunshiny head
Is ever bounding round my study chair ;
Yet when my eyes, now dim
With tears, I turn to him,
The vision vanishes—he is not there !

I walk my parlor floor,
And, through the open door,
I hear a footfall on the chamber stair ;
I'm stepping towards the hall
To give the boy a call ;
And then bethink me that—he is not there !

I thread the crowded street ;
A satchell'd lad I meet,
With the same beaming eyes and colored hair,
And, as he's running by,
Follow him with my eye,
Scarcely believing that—he is not there !

I know his face is hid
Under the coffin lid ;
Closed are his eyes ; cold is his forehead ;
My hand that marble felt ;
O'er it in prayer I knelt ;
Yet my heart whispers that—he is not there :

I cannot *make* him dead !
When passing by the bed,
So long watched over with parental care,
My spirit and my eye
Seek it inquiringly,
Before the thought comes that—he is not there !

When, at the cool, grey break
Of day, from sleep I wake,
With my first breathing of the morning air
My soul goes up, with joy,
To him who gave my boy,
Then comes the sad thought that—he is not there !

When at the day's calm close
Before we seek repose,
I'm with his mother, offering up our prayer.
Whate'er I may be saying,
I am, in spirit, praying
For our boy's spirit, though—he is not there !

Not there !—Where, then, is he ?
The form I used to see
Was but the *raiment* that he used to wear.
The grave that now doth press
Upon that cast-off dress,
Is but his wardrobe locked :—*he* is not there !

made and are continually making, we cordially unite in this hope; although the end is not yet reached, nor the way even clearly pointed out.

In the first place, their active life does not allow any general

He lives!—In all the past
He lives; nor to the last
Of seeing him again will I despair;
In dreams I see him now;
And on his angel brow,
I see it written, "Thou shalt see me *there!*"

Yes, we all live to God!
Father, thy chastening rod
So help us, thine afflicted ones, to bear,
That, in the spirit land,
Meeting at thy right hand,
'T will be our heaven to find that—he is *there!*

The Old Man's Carousal!—PAULDING.

Drink! drink! to whom shall we drink?
To friend or a mistress? Come let me think!
To those who are absent, or those who are here?
To the dead that we loved, or the living still dear?
Alas! when I look, I find none of the last!
The present is barren, let's drink to the past.

Come! here's to the girl with a voice sweet and low,
The eye all of fire and the bosom of snow,
Who erewhile in the days of my youth that are fled
Once slept on my bosom, and pillow'd my head!
Would you know where to find such a delicate prize?
Go seek in yon churchyard, for there she lies.

And here's to the friend, the one friend of my youth,
With a head full of genius, a heart full of truth,
Who travell'd with me in the sunshine of life,
And stood by my side in its peace and its strife;
Would you know where to seek a blessing so rare?
Go drag the lone sea, you may find him there.

And here's to a brace of twin cherubs of mine,
With hearts like their mother's, as pure as this wine:
Who came but to see the first act of the play,
Grew tired of the scene, and then both went away.
Would you know where this brace of bright cherubs have hied?
Go seek them in heaven, for there they abide.

A bumper, my boys, to a grey-headed pair,
Who watched o'er my childhood with tenderest care;
God bless them and keep them, and may they look down,
On the head of their son without tear, sigh, or frown!
Would you know whom I drink to! go seek 'mid the dead.
You will find both their names on the stone at their head.

And here's—but alas! the good wine is no more!
The bottle is emptied of all its bright store;
Like those we have toasted, its spirit is fled,
And nothing is left of the light that it shed.
Then a bumper of tears, boys! the banquet here ends,
With a health to our dead, since we've no living friends.

want of philosophy to be perceived; and much may easily be designated by Americans as unpractical speculation, which involves serious and worthy application of the mental powers. But the harsh censurers of these so-called unpractical speculations might be reminded, that on the other hand many practical speculations of the Americans have never taken root and borne fruit. General principles derived from individual experience, are easily established and learned; these however do not form a scientific philosophy, but often lead to the erroneous belief that it may be dispensed with. Moreover in America the most widely different principles of this kind are advocated by different parties.

A considerable number of the clergy in America are averse to all philosophy, because it leads only to revolts against the theological systems under which they have arrayed themselves; and the philosophy of others of the order (that of the celebrated Edwards for example) rests entirely on a particular creed.* As yet the independence of philosophy has not been so well battled for and won as in Europe; and thus an open separation or voluntary reconciliation between philosophy and theology has not yet been brought about. The mutability and multiplicity of the schools of philosophy are severely censured; while the simplicity, clearness, and fixedness of theological doctrines are highly commended. This is so much the more unexpected, because in the whole history of philosophy there are not so many sects as there are religious denominations in America. If it be maintained, as no doubt it justly may, that behind all these appearances and metamorphoses the eternal rock of truth remains unshaken, the same holds good also of the commotions and aberrations of philosophy.

Exclusive of those who are satisfied with Bentham (that despiser of Plato and Aristotle), the American friends of philosophy either attach themselves to the German development, or they reverence Locke and undertake his defence against alleged misrepresentations. Although a German should especially distinguish and praise those who are of the German way of thinking, still, there is more to be learnt from their opponents; it is more interesting to notice objections than confirmations. We will therefore make some extracts from the remarkable and acute essays of Mr. Bowen,† and add a few brief remarks.

* Edwards's philosophy is rooted in strict Calvinism. He says of the Devil, "He possesses great abilities and extensive acquaintance with things, great speculative knowledge in divinity; was educated in the best divinity school in the universe, in the heaven of heavens; possesses clear notions on the doctrine of the Trinity, and more knowledge than a hundred saints of an ordinary education, and most divines; he is no deist, Socinian, Arian, Pelagian, or Antinomian; the articles of his faith are all orthodox and sound; yet in his heart there is no evidence of saving grace."—Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, ii. 56.

† *Critical Essays on a few subjects connected with the History and present Condition of Speculative Philosophy*; by Francis Bowen, A. M.

"The passion for German metaphysics," says Mr. Bowen, "is likely to produce serious evils. The habit of poring over them must induce an unhealthy state of mind, either from the general characteristics of such a philosophical manner, or from the positive tendency of the doctrines advanced. We have no taste for the sublimated atheism of Fichte or the downright pantheism of Schelling. Yet there are men familiar with the works of such authors, and loud in their praise, who are not ashamed to charge the philosophy of Locke with a sensualizing and degrading influence. We judge the tree by its fruits, and assert that the study of such writings tends to heat the imagination and blind the judgment; that it gives a dictatorial tone to the expression of opinion, and a harsh, imperious, and sometimes flippant manner to argumentative discussion; that it injures the generous and catholic spirit of speculative philosophy, by raising up a sect of such a marked and distinctive character, that it can hold no fellowship either with former laborers in the cause, or with those who at the present time are aiming at the same general objects."

"Great obstacles to the comprehension of Kantian metaphysics arise from defects of style. The rambling and involved sentences, running on from page to page, and stuffed with repetitions and parenthetical matter, would frighten away any but the most determined student, at the very threshold of his endeavor. Kant was an acute logician, a systematic, profound, and original thinker; but his power of argument and conception wholly outran his command over the resources of language, and he was reduced to the use of words as symbols, in which his opinions were rather darkly implied than openly enunciated. The flowers with which other philosophers have strewed the path of their inquiries, were either beyond his reach, or he disdained to employ them; and his writings accordingly appear an arid waste of abstract discussions, from which the taste instinctively recoils."

"Under the guise of a new faith, the successors of Kant (Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel) have created a philosophy of unbelief; under a dogmatical mask, they proclaimed what was, at least in reference to revelation, a theory of total skepticism."

"The countrymen and contemporaries of Fichte were all distinguished for the boldness of their philosophical inquiries; but he carried away the palm by a Titanlike audacity of speculation, which seemed to aim at scaling the heavens and prescribing limits to Omnipotence."

"In exchange for the Kantian jargon of *noumena* and *phenomena*, Fichte gives us a system of absolute idealism; Schelling, one of entire pantheism; and Hegel, the last great name in German metaphysics, has published his scheme of utter *nihilism*. These systems are not additive to each other, but are mutually

destructive. Regarding the lofty pretensions advanced by all of them, there is something ludicrous in the rapidity with which they succeed each other."

"It is not enough that the skepticism of Hume and the sensualism of Condillac are laid to the charge of Locke; but he must be made accountable also, by implication at least, for the extravagances of a set of German infidels in our own day; though it would be difficult to find a stronger contrast, in point of thought, expression, and doctrine, than that which exists between their speculations and the writings of the father of English philosophy."

Thus far my brief extracts, which will serve as hints to the writer's opinions. It is not my business either to confirm or contradict them; yet I may be allowed to subjoin some incidental remarks. Jacobi's theistic philosophy of faith, and the Catholic church philosophy of Frederic Schlegel, appear to be little known in America; and of the new position of Schelling and the Hegelians, nothing as yet is said.

Mr. Bowen every where contends against *à priori* elements of knowledge, or against the originating activity of thought; in which connection I am sorry to miss a juxta-position of Locke and Leibnitz. Because Kant refers to Hume, he is not therefore like him a skeptic; and still further from being one is the dogmatic Hegel, who regards all systems as the constituents and gradual developments of a positive philosophy. Mr. Bowen's opposition to all metaphysical proofs, likewise proceeds from skepticism; and the inductive and analytical method which alone he recognises, finds its tacit and necessary complement in syllogism and synthesis. It should not be forgotten that man's perceptive powers are intimately blended, and are as it were contained the one within the other.

When too Mr. Bowen finds a proof of the truth of Christianity in its conformity to the laws of nature; and when he says, that a literal fulfilment of the command, "Do all for the glory of God," leads to the wildest outbreaks of fanaticism;—he may be told that he will also find these views common in that Germany which he so freely censures. Equally just is his doctrine (in which he agrees with Aristotle), that man is essentially and eminently a social being; and so too is his opposition to the shallow and negative doctrines of the state of nature. But on the other hand, that law and compact are salutary and indispensable constituents in the formation and maintenance of states, the United States furnish the most striking proofs on fully authenticated historical grounds. These American compacts stand in no degree opposed to the natural and eternal principles and laws of all society; on the contrary, they exhibit the latter in the clearest light, and show the wide distinction between them and the one-sided, arbi-

trary, and tyrannical principle, which in our day is called by some the "historical" *par excellence*, and is regarded by them as sacred and inviolable.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

Intolerance—Church Establishments—Religious Liberty—Sects—Catholics, School Money—Episcopalians—Methodists, Divisions among them—Presbyterians—Congregationalists—Baptists—Quakers—Shakers—Rappists—Mormons—Universalists—Unitarians—Philosophers—Clergymen and Churches—Church Property—The Voluntary System—Societies—Bible Societies—Missions—Public Worship—Camp Meetings—Revivals—Dangers and Prospects—Intolerance.

THE whole history of the Christian church shows, that the spirit of intolerance towards those who differ in opinion, has never entirely disappeared, and very often has not hesitated at the most abominable and unchristian means of attaining its ends. Thus, in particular, it has been required of the state, that it should employ all its power for the advancement of church objects; or it has been thought both useful and necessary that church and state should be fused into one inseparable whole; or else the church has been set up in opposition to the state, and unlimited power demanded for her. Finally, the theory and practice of the Catholics, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians, have come to the same thing: namely, that their party alone possess the whole truth and the entire right; of which (for the honor of God) they would not surrender the smallest particle.

Intolerance of this sort drove the Catholics to Maryland, the Episcopalians to Virginia, the Puritans to New England, and the Quakers to Pennsylvania. The old principle, or rather the old prejudice, that each church stood higher and purer, in proportion as it kept aloof from and proscribed all others, was transplanted with most of the colonists to America; still the recollection of the persecutions mutually endured at different times must have somewhat softened their rugged points, and indicated the necessity of mutual toleration. Zealots however were kept in check less by a sense of the blessings of toleration, than by the sheer impossibility of working their will. Jefferson and those who shared his views were the first to entertain the full conviction,

that a dominant church, whichever it might be, was always an evil, and on no account to be endured. After an earnest and eloquent exposition of the reasons therefor, Virginia resolved, in the year 1785: "That no man shall be compelled to attend or support any form of worship, church, or priesthood whatever; and that none on that account shall suffer disquiet, compulsion, or molestation in person or estate, or be subject to injury for any religious opinions and belief. On the contrary, all men are free to profess and defend their views on religion; and this shall not in any way alter, improve, or deteriorate their standing as citizens."

On the adoption of this resolution, there arose a violent outcry about heartless indifference, unchristian dispositions, infidelity, and atheism; and each party would gladly have elevated its own church to the rank of a state establishment. Fortunately no one of them was powerful enough to carry through any such plan; and since America has universally adopted these principles, and accustomed itself to the new state of things, nothing is heard against this important step in human progress except now and then the querulous complaints of some European traveller.

It is entirely false to maintain that there is no religion, where none is preferred and privileged by the state. The establishment of a single creed, having the exclusive power to save, could have been effected only by the axe and the faggot, by a civil and religious war, and by the entire destruction of the great American confederation; or rather the attempt would have totally failed, in spite of all such criminal proceedings. It is no less erroneous to maintain that a church cannot render the state any service, unless it be favored more than others: on the contrary, all denominations are of service to the state; and it remains an essentially Christian state, though it does not make its Christianity consist in violently obstructing the course of natural development. "Every religious denomination," says Henry Clay, "which is connected with the government, is more or less inimical to liberty; separated from the government, all are compatible with liberty."*

There are certainly schools which resolve all politics into theology, and all theology into politics; but American politics give free course to theology, and neither rules it nor is ruled by it;—though this does not exclude mutual improvement and purification.

The genuine democracy of Christianity has been hitherto repressed and kept back by the priesthood; and political democracy has also confined itself to the defective systems and experiences of antiquity. Hence arose absolutism in church and state, tyranny in matters of religious belief, police surveillance, and

* Clay's Speeches, i. 90.

military despotism. It is the fixed principle of the United States to produce no conversions either by fire and sword, or by money and livings; and their ecclesiastical is as new, as grand, and as important as their political law.

"Church establishments," says an American writer, "connected as they commonly are, with exclusive creeds, have been the most effectual engines ever contrived to fetter the human mind. They shut up religion from the influence of new lights and increasing knowledge, give an unnatural stability to error, impose the dogmas and prejudices of rude and ignorant times upon ages of knowledge and refinement, and check the genuine influence of religion by associating it with absurd practices and impudent impostures. By connecting the church with the state, they degrade religion into an instrument of civil tyranny; by pampering the pride of a particular sect, and putting the sword into its hands, they render it indolent, intolerant, cruel, and spread jealousy and irritation through all the others. By violating the right of private judgment in their endeavors to enforce unity of belief, they multiply hypocrites."* "Secular laws in religious matters," said President Jackson, "may make hypocrites, but not true Christians."†

It is worthy of remark, that the American clergy, though they have nothing to do with the state and nothing to expect from it, are decidedly in favor of the above mentioned free principles, and are more zealous and active than where secular and ecclesiastical motives intervene. They assert, that support of the church by the state produces envy and ambition, that unequal and apparently equal distributions have a like injurious effect, that every gift leads to supervision and authoritative interference, and that in the multiplicity of sects and churches lies security for the freedom of all.

Errors which are connected with free inquiry or spring from it, are attended with vastly less injurious effects than the alleged infallible truths of compulsory systems. The most strenuous improvement of systems is consistent with kindly indulgence for the views of others, and an endeavor to gain followers by the power of truth, and not by the edge of the sword or by the influence of money. Nor can it be too emphatically remarked, that unanimity respecting all the leading doctrines of Christian *ethics*, might and would correct and soften the *dogmatic* systems whence the weapons of spiritual warfare are so often drawn. Almost all the sects of America are found in Europe:—only there men express their sentiments without regard to consequences; while here, for many reasons, they are disinclined to found new sects, and many of different opinions are embraced under one denomi-

* Encycl. Americana, art. United States, p. 451.

† Cox, p. 22.

nation and one church. If Europe has more theological knowledge and learning, America has more independence and activity.

This is not the place to exhibit the doctrines and regulations of more than forty-three American sects;* yet the following notices of some of the more important may be admitted.

CATHOLICS.

According to a recent estimate, the Catholics had in the year 1843 one archbishop, 17 bishoprics, 611 churches and chapels, 634 clergymen, 19 seminaries, numerous establishments of different kinds for women, 60 charitable institutions, and 15 periodicals devoted to the Catholic cause.† It is asserted that their number, now about 1,300,000, is increasing in a still greater ratio than that of the population. This is in part the consequence of immigration, especially of Catholic Irishmen; and in part of their activity and address. In addition to this, while the Protestants, in consequence of their freedom, are dividing themselves in every direction; the Catholics, in consequence of their obedience, join together and remain united. Both parties in their controversies, spoken as well as written, have unfortunately too often deserted moderation and Christian forbearance; and if the Catholics sometimes proceed rather on the defensive than on the offensive, this is owing to their being the weaker party, and to their unwillingness to give violent offence by an unreserved annunciation of their principles. If the Protestants call America a Protestant country on account of their numerical majority, they are arithmetically, but not politically right; for majority and minority determine nothing in this respect, and the smallest church minority has in the United States as much religious freedom as the largest majority. It is not however to be denied, that the system of Catholic church government is far more unrepugnant than the institutions of any of the Protestant sects. At present, American Catholicism prudently conforms itself to circumstances, and by no means carries things to such extremes as in Rome and Madrid; but the

* See Rupp's *Original History of the Religious Denominations in the United States*; where each sect is described by a clergyman of the same denomination.

According to a late enumeration (*Grund's Handbuch*, p. 56), the different sects number as follows:

Anabaptists,	4,000,000	Reformed,	450,000
Methodists,	3,000,000	Quakers,	220,000
Presbyterians,	2,175,000	Unitarians,	180,000
Congregationalists,	1,400,000	Dunkers,	30,000
Catholics,	1,300,000	Mormons,	18,000
Episcopalians,	1,000,000	Shakers,	6,000
Universalists,	600,000	Swedenborgians,	6,000
Lutherans,	540,000	Moravians,	5,000

† Caswall, p. 316. *Amer. Almanac*, 1844, p. 196; 1845, p. 193.

apprehension is not unnatural, that upon a change in its relative power, the claims of the foreign ecclesiastical potentate and its fundamental intolerance would become more prominent. Till then the mutual reproaches remain within their accustomed limits. When the Protestants appeal to the simple truth of their doctrines, and to the fact that the greater influence of the Catholic priesthood has kept back the improvement of Canada, and almost annihilated that of Mexico;* others reply that the Catholic system is better adapted to the heart and imagination of man, and its truth better attested than the doctrines of innumerable small sects. Prayers for the dead, the invocation of saints, a Latin liturgy, and an infallible Pope, are but minor evils, if compared with the fanaticism exhibited in Methodist camp meetings, the fatalism of the Baptists, the innumerable creeds of the Congregationalists, and the divisions of all.

Although space does not allow me to narrate circumstantially the controversies in which Bishop Hughes of New York has been engaged with various Protestants, still this is the most suitable place in which to say something of the question, Whether and how the moneys destined by the state for *schools* should be divided among the different religious parties. The Catholics in New York as well as in other states declared: "If we must contribute to the raising of the school fund, and if religion is to be taught in the schools, this institution must be so regulated as not to exclude Catholic children. In view however of the difficulty of coming to an agreement in regard to merely reading the Bible, and the claims of the different translations, it seems best to assign a portion of the school money to the Catholics; who will so order their schools, that Protestant children can also attend them."

After much investigation of the subject, this proposal was declined on the following grounds: Since the year 1812, a system of general instruction for children has been reduced to practice with the most beneficial effects. Without any hostile opposition between different sects, or between the rich and the poor—natives and foreigners, all the children come together in a genuine republican and natural manner, form friendships for life, raise the principle of union above that of disunion, become tolerant towards differences of opinion, and rejoice over their common progress in the pursuit of knowledge. If an attempt were made to go beyond reading the Bible in the schools, disputes of every kind would be unavoidable; and if any sect must and will go beyond this common practice of Christians, it alone is bound to make provision therefor out of its own means. According to the general and recognized principles of the American republic, no

* Hinton, ii. 363. Caswall, p. 534. Poussin, *Puissance Américaine*, ii. 252. Mühlentford, i. 326.

separate state can do any thing for a particular sect, and thus convert it more or less into a state religion. If however the school money should be divided among more than forty different sects according to any defective rule whatever, the consequence would be, to dissolve the salutary school system, to split it into fragments, and to substitute a partial, defective, and costly one in its stead. All the schools would become the seats of sectarianism, passion, and hatred; and the thirst for proselyte making would be stimulated by the prospect of getting more money. The Catholics are not taxed as Catholics, but as citizens; there is no tax for religious purposes, and Protestants subject themselves without hesitation to the same limitations and prescriptions. Religion is an affair of the church and the family, and school instruction has nothing to do with its dogmas. He who will not participate in such freedom, but will separate and exclude himself, must remain apart; for laws and general regulations cannot be transformed at will to suit party demands and purposes. Schools which decline the direction and superintendence of the regularly chosen officers, and own no responsibility but to their priests or the pope, relinquish their connection with the state and people, and should make no claim for support. In conformity with these views, New York resolved in accordance with the acknowledged principles of the Constitution, that no school should receive support in which the religious doctrines of any particular Christian or other sect were taught, inculcated, and practised; or where books of such a tendency were read; or which refused to submit to the visits and examinations prescribed by law.*

EPISCOPALIANS.

The Episcopalians like the Catholics have been able to turn the strifes of various sects into a means of increasing their own;† but they have changed and modified their church regulations in conformity with American views, and especially have allowed the laity a share in ecclesiastical legislation and administration, such as the high church in England never granted. In the United States there are no archbishops, deans, or archdeacons; but there are twenty-three bishops, about 1200 clergymen, and many lay elders. In every parish there is annually chosen a body of such elders or trustees, who manage the secular affairs of the church and have power to nominate the clergy.‡ They receive

* Unfortunately in some European countries many schools are separated according to creeds; by this means indeed trifling disputes are obviated, but the way is opened for more destructive contests and enmities.

† It is true that dissensions have arisen even amongst them; but they are not carried to such a pitch respecting trifles, as they are for instance in England about the white surplice.

‡ Caswall, pp. 65, 85, 114, 156, 185. Hinton, ii. 364. Amer. Alm. 1844, p. 195.

the often large gifts of the laity, and rent the pews, for which from \$5 to \$200 a year are paid. A bishop's diocese contains from 10 to 200 parishes. Each of these holds a church convention, consisting of the bishop, all the clergy, and from one to three of the laity chosen for each parish. General ordinances are passed by the majority of the clergy *and* laity; so that the former can carry nothing without the assent of the people, and the latter nothing without the assent of the clergy. In some dioceses, indeed, a veto is allowed to the bishop; but this is every where unpopular, and is little used. On the whole it may be said that the bishop maintains his authority for the most part only by his personal character and judicious counsel, and not by compulsion and force. He is usually elected by the majority of the clergy, and confirmed by the majority of the laity. He is aided by a council or chapter, which consists of from two to five elected clergymen and as many laymen.

In each diocese moreover there are chosen four clergymen and four laymen as delegates to the general convention of the Episcopal church; and here all matters of general interest are discussed and determined, such as alterations in the forms of worship, the regulation of the Sunday-schools, the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, the founding of new bishoprics, the settlement of all affairs with other denominations, and the arranging of disputes between the different dioceses.

The general convention, which has met every three years since 1785, forms the bond of union between the dioceses, and bears nearly the same relation to the diocese conventions, that Congress bears to the separate state governments. Each has two houses or chambers: the bishops sit in the upper house, and the clerical and lay deputies in the lower. A majority of both houses is requisite, and each has a veto on the other.

No bishop can be consecrated without the consent of the representatives of all the dioceses; no priest, without previous examination of his acquirements and character by the committee of a diocese.

Some changes have been made in the English Prayer-book and in the Thirty-nine Articles; 212 hymns have been selected for the use of the church, and the translation of the Psalms has been improved. Still in regard to doctrine and worship, the American Episcopal church keeps very close to the English. It however essentially differs from the latter in this, that it enjoys no exclusive privileges, is wholly separated from the state, and grants the laity, as before said, a very influential voice in church matters.

METHODISTS.

The Methodists formed their first society in the United States in the year 1766; but since then they have been increased to such an extent by untiring activity and restless zeal, that they now constitute several bishoprics, and number 7,730 stationary and 4,800 itinerant preachers. The latter constitute the yearly district conferences, which are represented by delegates in the general conference held every four years. The Methodists, however, allow the laity no share in the choice of preachers or in ecclesiastical legislation; all of which is placed in the hands of the clergy. This arrangement produces on the one hand energy and decision; but on the other it gives rise to narrowness and intolerance. And yet, in the year 1838, there sprang up even among the clergy so great a division, that about one half separated from the other, and took to itself the designation of the Old School, in contradistinction to the New.

Another controversy of special importance arose among the Methodists in the spring of 1844, on the question, Whether one of their bishops might hold slaves. I will briefly state the case and the arguments of the two parties.* One party, at the head of which was Mr. Griffith, made a motion, that as Bishop *Andrew* had become a slaveholder, and as this was inconsistent with his duties and the principles of the Methodists, he should be earnestly entreated to resign his office. In support of this motion he observes, that no bishop, or other church officer is established for life; on the contrary, the general conference has a right to alter the system of church government every year. Who can doubt that the conference might depose a bishop who had become deranged or had married a woman of color?† Our *doctrine* only, and not the mode of *administering* it, is unchangeable; the bishops moreover do not form a higher order distinct from the clergy and the elders of the church. The rights of the conference are unlimited; it is the highest authority in the church; and all powers, the legislative, judicial, and executive, are united in it without any artificial separation.

Further, the conference does not condemn Bishop Andrew, it only wishes to rid itself of an evil; and he does wrong, if he harasses the church through his opposition. The clergy of the North have never supported the rash and one-sided demands of the abolitionists; they earnestly desire however through this motion or resolution to show their opposition to slavery, to restrict and set bounds to its enlargement, and at least to prevent a bishop

* From the original reports in the Western Christian Advocate.

† This in fact alludes to an alleged radical difference of races, which at that very time they were contending against.

from contaminating his influence in the South and entirely ruining it in the North, by holding slaves.

To this it was replied: This assembly of Methodist clergymen is entitled to no absolute power over legislation and administration, without reference to law, custom, and inevitable consequences. Every bishop has a right to his office; and he can by no means be removed from or compelled to resign it by a mere vote and resolution of the majority, without a legal process. What is requested or demanded of Bishop Andrew under outward forms of civility, is in truth a punishment of the severest kind. He declares his readiness to resign, if he can thereby promote the peace of the church; such however is not the case, since all the Southern clergy and bishops are opposed to the proceeding, and to subjecting themselves to the principles and purposes of New England. Neither the laws of the church, nor custom, nor any express precept of the scripture, forbid the holding of slaves; it has never been made a point in the election of a bishop, nor has any question been brought up or duty imposed in relation to it. If however it was determined to make demands in this particular, they must extend to all clergymen; nay, a condemnation would indirectly be pronounced against all slaveholders among the laity.

On the necessary closer investigation of the present case, it further appears that Mr. Andrew is one of the most useful and active of men, and one who exerts himself with peculiar earnestness for ameliorating the condition of the slave. He also holds no slaves in his own right; they are the dowry and property of his wife. She would willingly emancipate them, if it were not prohibited by the laws of Georgia; this however would bring many old slaves into the greatest distress, and others are so dependent on their master and mistress, that they earnestly entreat them not to alter the relation that exists between them.

No church in the United States, it was said, nor any in the world, has a right to make laws respecting slavery. This motion interferes (contrary to St. Paul's precept) with the affairs of others, brings the church into conflict with the laws of the land, and is in fact a revolutionary measure. When this career is once entered upon, it is impossible to foresee where we shall stop; and the conference might easily find pretexts for passing resolutions on the tariff, taxation, and banks. But in truth, the influence and progress of the Methodists are essentially owing to their having always very wisely refrained from involving themselves in secular and political affairs.

The adoption of this motion would bring not the successors of Mr. Andrew only, but the whole Southern clergy into the most unpleasant circumstances; it would put an end to the salutary and highly acceptable influence which they had hitherto exerted

upon the slaves ; would set them at enmity with all the planters ; and would exhibit a purpose, which it is impossible to effect in this manner, or rather which such violence and precipitancy would cause to assume a destructive appearance. All the clergy of the South must therefore entreat and demand, that this matter which tends to the sundering of the church, be not precipitated ; but that all the counter statements be well weighed, facts collected, and reasons calmly examined.

As these propositions met with no acceptance ; the Southern clergy again presented the matter on the 6th of June, 1844, in a formal and well reasoned pamphlet,—but without success. A complete separation of the South from the North was the consequence ; about 1,300 clergymen and 450,000 people took the side of the former. Impartial observers think, that this movement will do more harm than good, and that throughout the controversy passion and abstract theory have been much more prominent than prudence and practical wisdom. Perhaps at some future time milder measures may be agreed to ; perhaps however it is a real benefit that the growing power of this sect, and the danger of constantly increasing violence and intolerance, is for the present circumscribed and broken by this schism.

PRESBYTERIANS.

These have essentially retained in America their doctrine and church constitution. Elders of the laity take part in the congregational assemblies, the presbyteries, and the synods, over which ultimately a general assembly presides. Each congregation, a clergyman presiding, chooses its preacher ; still the presbytery can set aside the choice for reasons assigned, and order a new election. A presbytery numbers from 60 to 80 clerical members and a certain number of lay elders ; at least three presbyteries form a higher tribunal for many purposes, over which a general assembly presides as a court of last resort, and decides all matters of doctrine and discipline, but is not at liberty to change the constitution of the church. It is estimated that there are 2,800 Presbyterian clergymen, and 3,500 churches. In the year 1837 a great division took place ; a very numerous party declined from the strict Calvinistic views of original sin, election, satisfaction, justification, and other doctrinal points.

CONGREGATIONALISTS.

They are similar to the Presbyterians in doctrine, and to the old European Independents in their form of church government. They maintain that every congregation of enlightened Christians forms an independent church ; so that without subjection it

merely enters into a friendly connection with others. They have only elders and deacons; they however practise a church discipline, which extends from mere reproof to excommunication. The church is distinct from the society. The former has the care of doctrine and preaching; the latter that of property, good order, and other secular objects. Thus each part has its peculiar sphere of activity; yet both are united by common interests, and operate with a mutually beneficial effect. They have 1,420 churches, and 1,275 clergymen.

BAPTISTS.

These differ from the Congregationalists chiefly as regards the doctrine of baptism. In their subdivisions however they exhibit a multitude of minor differences, which this is not the place to enumerate. In their constitution they are Independents, and number about 6,000 ministers and 9,000 churches.

QUAKERS.

This body, formerly united in their professed principles, have been divided since 1827 into the old, or, as they call themselves, the orthodox party, and the Hicksites;* which latter reject in whole or in part certain doctrines,—for example, the miraculous conception of Christ, his divinity, his satisfaction, and the inspiration of the Scriptures.

SHAKERS.

Their honored mother is Anne Lee, the daughter of a blacksmith; she was born in 1736, in Manchester, and died in America in 1784. They live under a community of goods and in a state of celibacy; which may be allowed them, as it was to the monks of old, because both principles are never applied except among a few and within narrow circles.† They are noted for cleanliness, industry, honesty, regularity, and benevolence; but are especially held up to censure and ridicule, because they *dance* to the honor of God! Many Indian tribes dance before and after meals to honor the Great Spirit, and say that uttering thanks with the lips is stupid and unmeaning, for the whole body should show its gratitude for the blessings received.‡ If it is esteemed pleasing to God, the Shakers might say, to raise the arms, clasp the hands, or (as in the silent mass) to perform count-

* So named after their spiritual teacher, Elias Hicks.

† North Amer. Review, 1823, p. 46. Murray, ii. 350. A treasurer of the Shakers ran away from them with \$20,000. Buckingham's Eastern States, ii. 427.

‡ Lewis's Travels, p. 39. Sometimes the Shakers fall upon their knees, and utter sounds like the rushing of many waters, groaning to God, and crying for the godless world which persecutes them.—Rupp, Ecclesia, p. 658.]

less unintelligible motions in his honor, why should our mode be alone thought offensive and irrational? Certainly it is more innocent, cheerful, and natural, than scourging, keeping silence, torturing, trying for heresy, and other inventions and practices professedly designed for the honor of God. Of more importance is the censure (provided it is well founded), that the Shakers take pride in their oddities, and are indifferent to all higher spiritual culture.*

RAPPISTS.

The Rappists, who are strict Lutherans in doctrine, may be mentioned here, as they too have introduced community of goods; strongly recommend celibacy; and are, it is said, by no means free from sectarian vanity.†

MORMONS.

Joseph Smith, born the 23d of December, 1805, was a man of lively fancy, and extremely sagacious, cunning, and skilful in managing men and winning them over to himself. As from the want of a liberal education many occupations were closed against him, he is said to have betaken himself in the first place to digging for treasure and gold. But he soon found or made occasion for entering on a bolder and more dangerous career. One Solomon Spalding had written in the Bible style a sort of ecclesiastical or biblical romance. It begins with the government of King Zedekiah, 600 years B. C., and ends about 200 years before Christ. This book, professedly written by Mormon (one of the characters in the romance), Smith and some of his followers determined in the year 1827 to set up as a new revelation, which was to put an end to the unseemly controversies and perplexities that have hitherto prevailed. It was, said Smith, written by an angel on tablets of brass in the improved Egyptian character, and handed over to me. God afterwards took the plates, and hid them in a place which no man knows. With this story Smith cut short the demand to produce the tablets, and refused to enter upon the question, how he or his friends could translate the Egyptian language, with which no one is acquainted, into English. As little was he disturbed by the proofs that the whole book was a piece of modern patchwork; for he assumed the character of a prophet, uttered predictions, and gave accounts of his interviews with angels and other messengers from God. Contrary to all the expectations of intelligent and reflecting people, Smith obtained credence for his story and numerous followers. This American credulity has been much ridiculed in Europe; but the Mormons

* Martineau, i. 217.

† Buckingham's Eastern States, ii. 214.

might well reply : If God in one place works miracles by means of ancient relics, may he not in another raise up new prophets ?

Most of the Mormons went to the state of Mississippi, and conducted themselves at first with great diligence and sobriety ; but their religious opinions soon furnished grounds or at least pretexts for numerous complaints. Their opponents proposed to purchase all the real estate of the Mormons at a fair valuation and at a large advance on the cost, provided the latter would quit the country. Hereupon the Mormons made them the same proposal, and declared that according to the predictions of their prophet, the whole land was assigned and given to them by God. As quarrels, complaints, and acts of violence ensued, the governor, Daniel Dunklin, declared in writing : " We can hinder no one from settling in this state wherever he pleases, provided the property and rights of others be not injured in consequence. Every one is entitled to absolute freedom in matters of religion ; and the Mormons if they choose may reverence Joe Smith as a man, as an angel, or even as the living God ; and may call their place Zion, the Holy Land, or Heaven. Nothing is so absurd and ridiculous that they may not adopt it as a religious belief, so long as they leave the rights of others undisturbed."*

But unfortunately the religious aversion increased on both sides, and political motives came in to swell the excitement. In fact the entire views of the Mormons were in glaring opposition to the republican democratic institutions of the country. The prophet guided the whole as a church-potentate, and controlled all the votes ; so that there was reason to fear, that the government of the state would fall entirely into his hands. He declared, that all history taught with a voice of thunder, that man was not capable of self-government, of making laws for himself, of protecting himself, and of advancing his own welfare and that of the world.

The regular authorities could neither prevent nor punish individual acts of violence ; and when a civil war was thus gradually brought about, it appeared that no dependence could be placed on the militia who were called out to restore order. The Mormons set Smith's prophecies above the laws of the land ; and their opponents, the will of the sovereign people above the commands of the magistrates. This will had in view the entire expulsion of the Mormons ; and as the latter were finally compelled to submit and to emigrate to Illinois, the numerous criminal prosecutions fell to the ground. Each party was to blame, and had to make amends to the other ; and when peace was brought about after this open war, the whole apparatus of plaintiffs, witnesses,

* Hunt's Mormon War, p. 159.

and judges, which seemed designed for ordinary circumstances only, disappeared.

In Illinois the number and the wealth of the Mormons increased; but there soon occurred the same petty jealousies, complaints, and accusations as in Missouri. In addition to this, the Mormons fell out with one another; and Joe Smith, contrary to the American laws, interdicted a newspaper that was opposed to him, and had the press destroyed. As the governor of Illinois pledged himself for his safety, Smith submitted to imprisonment, and a legal punishment no doubt awaited him. This seemed to his enemies far too slight for an impostor, a false prophet, an instigator to war, and one suspected of favoring a murderous attack on the governor of Missouri. Disguised persons forced their way into the prison, and shot Joe Smith and his brother. The Mormons kept themselves quiet, in hopes of strict justice at the hands of the law, or in the consciousness of their weakness; but they have not changed the course of their old enemies, much less won them over to their side.

UNIVERSALISTS.

The Universalists maintain that God, through his grace and compassion, will finally save and bless all men; which doctrine is represented by their opponents as immoral, since it undermines or entirely removes the necessary dread of future punishment.*

UNITARIANS.

The chief doctrines asserted by the Unitarians are: That there is only one God Almighty; that Christ is not God, nor is the Bible given by immediate inspiration. There is no original sin, no total depravity of human nature, no eternal punishment; and Christ appeared not to atone for our sins by his death, but only to furnish an example for our imitation, and to establish the purest system of morals, &c.†

Scarcely were these doctrines openly preached after the American fashion, than the loudest complaints arose against them. It was declared that they annihilated all Christianity, opened the door to infidelity and immorality, robbed mankind of every hope, &c.; that this was the consequence of defective church forms, of self-seeking licentiousness, of arrogant disobedience, of superficial understanding, and of worldly vanity.‡

Granting that all this is perfectly well founded, it follows that all the other sects were unable to prevent this alarming state of

* They number about 500 ministers.

† They have about 250 ministers.

‡ Caswall, p. 127. Orthodox clergymen refused to enter into discussion with Unitarians or to acknowledge them as Christians.

things. Now this spirit of rationalism pervades all church history, and has been much oftener put down by force than vanquished by argument. In short it is not true that these differences of doctrine entirely annihilate Christian *morality*; on the contrary, it is upon *this* rock of unity that the possibility of a reconciliation ought to be founded and introduced.

The Unitarians will never be able to root out every where the longing for the marvellous, for a vicarious redemption and atonement, &c.; very many will cling to the old orthodox doctrines, in spite of all religious and philosophical or sophistical objections; in fact mere negative skepticism is scarcely to be found in the United States.*

On the other hand, the Unitarians uphold, more than any other sect, religious freedom and toleration; they consistently transfer the principles of American republicanism to matters of religion; keep down the love of power, which in other sects is only concealed; and hold up to those who condemn them on account of their doctrines, the shield of an all-pervading Christian morality. The Unitarians form an indispensable counterpoise to fanaticism of various kinds, a soothing ingredient, which lessens the importance of conflicting dogmas, and is fundamentally opposed to the spirit which brands all others with heresy.

The views of the Unitarians exhibit an affinity to certain philosophical schools.† Philosophy however plays as yet no distinguished part in the United States; although in truth its development and that of religion stand ever in a mutual relation, and each requires the corrective of the other.

Very often in America, and in England too, the theologico-philosophical development of Germany is found fault with, as heretical and infidel; but herein it is forgotten that the Germans rightly hold fast to a mental freedom and self-government, which in this respect are superior even to the American, notwithstanding the liberal spirit of their Constitution and Jefferson's law of toleration. Philosophy is the Germans' safety-valve against hierarchical tyranny. In the dogmatical development of the Americans, we perceive no essentially new and peculiar element; they confine themselves mostly to the old paths, and not always without disputes and ancient bitterness. Whether successful or not, the Germans have undertaken a labor at once bold and severe; and labor is of more value than mere repetition and rumination. In every century, even in the nineteenth, doctrines must undergo a new examination, in order to free their eternal elements from

* Poussin, *Puissance Américaine*, ii. 247.

† The *Jews* are not numerous in the United States. They enjoy almost every where the full rights of citizens, but are split among themselves (in Charleston for example) into violent parties.

human ordinances and dross. This fiery ordeal does not bring the truth into danger (though some may burn their fingers in the operation), but serves to confirm and explain it.

In a country, where cultivation and population are rapidly spreading, and the new settlers are often widely scattered, it is quite impossible to have clergymen in every neighborhood. Still, in proportion to the whole population, their number is as great and even greater than in many other countries;* and the travelling preachers supply in a peculiar and suitable manner the deficiencies that occur. Though no American preacher receives so large an income as the Catholic or English archbishops or bishops; yet on an average they are as well paid as in England, and even better.† Most preachers, except among the Catholics and Methodists, are chosen by the members of the society, the pewholders, or the communicants.

On account of the rapid demand for a great number of clergymen, many formerly entered the ministry without a suitable learned preparation; but now the number of institutions has increased, and the requirements and examinations have become more strict. American clergymen may study less and possess fewer books, than in other countries; but their correct morals deserve the highest commendation, while in the active discharge of the duties of their office they perhaps surpass all, because they are entirely excluded from worldly offices and are so much the more devoted to the peculiar duties of their calling. The absence

* In 1834 there were in

	Inhabitants.	Ministers.	Churches.
Massachusetts	610,000	704	600
New York	1,900,000	1,750	1,800
Pennsylvania	1,347,000	1,133	1,829
Tennessee	684,000	458	630
Ohio	937,000	841	802
Indiana	341,000	340	440
Scotland	2,365,000	1,763	1,804
Liverpool	210,000	57	57
New York	220,000	142	132
Edinburgh	150,000	70	65
Philadelphia	200,000	137	83
Glasgow	220,000	76	74
Boston	60,000	57	55
Cincinnati	30,000	22	21
Columbus	3,000	5	3
United States	13,000,000	11,450	12,580

Hence it appears, that the number of churches and clergymen, even in the new Western states, is proportionably larger than in Great Britain; and that they have about one clergyman and one church for every 1,000 inhabitants.—Reed, i. 125; ii. 101. It is estimated that there are raised by voluntary contributions for schools and churches about \$20,000,000 per annum. One merchant gave in the course of thirty years, \$800,000 for religious, school, and charitable purposes; and another from forty to sixty thousand dollars a year.

† Cox, p. 516. Grund, p. 159. Their yearly income amounts to from \$300 to \$4,000; but it seldom extends over \$1,000.

of an elevated wealthy hierarchy and of a direct worldly influence, has not diminished but rather increased the respect paid to the American preachers.

As innumerable *sermons* are delivered every week, and as it is a matter of extreme difficulty to make one of high excellence, there are of course in the United States, as every where else, a great many bad sermons. It may be mentioned as a characteristic trait, that many clergymen, especially Episcopalians and Congregationalists, write down their sermons and read them from the pulpit. By this they gain in method and clearness, but not in life and animation. These latter qualities are more common among the Methodists, but are apt to degenerate into rant and repetition. Most sermons are of a doctrinal import, and the more extensive subjects are treated on several successive Sundays. "Nowhere," it is observed, "is so much said about the offices and importance of the Holy Spirit, and nowhere is the Holy Spirit so honored as in America; the Catholics alone are backward in this respect." But that much is claimed as the work of the Holy Spirit, which has a different origin, will be shown hereafter.

The existence of so many sects renders the building of great and magnificent *churches* (with very few exceptions) almost impossible. The prisons, to which members of all denominations contribute, are proportionably much more splendid than the churches.* It is said the South and Southwest expend less on church buildings than other portions of the Union, and prefer to pay their clergy more liberally.†

Church property is in some states, Kentucky for instance, exempt from taxation, and in others not. Every church acknowledged and confirmed as a corporation by the state, has the right to acquire property, receive donations, &c. In many states the limits are fixed, according to the wants of a church, beyond which its property must not increase. Disputes respecting the property of churches and institutions, and also as to whether such property can descend to new sects, are decided according to general laws, without placing any restraint on opinions.

Sufficient as the *voluntary system* is found to be for supplying the wants of the church, still complaints are made of the greater dependence of the clergy on the people and of the frequent changes of pastors which it produces. Nevertheless it is generally observed, that a bold demeanor on the part of the clergyman is much more likely to secure the permanent respect of his congregation than a timid, flattering manner; and I have myself heard discourses in which the hearers were accused and reproved with

* Some churches indeed are built on speculation or out of jealousy and bigotry.—Remarks on a Tour to Quebec, p. 31.

† Caswall, pp. 273, 274.

a severity which a European community would scarcely bear. There is also a bright as well as a dark side in this frequent change of preachers; since their transplanting to new congregations often leads to new activity and interest in their calling. Should the newly installed minister suffer himself to be led into precipitate and extravagant excitements, the due equilibrium at any rate is more easily restored, from the fact that the law neither creates any artificial efforts nor confers any advantages; while unbiased public opinion co-operates effectually in producing a return to reason.* This is not the place to determine what is fit and suitable for other countries; the voluntary system is certainly the only one possible for and adapted to the United States. "The result," says the English clergyman Reed, "is in every thing and every where most favorable to the voluntary, and against the compulsory principle. All the ministers in every part of America are strongly opposed to compulsion, and to any connection with the state. Pittsburgh, founded fifty or sixty years ago, is better supplied with the means of religious instruction than any town in England, and sends missionaries to all parts of the world."† "We add," say Cox and Hoby, "our express testimony to that of our predecessors, to the advantages of the so-called voluntary system. All the observations that we made in our extended travels confirmed our conviction, that in every respect it is beyond comparison better than the compulsory plan."‡ "The voluntary system," says Buckingham, "exhibits itself every where in the United States as salutary, without the bitter contentions which divide the churches in England, arraying the flock against the shepherd, and the shepherd against the flock, in contentions about tithes, oblations, first-fruits, church-rates, and other claims."§

Besides the religious wants of particular communities, numerous *societies* have been formed, for charitable and moral purposes, such as for Sunday schools, prisons, temperance, home missions, foreign missions, &c. Their yearly income, as early as the year 1834, amounted to \$910,000.|| For the distribution of *Bibles* there had been collected for the 19 years ending with 1835, \$1,404,000. Clergymen and laymen jointly conduct the business, and a number of gifts and legacies are added to the large regular receipts. Translations are made into various languages, and agents and considerable sums of money are sent into many countries. Thus there have heretofore been sent to the north of India \$3,000, to the Sandwich Islands \$3,000, to Ceylon \$2,000,

* Combe's Notes on the United States, i. 99.

† Reed's Visit to the American Churches, ii. 101, 348, 323.

‡ Cox and Hoby, Religion in America, Preface, p. vii.

§ Reed, ii. 113.

|| Buckingham's Slave States, i. 222.

to Bombay, Madras, and Siam \$3,000, to Switzerland \$500, to Esthonia and Livonia \$1,000, &c. During the last year, 314,582 Bibles and Testaments were sold and given away; and the number thus disposed of since the foundation of the American Bible Society, twenty-eight years ago, is 3,584,260 volumes.*

It is doubtful whether we should extend the approbation due to the Bible societies to the distribution of other books and tracts. Several sects have founded societies of this kind for their particular objects: thus a leading society has distributed since 1835 only 9,891 Bibles and 13,695 Testaments, while it has sent forth 5,161,141 tracts. It distributed in one year 684,599 tracts, which contained 3,209,012 pages of "important truths respecting the redemption through Jesus Christ."—"In our society," say the managers in a commendable spirit, "persons of different denominations take a part. It has nothing to do with peculiarities of doctrine, but is a *Christian* society. It forms no separate church, but identifies itself with all the churches of Christ."—A great and noble undertaking truly; but also very difficult, and as matters now stand, well nigh impossible to accomplish.

Even respecting the very active *missionary* institutions, different judgments have been pronounced. The only fruits, said Governor Houston, which the far-famed exertions of the missionaries have produced, are hypocrisy and deception; and demoralization is the result of bringing *doctrinal* Christianity among the children of the forest.†—The introduction of ministers into our tribe, said an Indian, has created great disturbances among us; we have become in consequence a disunited, quarrelsome people. We have learned nothing from them, said another, but to drink, quarrel, and swear. For tobacco and whiskey, an Indian will let himself be baptized six times over.

These reports, it is true, pay far too little attention to the bright side of the picture, the conversions; while its dark side they bring into the foreground: still the existence of the latter cannot be denied, and it is much to be lamented that many missionaries of different sects should at once inoculate the new converts with their own disputes. Though Christianity may be destined to become one day the prevailing religion of the world, dogmatic subtleties are certainly not the business and occupation of every man. And yet controversy and persecution have often raged the most violently on those points that are the least understood. If the ten commandments only had first been implanted among the Indians, they might long have been spared the doctrines of predestination, transubstantiation, and the like.

* A branch society in New York has already distributed 48,000 Bibles and 107,000 Testaments, in prisons, ships, poor-houses, taverns, &c.

† Ferrall, pp. 277, 281. Murray, i. 425, 428.

*Public worship and the observance of Sunday cannot be the same among the different sects ; yet the churches are every where very diligently attended, and in the North they are usually warmed ;** a custom which is favorable to health, and prevents the attention from being distracted.

In the zealous Protestant states, a very strict observance of the Sabbath is even required by law ; though by this the principle, that the civil authorities have nothing to do with ecclesiastical and religious matters, is certainly violated, and personal liberty restricted.†

Congress however rejected the proposal to forbid travelling on Sunday. No one disputes that it is useful to interrupt the daily course of active life in order that the mind may collect itself, and the thoughts get a different direction ; but it does not follow, that Christianity, the most cheerful and consoling of all religions, is improved and elevated by stern and literal Jewish observances.‡ In this respect we may do *too much* as well as *too little* ; and by far the greater part of Christendom seeks to find out the middle path, and to practise the mutual indulgence recommended by Paul. He says (Romans xiv. 5) ; “ One esteemeth one day above another ; and another esteemeth every day alike. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it to the Lord, and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.”

We must here notice two things that have often been discussed, and about which very different sentiments are entertained ; viz. the so-called *camp-meetings* and *revivals*. The former are held for the most part by Methodists, who display in them enterprise, zeal, and perseverance ; and convey Christian instruction and worship to the widely scattered inhabitants of the wilderness, who are almost excluded from Christian communion.§ And why should not those who neither have nor can have churches, and who need instruction and consolation, not be permitted to assemble under God’s free sky ? Why should a diminutive house of man’s contrivance be preferred to the ancient, venerable groves, where giant trees form a lofty vault of foliage, which architects strive to imitate in their most finished works ? What right have we to find fault, if the cold indifference and worldly distinctions of an established church are not observed in these forest gatherings ? How can we wonder, that the preacher, carried away by the grandeur of his mission and of surrounding objects, should be roused to a pitch of excitement which the equable flow of common life would never produce ? And who can doubt but that

* Reed, ii. 341.

† Duden, p. 46. Abdy, i. 319.

‡ In Baltimore, whoever flies a kite or plays ball on Sunday is fined one dollar.

§ Cox, p. 516. Flint, Mississippi, ii. 217. Clergymen belonging to the Episcopal church are occasionally sent into the wilderness to preach. Caswall, p. 122.

they contend with all their strength against the irregularities which creep into those meetings, held by night as well as day ?*

On the other hand, a cause of just censure is found in these meetings, which affects the preachers almost more than it does their hearers. If the former protract the meetings for several days and nights, if they strive especially to produce in their hearers a bodily and mental excitement;† then idleness, vanity, hypocrisy and folly are the almost inevitable consequences. In order to produce and increase a so-called religious state of feeling, knowledge and sound reason are hastily rejected as something of small account. With great propriety therefore a worthy minister‡ gives the wise counsel, that travelling preachers should adhere to the broad foundation of Scripture, and hold up the essential truths of religion in which pious men of all denominations agree; instead of placing controversial points in the fore-ground, and pushing them to extremes.§

Among the most serious, I may say the most dangerous and highly reprehensible things that claim our attention, are those fanatical movements termed *revivals*. It cannot be doubted that single individuals may, by some particular event, some overwhelming influence, be aroused from a thoughtless or sinful life, and be awakened and born again to a new and higher existence. It is a cause for rejoicing, when such examples are widely imitated. But the means which are employed in America to forcibly produce these phenomena, are often of a wholly one-sided, ambiguous character; and what passes for a proof of regeneration has such a perverted and fanatical appearance, that numerous individuals entitled to respect have declared themselves, and with justice, decidedly against them.

The sermons and prayers are often continued whole hours together, and are held for ten, twenty, thirty, and even forty evenings in succession; they are almost exclusively occupied with complaints of the utter depravity of man, the power of the devil, inevitable everlasting damnation, and the like. With weeping and strained eyes, the preacher utters his woful denunciations, draws out each syllable and letter to an absurd length (*hō-ly, glō-ry, ever-lāst-ing, mo-o-o-o-ourner*), quavers as long as his breath holds out, or suddenly falls into such a rapidity of utterance as to become altogether unintelligible. The hearers reply with sighing, groaning, howling, quaking, clapping, rubbing, and wringing their hands, barking like dogs,|| and making a noise

* Long's Rocky Mountains, i. 21.

† It is asserted that not a few resort to the camp-meetings for the sake of company, and in order to relieve the too uniform and tedious observance of Sunday.

‡ Thomas Scott, in the *Memoirs of Rowland Hill*, p. 175.

§ In Maryland, no one is allowed to preach in the streets and public places without the permission of the magistrates.

|| Buckingham, *Eastern States*, ii. 427; *Slave States*, ii. 136.

like the rushing together of several streams. Others, particularly the women, faint away, or fall into spasms and convulsions; while the youth, in virtue of their greater bodily vigor, keep shouting by the hour some formula, such as, "Come down, Lord Jesus!" and then declare that they too are regenerated. Phenomena of this sort, which in former times would certainly have been ascribed to the influence of the devil, who would have to be cast out, are now held by many to be the work of the Holy Spirit, and the manifestation of a new genuine Christian impulse. Lastly, the *anxious seat* is regarded as the very summit of grace, the triumph of regeneration; and to this the ghostly zealots almost force their excited hearers, there to make a public confession of their sins. But a compulsory and almost unthinking contrition, without moderation, consistency, or reason, is apt to sink into feebleness and indifference; or to break out into insanity; or to be accompanied by vanity, arrogance, and a persecuting spirit. This outward, noisy, theatrical exhibition leads to no true conversion and sanctification; it pulls down instead of building up. A wild clerical zealot cried out to a girl of fourteen, "Are you for God or for the devil?" The terrified girl burst into tears, cast down her eyes, and was silent. "Write her down in the devil's book!" cried the preacher to his clerk. The maiden fell to the ground, and from that hour was a lunatic.*

"Opponents of revivals," writes a clergyman, "are the openly wicked, the profane, the Sabbath-breakers, the enemies of pure religion, avowed or secret infidels; or Catholics, Unitarians, or Universalists, whose Christianity is corrupted through errors and heresies."

In contradiction to these partial and exaggerated accusations, other eye-witnesses declare that all this evil, these extravagances and outrageous follies, proceed from hot-headed mechanics, fanatics, and noisy brawlers; who vainly plume themselves upon unreal conversions, and consider themselves as gifted and inspired, because they are able, by means of their wild absurdities, to make weak women still weaker and more irrational.† Even some clergymen, in pursuing this dangerous path, have fallen into the most grievous sins, and been ejected from their office.‡ Moreover, the alleged subjects of regeneration distinguished themselves afterwards, not by stricter rectitude of feeling or a higher-toned morality, but by an arrogant exhibition of their alleged superior sanctity.

* Caswall, p. 325. Cox, pp. 520, 130, 148, 160, 168, 473. Murray, ii. 351. Reed, ii. 23. Buckingham's Eastern States, i. 515; Slave States, i. 547.

† Buckingham (Slave States, ii. 138) relates divers other consequences which ensued from these excitements, both as respects clergymen and women.

‡ Buckingham's Eastern States, i. 29; ii. 376.

Hence Dr. Miller says, in language equally sensible and temperate: "It appears to me that religion in these meetings is less an affair of the understanding, conscience, and heart, than of display and excitement, of weeping and physical sympathy. These produce the same effects on the spiritual and moral nature, that strong drink does on the bodily nature; a brief season of over-excitement is followed by weakness and disease."*

"Nothing," writes Dr. Beecher, "is so fearful and untameable as the fire and whirlwind of human passions, when once excited by misguided zeal, they seem to be sanctified by conscience, and when the vain thought arises that men mistake and persecute us because we are serving God. This state of things must lead to division in the church, although many at first do not venture to oppose it. Excesses of a similar kind in the time of Cromwell threw back true piety for centuries; in America they prevent the different denominations from approximating and becoming reconciled to each other. Ignorant and fanatical teachers force the well instructed and judicious into the back-ground; and a general confusion and relaxation of church discipline cannot but ensue. If a victorious army should traverse our native land and lay it waste, or a fire destroy all around us, it would be a blessing in comparison with the moral devastation which a pretended, unregulated revival of religion would produce; for physical evil soon passes away, while moral unsoundness sinks deeper and endures for a greater length of time."

After this worthy clergyman, let us hear also a layman, whose official station unhappily enables him to give indisputable testimony on this subject. In the course of eleven years, there have been placed under the care of Mr. Woodward, superintendant of the Insane Asylum at Worcester, 148 patients who had lost their reason in consequence of religious excitement.† He says in respect to this:‡ "The Bible itself will seldom drive a man mad. Its promises are opposed to its threatenings, and its simple and clear teachings show plainly the way to forgiveness and peace. It is the newly hatched doctrines of men, proclaimed by ignorant, misguided people, that now distract public opinion, break the bands which hold society together, and set men in motion without chart or compass to seek, as is pretended, the heavenly inheritance. When the firm principles of religious faith and

* Sprague's Letters on Revivals, p. 265.

† Similar results are exhibited in other lunatic asylums, for example in Columbus, Ohio. Of one woman it is said, "her insanity occurred during a revival of religion." A second was deranged "after attending a religious meeting, at which there was unusual excitement." A man "became violently deranged during his attendance of a protracted meeting." The insanity of another man was also connected with a camp-meeting. Report of 1839, p. 21; 1841, p. 43; 1843, pp. 66, 71.

‡ Report for 1842, p. 41; 1841, p. 53.

hope are cast aside, the usual forms of worship forsaken, and fanaticism is allowed to rule, then weak and excitable minds become perplexed and even insane. The effort to grasp something ineffable and inconceivable exceeds the power of the human faculties, and shatters and destroys them. This is not religion, but her opposite; it spoils the offering she brings instead of improving it, and lowers instead of elevating the moral and religious standard of a country. True religion must exhibit itself in the *life*, the *whole* life, and not in feverish excitements, the sallies of a sickly fancy, zeal without knowledge, and words without deeds."

Opinions of such weight and experiences of so bitter a kind have not remained without effect. After these misguided persons have rushed heedlessly onward to the utmost verge of error, they bethink themselves of returning; and it is to be hoped they will not again be led to imagine, that religion can be improved and ennobled by fanaticism.

If we reflect on all that has been said, it is plain that there is no lack of religion in America, but that there is danger of falling into erroneous practices through excessive zeal for religion. The tolerance exhibited by the laws of the land, and the equal manner in which they look upon all denominations, have indeed weakened and concealed the radical elements of bigotry and fanaticism, but have by no means rooted them out. Thus, one is shocked that a merchant should post his books on a Sunday; and another, that a clergyman should on that day speak of the affairs of his congregation.* A third takes offence at organs and church music; a fourth calls it a remnant of Popish trumpery, if the words *Laus Deo* are placed on the organ, or an *I. H. S.* on the pulpit. It is remarkable, but by no means uncommon, that the Americans themselves place side by side the highest commendations and the severest censures respecting their religious condition. For example, while one maintains that so much virtue, faith, and morality, never before existed in the world as is now to be found in New England; a second is shocked at the Unitarians and Universalists; and a third describes the earlier condition of the country as worse than that of Sodom and Gomorrah. Thus he says: "Neglect and contempt of the Gospel and its ministers, a prevailing and abounding spirit of error, disorder, unpeaceableness, pride, bitterness, uncharitableness, censoriousness, disobedience, calumniating and reviling authority, divisions, contentions, separations and confusions in churches, injustice, idleness, evil speaking, lasciviousness, and all other vices and impieties abounded."†

* Duncan, i. 223, 242.

† Quincy's History of Harvard University, ii. 47.

He who proves too much, proves nothing. All really sensible Americans are as far removed from vain self-admiration as from cowardly or misanthropic despair. True culture is the best remedy against fanatical extravagance, narrow sectarianism, and the dark spirit of persecution. But reading, writing and arithmetic do not constitute the sum of true knowledge, or bear evidence of its possession; any more than the mere reception of certain dogmas infuses the life-bestowing essence of *religion*.

To genuine knowledge and genuine faith much more belongs than is taught and practised in the school-room and in revivals. Without self-control, disinterestedness, self-denial, reverence for the laws, and genuine philanthropy, all the wisdom of schools and churches is only sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

It has been repeated a thousand times over, that in the human heart *all is good*,—or, *all is bad*; and yet our immediate consciousness tells us that each of these dogmas is false. A scientific and religious education which is founded on either of them, will never fully accomplish its task.

When we see in America three or four clergymen, excluded from their former communion, in connection with half a dozen laymen, set up a new church of their own, and at the same time maintain that they alone possess the truth; and when they put forth the assertion, that this church of their forming must be universal and include in it all believers,* it is scarcely possible to restrain our scorn and contempt for such arrogance and vanity. And yet this may be viewed in another light. The multiplicity of sects which springs from the exercise of free judgment, shows a due sense of the nature and value of the rational liberty that belongs to every man; for the real indestructible Christian nature undergoes innumerable transformations in the human soul without injury to the objective truth that lies at its foundation. The image which the eye of a man beholds in the kaleidoscope, and whereby his imagination is excited, has subjective truth springing from the object; and no one has a right to assert that it is not there and cannot be there. Equally absurd is it to declare, that this individual conception is shared by all mankind alike.

Jefferson's Declaration raises men from outward compulsion to outward freedom; but for the higher cognition of an inner natural tendency towards and necessity for an infinitely diversified development, next to nothing has hitherto been effected; still less is any thing done or likely to be done for discerning unity in multiplicity, or for preparing the way to a reconciliation and a

* Six clergymen form "God's church," and "it is the bounden duty of all God's people to belong to her, and none else."—"Universality is likewise a prominent attribute in the church of the first born." Rupp, *Pasa ecclesia*, pp. 175, 178.

more exalted peace. As long as one sect merely *tolerates* another, so long of course will it strive after its subjugation. The impossibility of accomplishing its desires will alone prevent this, and not good sense and charity. Although the application of the fire and the faggot would now, thank God, meet with insuperable difficulties, still the orthodoxy that politely shrugs its shoulders at the thought of heretics is not yet wholly extinct. The Catholics hold fast either secretly or openly to the doctrine, that to them alone it is given to impart salvation; while the smallest Protestant sect calls itself Catholic, and declares that the whole Catholic world is out of the pale of Christianity! All establish some test of orthodoxy, and condemn every thing that does not fit this Procrustes' bed. Contrary to the spirit and letter of the Constitution, Clay, Polk, Frelinghuysen, and Dallas were arraigned for their religious convictions, and subjected to a catechetical examination; while a sort of creed or test-oath was demanded of them, although every one well knew beforehand that all the zealots would never be satisfied with it.

The hope that the Bible and biblical Christianity would re-unite those who had prematurely separated is unfortunately not yet fulfilled, and the book of peace is but too often made a magazine of war. Thus says an American paper: "The mournful events which we all lament may be traced with mathematical certainty to their real source, namely, to the conduct of the clergy, who for the last fifteen or twenty years have excited and inflamed the religious bigotry of their followers."—In another report it is stated: * "The Bible does not yet exert its healing influence even in the bosom of the church. What violent, bitter, and obstinate controversies take place even among members of the same denomination! There is a spirit of fault-finding, of censoriousness, and slander among brethren, which lays more stress upon some one small and scarcely visible point of difference than upon a hundred things of importance in which they agree.† There must be some remedy for this moral disease, and that remedy is the Bible. Let the Bible, with its triumphant, softening, purifying, and elevating power, exert its proper influence upon the human heart; and these contentions will cease, and Christian mildness, love, and good will take their place!"

It is fortunate that no church party can prop itself up by the aid of a political one, and become blended therewith: still I consider that the United States have far more to fear from the fanati-

* Report of Young Men's Bible Society, Cincinnati, 1837, p. 28.

† "They will argue as if their soul depended upon the decision of the north or northwest side of a hair in polemics." Olive Branch, p. 22. It was a dread of such views and influence that caused Jefferson and Girard to exclude clergymen from their institutions at Charlottesville and Philadelphia.

cism that glows under a flimsy covering, than from the impetuous spirit of democracy which is constantly unburthening itself; nay, it is in this very ardor for political liberty that the best remedy against ecclesiastical tyranny is to be found. All the sects which at certain periods were predominant, have fallen into disputes among themselves (for example, the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Quakers, and Methodists); and this has lessened the danger, and enlivened the activity of the separate parties. Still a truly Christian understanding, an exchange and mutual correction of thoughts and feelings (a most praiseworthy example of which I met with at Charleston),* would operate more beneficially than all the never ending still beginning controversies professedly undertaken for the honor of God.

Unfortunately in several countries of Europe, and even in Germany, where a commendable interest is taken in religious and ecclesiastical affairs,† the elements of a manifold tyranny have been set in motion, and the flames of fanaticism kindled anew;—and all this under the pretext of honoring God, advancing the pure and only truth, improving the life of ecclesiastics, and the like. An arrogant, domineering dogmatism forgets country and nationality, Christian morals and Christian love, and puts arms into the hands of hatred and persecution. Thus we are in the fairest or rather the worst way to fall into the scandal, the audacity, the destructiveness, and the brutality of another thirty years' civil and religious war.

* See my Letters.

† It has been anxiously or perhaps maliciously asked, What is the government to do in reference to the recent movements of the German Catholic Reformers and other Protestants? It should undoubtedly give free scope to development, and neither restrain nor promote it by positive laws, nor suffer it to be done by the clergy through secular means. Every other mode will fail of the end, and produce more evil than good.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE STATE OF OHIO.

Settlement, Origin—Natural Condition—Constitution—Administration of Justice—Population—Productions—Canals—Taxation and Finances—Banks—Prisons—the Deaf and Dumb, the Blind, the Insane—Paupers—Churches—Schools—CINCINNATI—Population—Swine-breeding—City Ordinances, Taxes—Churches—Schools—Lane Seminary—Woodward College—Mechanics' Libraries—Germans—Prospects.

THE knowledge necessary to delineate the twenty-six states of the great American confederacy is possessed by but few Americans, and certainly by no foreigner. Should I notwithstanding attempt it in this place, by making use of many aids at my command, the constant sameness of the general descriptions would only fatigue the reader, and the enumeration of slight differences would take up far too much room. But as I have arranged my previous communications according to their *subjects*, and have brought under *one* head what related to each of them in the several states, it cannot well be inappropriate, if I sketch, by way of counterpart to the foregoing, the figure of *one* state as an individual *whole*. I choose for this purpose none of the better known Eastern states, but the queen and wonder of the West, the republic of *Ohio*.

Sixty years ago, the whole country consisted, partly of a primeval forest, scarcely accessible even to wild beasts; and partly of a level prairie, where bears, panthers, wolves, and foxes bore sway, rather than the few and scattered Indians. Single travelers had ventured down the Ohio, or landed on the shores of Lake Erie; but nothing was yet said of permanent settlements. On the 16th of April, 1781, was born the first white child within the present limits of the state of Ohio. In April, 1788, about forty persons settled on the Ohio, and called their settlement Marietta, after the unfortunate queen, Marie Antoinette. It was not till the year 1794, the period of the worthy General Wayne's victory over the Indians, that the immigrants enjoyed the requisite repose and security; and in the year 1802, with the beginning of the nineteenth century, they adopted a constitution and formed a state. And even then how small were their beginnings, how toil-

some their way of life, how apparently insuperable the obstacles and difficulties that beset them on all sides! The judges had still to travel on horseback, to take with them their own provisions, and at night to sleep in the woods;—there was neither shelter, nor roads, nor bridges!

Nature offered much, it is true; but men seldom know how to improve her gifts, and never in so short a time has so much been accomplished, I may say created, as in the state of Ohio. It extends from $3^{\circ} 30'$ to $7^{\circ} 40'$ west longitude from Washington, and from the 38th to the 42d degree of north latitude. Although the similarly situated portions of Europe (between Palermo and Rome) have a warmer climate, Ohio can still be compared in this respect with Southern Germany. Of 40,000 English square miles, or 25,600,000 acres, seven eighths are excellent for the cultivation of wheat, and of course for other purposes. Its treasures of wood, turf, salt, and iron are immense; and it has been computed that there is a supply of coal in the eastern part sufficient for the wants of sixteen millions of people (the number of the population of England and Wales) for 10,000 years. The most convenient water-communication with the whole world is opened on the south and west by the Ohio, on the north by Lake Erie, and on the east by the Erie Canal.

As mind moves the mass (*mens agitat molem*), we must first speak of the constitution and administration of the state. For although *all* has not been effected through the contents of the former and the conduct of the latter, still without the foundation of free institutions, the results we are about to communicate would have been wholly impossible.

The first general ordinance for the establishment of the relations of civil society, drawn up by Nathan Dane of Massachusetts and Jacob Burnet, and adopted on the 13th of July, 1787, is distinguished by moderation and good sense. It contained the important, though seldom recognised principle, that no future law should interfere with private contracts previously made.

More important and comprehensive is the constitution of the 30th of April, 1802. It founds two legislative chambers, a house of representatives and a senate. The former contains not fewer than thirty-six, nor more than seventy-two members; the senate not fewer than one third nor more than one half the number of the representatives. The senators are elected for two years, and the representatives for one, by ballot. Of the former one half go out annually. Every citizen who is twenty-one years of age, who is subject to pay taxes, and has been a resident for one year, is entitled to vote. A representative must be twenty-five years old, subject to taxation, and a resident for one year; a senator thirty years old, subject to taxation, and a resident for

two years. The governor, who is elected for two years, must be thirty years old, twelve years an inhabitant of the United States, and four years of Ohio. No member of either house can fill any other office during the period for which he is elected. Each one receives a compensation of two dollars per diem. The judges of the higher courts are chosen by both houses for seven years, by ballot. Many other officers are elected by the citizens of the counties and towns; e. g. justices of the peace for three years, sheriffs and coroners for two years, &c. Militia officers are partly elected by the men, and partly appointed by the state authorities. Both houses nominate by ballot the highest officers in the army, and all the other important state officers; the town-officers are elected by the citizens in common. Bills may be originated in either house, and must be read and debated three times before their final passage.

The governor is commander-in-chief of the army and militia, appoints some of the lower officers, proposes measures to the legislature, and requires and receives reports from the public officers. He also possesses the pardoning power; but has no veto upon the acts of the two houses.

An important Bill of Rights is annexed to the constitution. It establishes the entire freedom of the press and of religion, publicity of judicial proceedings and trial by jury, a mild criminal code, no imprisonment for debt after a fair surrender of property, no outlawry, no corporal punishment in military service, no quartering of troops, no standing army, no hereditary prerogatives or distinctions whatever, no slavery, no poll-tax, the equal right of all citizens to bear arms, the right to attend all schools and colleges (the poor not excepted), and the right of the people to assemble peaceably and petition for the redress of grievances.

With regard to future changes of the constitution, it declares that every free republican government rests upon the sole authority of the people; and that its grand object is to protect their rights and liberties, and to secure their independence. On this account the people have at all times full power to alter, transform, and abolish their government, whenever they may deem it necessary. But to prevent this from being done in an arbitrary and informal manner, the following provisions are subjoined. When two thirds of the members of both houses recommend an alteration, and not before, the proposal shall go before the whole body of voters. If a majority of these approve of it at the next election, the legislature shall call a convention composed of as many persons and chosen in the same manner as that body itself. What this convention determines or adopts shall have the power of law, without further action on the part of the people.

Persons brought up in the views and doctrines of certain

European schools, and thoroughly persuaded of their truth, will absolutely condemn these regulations, and censure them as dangerous, anarchical, destructive, jacobinical, revolutionary, &c. It would be labor in vain, to endeavor to convince them by theoretical demonstration, or even to show that some things are natural and wise under certain circumstances that would not be so under others. I will candidly admit, that even well informed Americans have doubted whether the power of the governor was not too small, that of the young voters too great, the change of legislators and public officers too frequent; whether the meetings of the people will not become dangerous, and the facility of constitutional changes prove destructive.—It is true that evils have arisen from some of the above named circumstances; they must however have become still greater, had the directly opposite course been pursued. Besides, the most serious apprehensions have not been realized. The people, for example, who by frequent elections place those persons at the head of affairs and in public offices in whom they have confidence, have shown no inclination whatever to call extraordinary meetings and interfere with the course of public business. Although they have also the right to originate such changes of the constitution as they please, still in forty-two years no amendment has been proposed, much less adopted. So peaceful, so steady, so conservative has the young democracy remained; while a thousand changes have taken place in the circumstances that surround them, from which the necessity of alterations in the constitution might have been deduced. With this quiet, this contentment, and this temperate use of boundless power, contrast the tumult, the discontent, the changes, the extravagant demands, and the senseless refusals with which the history of so many European states has been filled for more than half a century.

These public rights and the constitution are poised by an administration which assigns and intrusts to each individual place and person a right of self-government almost entirely without control. An adequate defence against caprice and arbitrary power is found in the principles of private law, criminal law, and the forms of legal proceedings; all of which are derived from English precedents, but are carried farther by appropriate adaptations. Every attorney must possess a good moral character, must be a citizen of the United States, and a resident of Ohio for one year. He must have studied law for at least two years, and have undergone an examination before two judges of the supreme court. In every county there are annually chosen from the body of voters 108 persons to serve as jurymen. The grand jury consists of fifteen persons (of whom twelve must agree); the petty jury, of twelve persons. In capital cases the accused can challenge twenty-three

jurymen. There are cases where the court for sufficient reasons can order a second trial by jury or a second process at law. The punishments are, for :

murder in the first degree, . . .	death.
“ “ second degree, . . .	imprisonment for life.
manslaughter,	1-10 years imprisonment.
bigamy,	1-7 “ “
perjury,	3-10 “ “
arson,	1-20 “ “
robbery,	3-15 “ “
theft,	1-7 “ “
forgery,	3-20 “ “
duelling,*	1-10 “ “
counterfeiting,	3-15 “ “
adultery, imprisonment not over 30 days and \$200 fine.	
boxing, imprisonment not over 10 days or . . .	50 “
cruelty to animals or bull-baiting,	100 “
cock-fighting,	20 “
selling ardent spirits to Indians, . . .	\$25-100 “

The following persons are privileged from arrest, except for treason, felony, and breach of the peace :

Members of both houses and their officers, during the session ;
 Voters, during election,
 Judges, during the session ;
 Militiamen, while on duty.

Divorces are granted for wilful abandonment for three years, or habitual drunkenness, great cruelty, impotence, fraudulent dealing (for instance, feigned pregnancy), and gross neglect of duties.

Let us now see how the laws and public institutions thus very briefly set forth have operated, or at least what has taken place under them. In the year 1790, Ohio was not yet a state, and its population was not included in the census. The number of its inhabitants was :

in the year 1800,	45,000
“ 1810,	230,000
“ 1820,	581,000
“ 1830,	937,000
“ 1840,	1,519,000

which number in the year 1844 had risen to 1,784,000, and will soon reach two millions.† Among the population of 1844 there were 764,000 Germans. In the year 1840 there were employed

in mining,	704
agriculture,	272,579

* If death ensues, it is punished as murder.

† The climate is healthy ; there is one death only in 35 or even in 39 inhabitants.

in trade,	9,201
manufactures,	66,265
lake and internal navigation, .	3,535
learned professions,	5,663

In all the twenty-six states there are but two that rank higher in agriculture, viz. New York and Virginia; two in trade, New York and Pennsylvania; three in manufactures, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts; and two in the learned professions, New York and Pennsylvania. The militia of Ohio number over 180,000 men. The admission of free negroes and mulattoes into the state is not prohibited; but obstacles are thrown in the way of it, because a mixed white and black population seems far from being desired. Every immigrant of this description must bring a certificate of his freedom, from some American court; because, according to the laws of the general government, fugitive slaves must be given up. One or more citizens of the state must become security for the good behavior of the colored immigrant, and that he will not become a burthen on the poor-rate of any town for his support. A negro cannot acquire the right of voting, and can hold no office; he cannot serve on a jury, or give testimony against a white person. Hard as this seems on the one hand, still it cannot be denied that it is of the utmost importance to maintain a pure white population, and to oppose the influx of negroes. It is from this cause chiefly that Ohio has got so far in advance of her neighbors.*

In the same proportion with the number of inhabitants, the amount and value of all sorts of property have increased. According to the latest estimates, there are in Ohio:†

500,000 horses and mules,
1,500,000 head of neat cattle,
3,000,000 sheep,
3,000,000 swine.

There were gathered in one year:

12,000,000 bushels of coal, valued at	\$720,000
iron, "	1,800,000
salt, "	90,000
stone, "	800,000
Produce of agriculture,	95,400,000
Employed in trade,	13,500,000
the fisheries,	100,000
the forest,	900,000
manufactures (as much as in four Southern states),	20,100,000

* Even Henry Clay acknowledges (Speeches, ii. 125) that Kentucky is half a century behind Ohio.

† Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, ii. 123.

The construction of canals, highways, and railroads, together with the use of steamboats, has contributed immensely to raise the value of land, and to facilitate intercourse and the sale of the productions of the country. Two canals connect the Ohio with Lake Erie: the eastern runs from Portsmouth to Cleveland; the western is named, after two rivers, the Miami and Maumee Canal. There are already completed 920 English miles of navigable canals, 80 miles of railroad, 800 miles of Macadamised roads, besides innumerable side and cross roads. The construction of these canals and roads has cost an enormous amount of money, most of which it was necessary to borrow.* With each loan provision was made at the same time for the payment of interest and the gradual extinction of the principal, to which the canal and railroad tolls (already amounting to over \$400,000) contribute the most.

By far the most important and productive taxes are raised from real and personal estate, in which are included landed property, houses, horses, cattle, coaches, capital at interest, &c.; personal property however, as its amount has to be taken from the state-ments presented, oftener escapes than real. A small property to a certain amount is free, and also the land belonging to schools and academies. Church-yards are likewise exempt from taxation, besides two acres for every religious meeting-house. The whole value of taxable property amounts to about 133 millions of dollars. It is boasted that the poor and the small land-owners pay the most punctually; while the worst payers are the great land-owners, the litigants, and the speculators. Slight taxes are laid on lawyers and physicians, on auction-sales, insurance companies, &c.

Of the expenditures I will mention in round numbers the following only:

Legislature,	\$40,000
State Officers,	7,600
Judiciary,	25,000
Lunatic Asylum,	19,000
Deaf and Dumb Asylum,	10,000
Institution for the Blind,	10,000
Library,	645
Wolf-scalps,	700
State Printer,	18,000
Army,	<i>Nothing!</i>

Some of these items appear to a European reader very high, and others very low: upon the whole, however, the government and administration are exceedingly economical; and it deserves commendation, that more is granted and spent for *schools*, than for all

* The state debt, contracted solely for improvements, amounts to about \$18,000,000; the interest of which, at 5 and 7 per cent., is punctually paid.

the above named objects taken together. Complaints are made in Ohio as well as elsewhere, that many undertakings are rash, badly conducted, and unduly converted to individual profit; although these evils do not prevail to so great an extent as in many other American states. Moreover, the government and people have never lost their spirit and the feeling of right; but, with equal good policy and noble sentiment, have imposed *new* taxes on themselves in order to fulfil all their engagements. The only repudiation, says an official Report for 1843, that we acknowledge, is the stern rejection and condemnation of every public officer who talks of repudiating the just debts of the state.

The strict examination and supervision of the *banks* is entrusted to a special bank commission. No notes can be issued under five dollars; and all the debts and liabilities of every sort must not exceed one and a half times the capital of the bank actually paid in. If a bank stop payment, it is closed. The stockholders are obliged to pay 12 per cent. interest for the delay, and are never permitted to open another institution of the kind. No town or company is allowed to pursue banking business and issue notes, without the permission of the government.

In my Letters I speak of the prisons and benevolent institutions of Columbus, the capital of the state, and add only the following here. The penitentiary is well contrived, and conducted on the Auburn plan of day-labor in common. The proceeds of this labor have in one year exceeded the expenses of the institution by from \$16,000 to \$21,000. Care is taken to select such occupations as may interfere as little as possible with the business of other mechanics and manufacturers. The term of imprisonment is from one year to a life-time.

The *Deaf and Dumb Asylum*, and the *Institution for the Blind* deserve great praise. Pupils are received into them from a shorter period up to five years, and are instructed in a great variety of subjects. Among other employments they are taught basket and mat weaving, brush-making, artificial flower-making, purse-netting, &c. The hours are divided as follows:

Instruction,	5 hours
Music,	1 "
Labor,	3 "
Eating, worship, and recreation,	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Sleep,	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

In the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, after a few slight motions of the teacher's hand, the pupils wrote correctly, "Frederick von Raumer, Professor of History, from Berlin." In the Asylum for the Blind, boys and girls sang very well some pieces of music in

parts and which seemed rather complicated. Even two little Chinese girls (sent here by Gutzlaff) read English fluently with their fingers, and wrote quite legibly.

In the admirably conducted *Lunatic Asylum* under the charge of Mr. Awl, 473 persons have been received in five years; among them were 248 men, 225 women, 226 unmarried, 203 married, 33 widowers, 11 widows. Of these there were:

under	20 years of age	. . . . .	19
between	20 and 30	"	187
"	30 " 40	"	130
"	40 " 50	"	87
"	50 " 60	"	43
"	60 " 70	"	6
"	70 " 80	"	1

Of those persons who had labored under the disease less than a year, there were cured 70 per cent.; of those who had had it between one and two years, 32 per cent.; and of those who had been deranged from two to five years, only 12½ per cent. The expenses of recent cases until a cure was effected, averaged \$64; the cost of maintaining those persons whose derangement was of long standing amounted to \$1,414. About three fourths of all the patients were provided for at the public expense. It is thought that as many cases of insanity have their origin in moral as in physical causes. "Domestic troubles" had brought forty women to the Asylum; but the number of male patients from the same cause was only ten. Many suffered from religious hallucination; although it was something doubtful what was the *first* cause, and how much might have proceeded from subsequent influences and tendencies. Epileptics and those whose insanity grows out of clandestine practices are the most difficult to cure. A mild and at the same time firm demeanor is uniformly maintained, and provision is made for the greatest variety of occupation and amusement. When I reflected on the abominations, the noise, and the scandalous practices which I had formerly seen and heard in the Parisian mad-houses for example,—the perfect cleanliness, quiet, regularity, and propriety maintained here among the patients, who are divided into different classes, seemed to me little less than miraculous. None but a man of the remarkable talents and worth of Mr. Awl could transform the insane, even during the continuance of their disorder, into apparently sensible, well-bred men and women. They have parties; they read, sing, play, ride, promenade, and dance; and George III., Washington, and Queen Victoria live together without falling into disputes.

Paupers and *poor-houses* give but little concern to this young state; since a day's wages are about half as much again as in the Eastern states. Relief however is given to the unmerited

distress of poor settlers, and it is permitted to impose a property-tax of one mill on the dollar for this purpose.

The *church matters* of the different sects in Ohio are regulated precisely in the American manner already described. It should be remarked however, and with commendation, that mutual toleration is diligently practised, and opposite sentiments on minor points are not suffered to lead to unchristian disputes.

The contemplation of the *school system* is truly gratifying. The constitution long ago embodied this admirable sentiment: "Since religion, morality, and knowledge are essential to good government and to human happiness, schools and means of instruction should be encouraged in such a way as is consistent with freedom of conscience." To schools there are appropriated:

1. The lately well managed proceeds of the school-lands;
2. From one to half a mill on property and the property-tax;
3. All receipts from salt-springs, banks, bridges, insurance companies, plays, shows, &c.

This income amounts, including some donations of the counties and towns, to 300,000 dollars; to which is to be added the income of some liberally endowed institutions, and the school-money of those who can afford to pay. Persons in narrow circumstances pay nothing for schooling. The former amount is divided among the districts in proportion to the number of youth between four and twenty years of age; but no limit is hereby imposed on the generosity of individuals. In 1840 the number of

Universities and Colleges was	18
University students and collegians	1,717
Grammar schools	73
Attending members	4,310
Primary schools	5,186
Scholars	218,609

Among the higher institutions of learning, Kenyon College, Woodward College, Lane Seminary, the Medical College, Miami University, Ohio University, &c. deserve mention. We also find a considerable number of societies for benevolent and learned purposes, for agriculture, missions, the distribution of the Bible, &c. It is also characteristic of the degree of industrial and mental advancement, that Ohio has 164 newspapers and periodicals, while Virginia has only 52; that one bookseller in six years has printed 650,000 copies of six school-books; and that, in proportion to the population, Ohio has as many learned men as France.

The census of 1840 gives the state of Ohio already thirteen towns, the smallest of which has 2,000 inhabitants. Two number over 6,000; and Cincinnati, the first and most remarkable city of the whole West, has 46,338 inhabitants. The possibility

of such an increase is certainly owing in the first place to its admirable site, close by the great, beautiful, navigable Ohio; on a spot where the ground gradually rises, so that the terraces and streets lie picturesquely one above the other. The ascent and descent cause no difficulty whatever; on the contrary, the wide semicircle of the beautiful and fertile valley admits a constant enlargement of the city to the lofty, forest-crowned hill that encloses the whole, and commands a rich and varied prospect over town, river, and country.

Cincinnati lies 465 miles from Pittsburgh and the same distance from Cairo, being exactly midway in the length of the Ohio. It is 650 miles from New York, and 1,631 from New Orleans; and its commercial relations extend even beyond those extreme points of the Union. It is also the centre of import and export for Ohio, Indiana, and the neighboring regions.

On the 28th of December, 1788, the foundation of the first house was laid in a dense primeval forest; but the builders even then, in a bold spirit of prophecy, marked out on the trunks of trees the course of many streets for a large town. A treaty concluded in 1795 with the neighboring savages, afforded greater security; yet the place contained in the year 1800 but 750 inhabitants, while in 1840 it numbered 813 *tailors* alone.

Cincinnati had,

in the year 1810,	. . .	2,500 inhabitants.
" 1820,	. . .	9,600 "
" 1830,	. . .	24,800 "
" 1840,	. . .	46,338 "

In 1844, counting all the adjoining places in the valley which thirty years ago had no existence, it possessed 80,000 inhabitants, and among them 17,000 Germans! The ground on which Cincinnati stands was sold to the first occupant for about \$35, but is now worth millions; a few square feet now cost more than the whole wide plain did then. In the year 1840 (and so every year) 406 new houses were built.

In the year 1840, its inhabitants numbered:

cabinet-makers,	. . . . .	384
blacksmiths,	. . . . .	294
workers in metals,	. . . . .	208
saddlers and tanners,	. . . . .	228
shoemakers,	. . . . .	652
pork-butchers,	. . . . .	157
pork-packers,	. . . . .	1,220
tailors,	. . . . .	831

women employed in the making and sale of clothing (for Cincinnati and its environs), about 4,000

Among those too who are engaged in more intellectual pursuits,

we find physicians, surgeons, surgical and mathematical instrument-makers, painters, stone-engravers, wood-carvers, Daguerreotypers, portrait-painters, piano-forte-makers, printers, booksellers, &c. Twenty-nine newspapers and periodicals are published in Cincinnati, six of which are in German.

The capital invested in manufactures was estimated even in 1840 at from 14 to 15 millions of dollars; but no one occupation puts so much money in circulation and employs so many men, as the newly discovered preparation of lard-oil. The breeding of swine in the open country was exceedingly easy, and the number of those animals increased with great rapidity. At length however, in spite of the rapid increase of population, the flesh could no longer be consumed in the neighborhood or disposed of at a distance. Then, as in numberless other cases, steam offered its assistance. After the hams are cut off and the entrails taken out, the fat hog is thrown into the steam-vessel. After twelve hours every particle of fat is separated from the refuse, and is employed according to its quality for various purposes, especially for burning, for candle-making, for the preparation of gas, for the use of light-houses, &c. &c. Thirteen factories are occupied in this business in Cincinnati; one of which furnishes annually 750,000 pounds of oil and stearine, of which also two thirds may be used for candles. Between December and February 250,000 swine are slaughtered, which yield over $11\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds of fat.

As even travellers have taken offence at these material pursuits, and have expended upon them a great deal of easy wit, it is doubly necessary to show that mind in Cincinnati is not, as Lichtenberg has it, "smothered in fat."

In the first place, the state constitution is essentially democratic; and if there has sometimes been connected with it a want of ready obedience, the defect has been counterbalanced by far greater benefits. Every person twenty-one years of age, of good character, and one year a resident, is a citizen, with full civil and political rights. The citizens choose every two years a mayor (who must have been for three years a resident of the city), and every year three trustees for each ward, who form the town-council. The entire administration is in their hands; yet there are cases where the mayor and council must apply to the citizens, who then vote in their ward meetings on the questions submitted, either *Aye* or *No*, without discussion, and the collective majority of votes decides. If the question concerns matters that lie beyond the letter of the city charter, or if it is one that will affect posterity (as a purchase, sale, &c.), the decision rests not alone with the body of the citizens, but must be ratified by the legislature of the state.

The entire administration, taxation, and police are in the hands of the mayor and city council; not only are their whole proceedings public, but they are obliged to make a full annual statement to the community. The regulations respecting every branch of the police, as well as for the health and fire department, are complete and well adapted to the ends proposed. No one is allowed (such at least is the law) to sell ardent spirits to persons under seventeen, and new licenses to retail them in small quantities are not granted. Houses of ill fame are forbidden, as also the running of dogs and hogs about the streets, although some of them are still fond of practising the art of self-government.

As every where in America, the property-tax is by far the most important and productive; of other minor taxes I will mention only that every dog is taxed at one dollar, and every bitch at three; formerly this tax was as high as three and ten dollars.

The city administration is on the whole very cheap; the members of the council receive but a trifling compensation, and the mayor gets only 1,000 thalers a year.

Among the most expensive, but at the same time the most useful undertakings, is that for supplying the city with spring water. This is raised by machinery thirty feet above the higher and one hundred and fifty above the lower part of the town, conducted through iron tubes in all directions, and used in immense quantities for the greatest variety of purposes.

We find in Cincinnati churches and clergymen in abundance; for when an increase of them seems necessary, contributions for their establishment and support are never lacking. In consequence of the correct view which here also prevails, that no democracy can maintain itself in a healthful state without a general and careful education of the people, the greatest interest and activity have been exhibited on behalf of schools. Their chief income is derived from a tax on property, to which are added the school-fees paid by those who can afford them. In every ward there are new and admirably contrived school-houses,* where among other things much better provision is made for ventilation than in most German school-rooms and university lecture-halls. The common schools contain four divisions or classes, and teach far more and advance the learners much further than the so-called primary schools; indeed, if we except the ancient languages, almost the whole college course is given here. All the scholars however do not go through the entire course. The pay of the male teachers is from 25 to 45 dollars a month; that of the female teachers from 15 to 25 dollars. Each ward chooses annually two trustees, and the city council chooses seven examiners for three years.

* The rapid increase of population creates a necessity for constant additions to the number of schools.

The latter examine and the former appoint teachers. These become members of a society for mutual improvement in the art of teaching, which has spread over the whole state and has communicated its views and experiences in several instructive volumes. The hours were:

in summer, from 8 to 12, and from 2 to 5;

in winter, from 9 to 12, and from 1 to 4;

but they have been lessened, especially for the smaller children, by recent regulations. Fifteen minutes are allowed between every two hours for recreation. The principal holidays last about four weeks in January, and the same in summer. The number of scholars and the disposition to attend school are steadily increasing; although here too some complaints are made of irregular attendance. The current yearly expense for each scholar is reckoned at about seven dollars. Every year there is a regular procession of all the scholars to church, with banners, music, badges, &c. After divine service, the School Report is read. It is asserted that these celebrations have a good effect in increasing the interest in the cause of schools, in leading to more liberal contributions and payments, &c. Besides the regular examinations by the usual teachers, others are held after a peculiar and remarkable fashion. The best scholars from the different schools are assembled, and are examined by persons chosen for that especial purpose. This leads to instructive inferences respecting the comparative excellence of the several institutions. All doctrinal theology and all religious controversies are excluded from the schools; the Bible only is read, but without the commentary of any denomination. With regard to the school-libraries, the Catholic bishop made some complaints; but these, instead of being embittered by obstinate contradiction, were removed by a moderate and judicious concession. The bishop charged particularly:

First, that many books contained offensive passages.—Answer:

The bishop may examine and point out what shall be rejected for the Catholics.

Secondly. Catholic children are made to read the Protestant Bible.—Answer: None are required to do so, whenever parents or guardians object.

Third. There are bad books in the collections.—Answer: No child shall have a book which its parents or guardians deem hurtful.

Besides these common schools, there are in Cincinnati private schools, evening schools, Sunday schools, colored schools, colleges, law schools, medical and theological institutions, industrial schools connected with exhibitions of the products of industry, societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge, an academy

of fine arts, and another for music and the promotion of a pure and elevated musical taste.

As it is impossible to describe all these institutions with exactness, I may be permitted to dwell somewhat more particularly on a few. In the year 1829, a theological school, called *Lane Seminary*, was founded, with three regular professors and a librarian. Mr. Lane contributed \$4,000; Mr. White with some others \$15,000; and Mr. Tappan \$20,000 at two different times, making together \$40,000! Although Presbyterians are at the head of the institution, students of all denominations are received into the beautiful new building, and are there taken care of on the most reasonable terms. The instruction is wholly gratuitous; and the course lasts three years, each year from the middle of September to the middle of June. The excellent library, which is mostly theological, contains 10,000 volumes; and Prof. Stowe has been despatched to Europe, as a highly competent person, to make large purchases. There is adjoining the institution a large piece of fertile land, which the students themselves cultivate. They devote to this or some other lucrative employment three hours daily; and some earn by this means as much as \$150 a year, or their entire support.

The foundation of *Woodward College* was a large donation of land from Mr. Woodward. It numbers on an average 160 scholars, of whom about 50 are maintained free of charge. Seven teachers give instruction, during the hours from 9 to 12 and from 1 to 4, in all the usual branches. I attended two lectures on spherical trigonometry and the *Œdipus* of Sophocles, on a spot where the wolves were howling fifty years ago. All political or religious partisanship is strictly prohibited in this institution. An observatory has been established by voluntary contributions, and a German telescope purchased for \$9,000. Two intelligent persons have been despatched to Germany to examine the school system, &c. &c.

The *mechanics* and *young merchants* have established fine libraries by voluntary subscription; and in the first of these institutions appropriate lectures are delivered. From the *Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library*, which in the year 1841 numbered over 2,000 well chosen books, there are weekly loaned to these classes about 400 volumes gratis. The stockholders and contributors choose a certain number of directors annually, who appoint a librarian, and the latter receives \$100 from the city treasury. The necessary rules are adopted as to the length of time a book may be kept, the mode of replacing one that is lost, &c. This institution, like the district libraries mentioned in another place, has a healthful influence on the diffusion of useful knowledge and the improvement of morals.

Equally commendable is the practice adopted in many schools, of the English boys learning German, and the German boys English; by which means they become masters of two languages and of the rich literature of each.* I am fully of the opinion, that the mixture of the English and German population (there are 17,000 Germans in Cincinnati alone) in the United States is every where productive of the happiest results. Each of these closely related races communicates to the other what it lacks, or moderates what it has in excess. Thus the excellent newly established German society for reading and mutual improvement is in no degree opposed to English culture, but only prevents our native home treasures from being lost through indolence or forgotten through disuse. Each party offers to the other what it possesses, to double its wealth.

Nature and mind form in the Western states of America a rare, I may say, a unique combination; and among them Ohio takes the lead. Her mission is to examine impartially the great social problems and controversies of the confederate states, to test them fairly, and thus to guide and govern the rest. It may be doubted whether the grand republicanism of the South must not be disturbed by slavery, and whether in the East there may not spring up by the side of the cultivated classes a dangerous city populace (*tribus urbanæ*); but in Ohio we see only youth, vigor, health, progress, and improving prospects in all directions. The spirit of *nil admirari*, exhibited in view of such phenomena, would be only a sign of sheer envy or insensibility!†

* "They have far more than realized the expectations of their warmest friends." Fifteenth Annual Report on the Common Schools in Cincinnati, p. 6.

† I had the following conversation with a lady: "Has no fair American touched your heart?"—"Age is no security against folly; I have been violently smitten."—"May I ask who the favored one is?"—"Her grandfather was born the 19th of April, 1781; her mother was a German. In all America there are not thirty, nay, scarcely three women of such beauty, virtue, wisdom, and wealth."—"But you are already married; what will your wife say?"—"She is used to such freaks, and won't say a word against it."—"Have you made known your passion to its object?"—"Certainly; and she has distinctly declared that she will not withhold her consent, whenever I dare proclaim to the world my love and admiration."—"But who is this wonderful lady?"—"She is the *Republic of Ohio*."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Relations with Europe—The Indians—Texas—The Oregon Territory—Canada.

BEFORE we take once more a summary view of the internal, especially the political relations of the United States, and attempt to exhibit them in their workings and final results, we must first cast a glance at their external relations. They are undoubtedly in a simpler and consequently in a happier state, than those of nearly all the kingdoms of Europe. First of all, since the time of Washington and Jefferson, it has been a well established and strictly observed principle of the United States, not to become entangled in the labyrinth of European diplomacy and in the misery of its wars; in no way to transgress the principles of public law and constitutional forms, for the sake of bringing about or preventing particular results; and to make no offerings on that altar of Moloch—vain military glory.* Accordingly, with the inland powers of Europe the United States cannot come into serious or dangerous collision; but this will be unavoidable, whenever the European maritime powers shall engage in war, and enforce their old principles which are destructive to all neutral trade.

If on the other hand, neutrals in time of war could carry on all sorts of trade under their own flags, undisturbed and free from search, the belligerents would be deprived of a principal means of injuring their opponents and compelling them to sue for peace. The stronger naval power would lose by this means almost the entire advantage of its superior strength; while the weaker one would assert and extol for its own benefit the freedom of the seas. The controversies respecting this point are of the utmost consequence during a naval war, but lose all their importance on the recurrence of peace; consequently they were left wholly unsettled by the Treaty of Ghent. In the event of another European naval war, the belligerents, it is to be hoped, will not again adopt the tyrannical proceedings which prevailed at the time of the French Revolution. Should this however occur, the United States, whose trade has become so immense, could not take refuge in the suicidal expedient of submitting to an embargo or of breaking off

* Tyler's Message of 1842.

its trade with both parties; but must oppose that one which declines to enter into reasonable arrangements. There is however more reason than ever to hope that the weight and influence of America will deter other states from injustice, and that the peace of the United States will be permanent, while the powers of Europe destroy one another after the old accustomed fashion, and fancy that this is the road to real glory!

Let us now see what danger, if any, threatens the United States from their neighbors on the American continent. In the first place, as regards the *Indians*, who now live beyond the Mississippi in close proximity to one another, and are advancing, it is to be hoped, in civilization, it may be asserted that on that account they will become more dangerous than before. To this we may reply, that progress in civilization will make the Indians more peaceful, and prevent the folly of taking up arms against the United States. But should they perchance be seduced to do so by others, they would be more easily and speedily overcome than before, when they were scattered about and difficult to find.

If we turn our attention to the new republic of *Texas*, we find the most opposite opinions maintained with regard to it. Its violent assailants, both in America and in Europe, assert that it owes its origin to a most unrighteous insurrection, is inhabited by a worthless rabble of every sort, and polluted by the curse of slavery. What says history?* The Spaniards founded their claims on the discovery of some points of this large unknown territory; but for centuries they did absolutely nothing of consequence to acquire a knowledge of it and to settle it, and it was not till quite recent times that the government treated with people who wished to emigrate thither from the United States. Plans of this kind were interrupted by the revolt of Mexico from the mother country, and Texas declared herself ready to enter as a separate state into the new great confederation. This condition was at first accepted, but afterwards declined; and thus, instead of being governed by a genuine federal constitution, it was alternately the prey of military and priestly tyranny or of wild anarchy. Worthless persons did certainly take advantage of these times of confusion to make their way into Texas; but it would be great injustice thus to designate all the inhabitants of Texas, or to maintain that the revolt of Mexico from Spain was glorious, but that that of Texas was execrable. A country said to be three times as large as Great Britain and Ireland, and in fact without a master, a perfect *res nullius*, had forsooth no right to a separate existence, and was condemned to be an appurtenance of Mexico, or rather of her soldiery, for all time to come! "Independence," says a thoroughly

* Kennedy's Texas, vol. ii.

well informed man, "produced in Mexico an intoxication of freedom, which caused the people to seek their liberty in the most unbounded licentiousness, their sovereignty in contempt of law and morality and in impunity for crime; each one thought he had a right to do and to leave undone whatever he saw fit, and not only to utter his opinions, but to carry them out by violence." Mexico has indeed adopted many of the public institutions of the United States, and also a similar constitutional law as far as its letter is concerned; but through the overpowering influence of the priests or the army, it rarely comes into play; besides, there is no such thing as an immediate free choice of representatives, and public trials by jury or legal toleration in religious matters are never thought of.*

Texas very naturally would not allow its fate to be determined by such a people; the Saxo-Germanic element of American civilization came again into conflict with the Romance stock; and it conquered as it had done before in Canada, Louisiana, and Florida. On the 21st of April, 1836, the Texans under Houston defeated the Mexican president Santa Anna at San Jacinto, took him prisoner, dispersed his entire army, and captured all his warlike stores. This determined the independence of Texas; Jackson acknowledged it on the last day of his presidency, and the powers of Europe followed the example.

These victors of San Jacinto were far from being a rabble which by accident once shows a warlike spirit, but men who felt the value both of civil order and of public right, and who strove to found a genuine republic. In their Declaration of Independence of the 2d of March, 1836, they complain—and justly—that the confederate state of Mexico had changed into a military tyranny; that the power of the soldiery was alone cherished and provided for; that the free exercise of religion was prohibited; and the people were ordered to be disarmed, for the purpose of plunging them headlong into Mexican anarchy. On the 17th of March, 1836, the new state adopted a new constitution fashioned after the American model. The President is elected for three years, but is ineligible for the next three. The number of representatives, until the population exceeds 100,000, shall not be under twenty-four or over forty. They are chosen annually, and every freeman who is twenty-one years old and has resided in the country six months is entitled to vote. The number of senators, also chosen by election for three years, amounts to from one third to one half that of the representatives. Clergymen are excluded from any share in the constitution or administration. Every free father of a family is entitled to a league of land, and every single man to one third of a league. Slavehold-

* Mühlentfordt, i. 372.

ing is permitted, but not the importation of slaves from Africa. Congress cannot manumit slaves without the consent of the owners; nor can the owners without the consent of Congress, unless the freedmen emigrate. No free negro or colored person is tolerated in Texas without the consent of Congress. Slavery was retained, because most of the colonists held slaves, and the slaveholding portion of the United States favored the new republic, while the free northern states declared against it;* another reason was the great want of men and capital in the country.

With the exception of this dark feature, there are adopted into the constitution of the young republic of Texas all the great principles of American freedom, which in Europe are for the most part rejected or not reduced to practice: such as that all power comes from the people; absolute freedom of the press and of religion; no search-warrants without the strongest grounds; trial by jury; the right to bear arms; a general militia; no monopolies or prerogatives; no right of primogeniture, &c. An ample quantity of land has been appropriated for schools and universities. Bible societies, temperance societies, and Sunday-schools are in operation; and laws have been passed against gambling and drunkenness.

Notwithstanding the universal though vague and unproved charges of the immorality of its inhabitants, Texas has made astonishing progress since its declaration of independence; and has kept free from the tyranny and anarchy of Mexico, to which shallow theorists and the envious would gladly chain her. Many very naturally adopted the conviction, that a union of Texas with the United States would prove equally advantageous to the peace, power, wealth, development, and legal condition of the country. Such a union however was declined, chiefly through the influence of the northern half of the confederacy: partly because (in contradiction to the peculiar history of America) the right of the Texans to an independent existence was denied; and partly because the Northerners were offended at the existence of slavery, and were opposed to increasing the number of the slaveholding states of the Union and of the defenders of free trade as opposed to a protective tariff. This refusal of course was ill received in Texas, and caused the inhabitants of that country to consider, whether it was not in fact more advisable for the young republic (which without doubt was gradually gaining strength) to keep itself entirely independent. Every alliance, it was said, limited and confined a state; while it must be an object to keep their trade entirely free, to avoid the errors of the United States, and to found still more perfect civil institutions.

Notwithstanding all the obstacles and grounds of opposition,

* Kennedy, ii. 382.

in the year 1844 a formal treaty was concluded between the United States and Texas for its admission into the great Union, and laid by President Tyler before the Senate for its confirmation. This gave rise to lively and interesting discussions both in and out of the Senate. I will therefore lay before the reader with the greatest possible brevity the views and reasonings of both parties. The opponents of annexation said, that President Tyler had undertaken the whole matter in order to form a party for himself at the next presidential election; and that he had conducted it in a manner contrary to the forms of the Constitution. It was said that, instead of coming forward with a treaty ready made, and taking Congress and the public by surprise, he should have furnished opportunity by means of a message for considering and debating the question, and should have given the people time and opportunity for coming to a well grounded opinion on this novel and highly important topic. By pursuing this course, it would at once have appeared, that according to the Constitution, there existed no power, no authority whatever, that could decide on the adoption of foreign states into the Union and give consent to the same. Supposing however that Congress actually possessed such a right of decision, it must still refuse annexation on numberless grounds. It must do so, in the first place, because Mexico had not relinquished her right to Texas; and consequently its incorporation into the Union must lead to a war that would be both unjust and dangerous. For though the land force of Mexico might be beaten off, yet at sea privateers would destroy the American trade; and the interference of European powers, especially England, could not be avoided. The United States possess already, say the objectors, too much land; every enlargement of the Union must diminish its strength, embarrass the government, and bring forward new conflicting interests and objects attended with the most injurious results. And after all, we do not even know how much land we are to get; since the greater part of it (out of which it is proposed to pay the state debts) is already squandered away, and the western boundary is wholly undetermined. At all events, the United States need no rounding off beyond their present circumference, either for military or for commercial purposes. It is far more natural, more peaceful, and more salutary, that Texas should remain independent on the South, like Canada on the North. The assertion that Texas would then sink into an English colony, is without foundation; and as to any smuggling that may be carried on there, it is much less extensive and dangerous than that on the Canadian border. Just as little weight is due to the sentimental declaration, that our American brethren and countrymen who have emigrated to Texas must be re-admitted, in compliances

with their prayer, into the great family of the Union. That prayer is the result of sheer necessity ; because the Texans are oppressed with a load of debt, and a few selfish individuals who have bought cheap would like an opportunity of selling dear. Moreover, people deserve no support and sympathy who voluntarily forsook their free native land, first subjected themselves to Mexican tyranny, and then founded a slave state,—thus acting the part of renegades both to their country and their religion !*

Were however every other objection and difficulty overcome, an insuperable one still remains. The free states can never consent that a slave state shall enter the Union, and thus extend the detested “institution ;” that the very existence of the Union shall again be placed in jeopardy ; or that at least the equilibrium of its parts, which is already endangered, shall be destroyed.

To this the friends of the annexation of Texas reply as follows : President Tyler has only done what was right according to the best of his knowledge and belief ; nay, this performance of his duty has increased the number and zeal of his opponents more than the number of his friends. Neither can it properly be said, that the formation of the treaty took Congress and the people by surprise ; since the principal question has been for years a subject of discussion, and nothing stands in the way of its further consideration. Moreover, if the general government possesses the power of war and conquest, it must have a still better right to peaceful acquisition ; or in case the Constitution makes no provision for this, let the requisite power be given by means of new and absolutely necessary laws. Besides, there is a violent contradiction in the fact, that the purchase of Louisiana was highly applauded, while the annexation of Texas is condemned ; although in the former case the consent of the inhabitants was not even asked, while in the latter they decide without compulsion and on well grounded conviction. That Mexico adheres to her opposition in spite of her weakness, is a folly which has not prevented other countries from acknowledging the independence of Texas ; and from this it necessarily ensues that Texas may decide upon its present and future course without consulting Mexico. Spain waited seventy years before acknowledging the republic of the United Netherlands, and the Pope has never yet assented to the Treaty of Westphalia :—ought such perverse obstinacy to check the world’s advancement ? Every one, whose views are not distorted by party prejudice, must see that the acquisition of Texas is of the greatest advantage for the purposes both of war and peace ; on the other hand the use of an independent power, offended by rejection and courted by England, would be

* Cassius M. Clay’s Speech. Sedgwick’s Pamphlet, &c.

dangerous to our Union. The chief excellence of this Union is that, cutting off all occasion for war and strife, it can extend further and further the domain of legal relations and legal decisions, without detriment to the progress of individuals and states. The Texans are by no means disposed, as some foolish people assert, to make a cowardly and treacherous surrender of their political existence; but wish to enter into a more extensive, noble, and beneficial confederation; as was formerly the case in a somewhat similar way with Achaia, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, England and Scotland, &c. Louisiana doubled the size of the Union; but now only about a seventh would be added. Besides, by means of highways, canals, and steamboats, the several parts are brought in our day nearer together than they ever were before; thus, although the thirteen states have now become twenty-six, there is no diminution whatever of order, security, and power. The objection, that the American Union will become too unwieldy, would have some weight if the question were of the over-governing and centralizing policy of Europe; but as long as the individual states are undisturbed in their free development, and only matters of general interest and general utility are arranged and settled by Congress (which the European diplomatists and congresses do not arrange and do not settle), there is no material danger of tyrannical combinations or anarchical disputes.

All the assertions—which experience has fully refuted—of the injurious consequences of the acquisition of Louisiana, are once more brought forward against the annexation of Texas; and it is forgotten that Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Clay, John Q. Adams, &c. advocated the former measure. Jefferson declared that, “the executive and legislature, in seizing the fugitive opportunity of procuring Louisiana, have done an act beyond the Constitution, in order to advance the good of their country. They cast behind them metaphysical subtleties, and, in taking upon themselves every responsibility, acted the part of faithful servants.”*

Acknowledging this, John Quincy Adams remarked in his Eulogy on Madison (p. 69): “*Seizing and profiting by the favorable moment* belongs to the most eminent qualities of the statesman; and if it demands less elevated virtue than the firmness and prudence that encounter misfortune or the moderation that adorns and ennobles success, it is not less essential to the character of a perfect ruler of mankind.”

When the acquisition of Florida was objected to, Henry Clay observed: “If you neglect the present favorable moment, if you reject the proffered gift, some other nation will profit by your error, and seize the occasion to plant its foot on your southern boundary.”

* Tucker's Jefferson, ii. 147.

"I presume," says Clay in another place, "the spectacle will not be presented of questioning, in the House of Representatives, our title to Texas, which has been constantly maintained by the executive for more than fifteen years past, under the several administrations. I am, at the same time, ready and prepared to make out our title, if any one in the house is fearless enough to controvert it. I am not disposed to disparage Florida; but its intrinsic value is incomparably less than that of Texas. The acquisition of it is certainly a fair object of our policy, and ought never to be lost sight of. It is even a laudable ambition in any chief magistrate, to endeavor to illustrate the epoch of his administration by such an acquisition."*

Such are the testimonies of a period when there was more impartiality, and when no party aims were at stake. People were bold enough then to found a right to the territory on a dubious cession; and now they hesitate to take it as a free gift, because the western boundary is undefined, and a dangerous war is to be feared. Shall the United States be afraid of Mexico, whose army was easily conquered and routed by a handful of Texans? Shall they stand idly by or blindly lend their aid, while a friendly state is converted into an enemy, and is rendered doubly dangerous, as at length it infallibly will be, by power communicated from abroad? Brothers, relatives, friends, and countrymen do not reason thus; and the Americans are brothers, relatives, friends, and countrymen of the Texans. The former, whatever Congress may resolve or prescribe, will be impelled by reason and feeling alike to rush to the latter's assistance on the first alarm of danger; and thus the annexation of a grateful people will be virtually accomplished, in spite of all opposition. At all events, Texas is entitled to dispose of itself; and no European power has any right to interfere in the matter. As the Americans do not trouble themselves about the acquisitions of other states in other parts of the world, they require that peaceful arrangements in their own neighborhood should not be disturbed by warlike remonstrances.

The objections too which are made on the score of slavery are only apparent. For if Texas be *not* united, nothing whatever is gained for the abolition of slavery, which will continue to exist undisturbed. If, on the contrary, Texas is received into the American Union, the slaves will for many reasons move gradually from the North to the South; and Kentucky, Maryland, and Virginia will shortly be freed from this evil. In fact many oppose the annexation of Texas, because it is without doubt the most effectual and indeed infallible means of undermining the very

* Speeches, i. 12; Appendix, i. 12.

existence of slavery. It is no less clear that the Southern rather than the Northern states will lose by the opening of a dangerous competition in cotton and other productions. In case these and similar considerations fail to quiet the Northern states, they should reflect that within the bounds of Texas *free* states may also be formed, that Wisconsin and Iowa will shortly enter the Union as non-slaveholding states, that Congress has nothing to do with the subject of slavery in the separate states, &c. From the fact, that certain stipulations were entered into at the formation of the Union respecting slavery and its influence on the representation, it by no means follows, that the *same* conditions must be granted on the accession of *new* states, and that no change or improvement can be permitted.

Whether Texas be or be not admitted into the Union, certain it is, that the untiring activity and inherent progressiveness of the Germanic race—which, setting out from the Atlantic, has climbed the Alleghanies and pressed forward to the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Sabine—will hereafter spread with irresistible force beyond the Rio Grande. Thus the American settlements in California are multiplying daily, without heeding the sales made by the impotent Mexican government. “Our confederacy,” said Jefferson* long ago, “must be regarded as the nest from which all America, north and south, is to be peopled.”†

The same holds true of the settlements as far as the Columbia river and the Pacific ocean. That England claims a portion of the *Oregon Territory*, and also demands access to the sea, is very natural; and the arrangement of the matter should be made to depend less on a few accidental occurrences that took place in times long back, than on the actual condition and wants of the two countries. To affirm that it can and will be decided by the sword alone, is a rash, nay an impious assertion. If both parties could demean themselves in a friendly and considerate manner respecting the boundaries of Maine and Canada, it will be much easier to pursue a similar line of conduct with regard to the distant territory of Oregon, which still lies in a state of wilderness. Calhoun showed, by the most conclusive course of reasoning, that it would be folly in America to provoke a contest with England at the present time;‡ because she is decidedly stronger in those

* Tucker, i. 210.

† Even in the Senate, and before the new elections have taken place, the question of the annexation of Texas has been answered in the affirmative. It is to be hoped that the decision does not come too late, and that the favorable opportunity has not yet passed away. If the United States impose the same conditions with respect to debts, imposts, rights of sovereignty, &c. to which all the members of the great confederacy are subject, there is in this no injustice whatever. The Texans will be obliged to bear much heavier burdens, e. g. for their army, navy, ambassadors, custom-house officers, &c., if they do not join the United States.

‡ Speeches, p. 544.

countries both by sea and by land. The rapid advance of the population towards the West however will ultimately incline the balance to the American side: consequently to gain time is to gain all. Moreover, the eastern half of the United States is much to be preferred to the western beyond the Mississippi, in regard to fertility, navigation, and ease of cultivation.* The Rocky mountains present incomparably greater obstacles than the Alleghanies; many streams are not navigable or are destitute of water a great part of the year; large tracts without wood, fertile soil, or water, remind one of the deserts of Africa; trees are found for the most part only on the banks of rivers, and on the immense Platte river there are none at all. Lastly, a very large part of the better quality of land has already been assigned to the Indians as their new abode.

With the question of the Oregon territory there is closely connected another: viz. whether a great war between England and the United States is not likely, or rather certain, to occur sooner or later on account of *Canada*. To this it may be replied:

1st. The entire circumstances and inclinations of the Americans are averse to military conquest.

2dly. So long as the English do not close the St. Lawrence to American trade, but greatly favor it, as by the present corn-laws, the United States have no reason for attempting to get the outlet of that river into their hands. Besides, this has been rendered of less importance by the construction of the Erie canal, and the improved navigation of the Mississippi.

3dly. The idea that England wishes to obtain territory from the Americans by war, is so wild and absurd as to need no refutation. More worthy of notice is the assertion made by many judicious men, that Canada is a burden to the mother country, causes her useless expense, limits her trade (especially that in lumber), embarrasses the government, &c.—But to this it is answered, that the trade of England with Canada employs far more ships and sailors than that with the United States. It would be a serious misfortune to be deprived of this trade, and with it to lose the excellent school for seamen which it affords, as well as the oppor-

* Mr. Greenhow's History of Oregon and California gives a thorough as well as clear and calm statement of all the bearings of this question. That President Polk should distinctly express the American view concerning the Oregon territory, was as natural under the existing circumstances, as that the English should do the same. At the beginning of a controversy, each party believes itself in the right; yet it can and must be settled by mutual accommodation, to which Mr. Polk's words, unjustly kept out of view, expressly point: viz. that "every obligation imposed on the United States with regard to Oregon, by treaty or conventional stipulations, should be sacredly respected." But in consequence of its increasing population, the country has need of civil institutions: it cannot be regarded as without an owner or as subject both to English and American dominion. New regulations are indispensably necessary, and consequently will not be long delayed.

tunities for emigration so beneficial to the mother-country. But apart from these and similar reasons, and taking into consideration the practice of the world and its ideas respecting honor, it is not to be presumed that England will voluntarily relinquish Canada or surrender it to another.

4thly. Hence there remains only the most important question of all: viz. whether the Canadians themselves will not demand a separation from England, assert their independence, and annex themselves to the United States. If it be true, as some observers assert, that law and order are better maintained in Canada than in the United States, and that every body there is contented, why then there is nothing to fear. The more recent history of Canada however by no means confirms this statement, but goes no further towards it than this, that there are two parties in the country—a French and an English one, which are so nearly balanced as to prevent any harmonious measures.

The French in Canada are a cheerful, amiable, and contented race; they exhibit all the commendable and agreeable qualities ascribed to them in the time of Louis XIV. But they have since undergone no change in morals, views, or occupations; they are wholly disinclined to every change, every bold undertaking, and all that is called progress: whereas the other inhabitants of Canada of the Anglo-Germanic stock exhibit, together with greater seriousness (e. g. with respect to keeping Sunday), a restless striving after new settlements, acquisitions, and pursuits; and though they enjoy less quiet happiness, they surpass their French neighbors in every other respect. The task of appeasing and reconciling these two great elements of the population has been a very difficult one for the government. It has never tyrannized over Canada, has removed many grievances, and granted many favors both commercial and pecuniary; still various complaints and grievances remained behind, of which we will here mention a few.

First. The separation of Upper from Lower Canada and the establishment of a twofold government in the year 1791, was designed to secure to each part all that was desired, and to prevent all unpleasant collision; but the variety of complicated interests and rights thus produced gave rise to double difficulties and contradictions.

Secondly. It was objected that the upper house was appointed by the governor,* and consequently was entirely dependent upon him; that he, a military officer unacquainted with the peculiar duties of administration, alone appointed the executive council; that the right of suffrage was not distributed in proportion to the

* M'Gregor, ii. 357.

population; that the lower house was allowed no control over the revenues of the crown; and that the established church, comprising about the one and twentieth part of the population, claimed for itself alone one seventh of the unsold land (about 2,588,000 acres). These and other grievances, which led to an open insurrection, produced in July, 1840, the union of the two Canadas, and the establishment of a new constitution in common for the two. The Legislative Council, appointed by the governor with the Queen's sanction, consists of at least twenty members, who hold their places for life. For the House of Assembly, Upper and Lower Canada choose an equal number of representatives.* A new election takes place every four years. Every member must possess a clear income of five hundred pounds from real estate, &c.

Undoubtedly, the constitution (which differs essentially from those of the United States) and the administration (especially the war department) are far more expensive than in the neighboring republic. Whether the Canadians will on that account long for the American system, may for the present be left undecided; certainly the people of the great republic can never regard the Canadian constitution and administration in the light of a model for them to imitate.

Finally, the result is here as often elsewhere exhibited, that two countries whose political condition is very different, may externally make equal progress. Thus Canada had,

In the year 1676,	. .	8,500 inhabitants	
" 1700,	. .	15,000	"
" 1784,	. .	113,000	"
" 1803,	. .	202,000	"
" 1830,	. .	550,000	"

of whom by far the greater portion were French and Catholics.†

The above condensed view of the relations of the United States to other powers, demonstrates that from no quarter is there any considerable danger to be apprehended. Neither Mexico, nor Canada, nor England can ever take any thing from this great, populous, and freedom loving country, as long as it avoids the dangers of disunion, and remains true to itself.

* Raumer's England, iii. 67.

† The population of the British possessions in America, in the year 1843, is said to have been, in

Lower Canada,	499,000	Prince Edward's Island, . .	34,000
Upper Canada,	506,000	Newfoundland,	81,000
New Brunswick,	130,000	Honduras,	4,000
Nova Scotia,	199,000		

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AND PUBLIC LIFE.

Europe and America—American Political System—New Constitution—The President—Presidential Election—Conventions—Presidents and Kings—Europe and America—Re-election of the President.

I HAVE already given in Chapter VIII. a summary view of the American Constitution; but it seemed to me that a consideration of its value and practical working, as well as of public life in general, could not properly be entered upon, until a number of other important topics had first been discussed. But even now that this has been done, the formation of a proper estimate is difficult, leads to repetitions, and can by no means be expected to meet with general acquiescence. For besides that I hold it quite impossible to transplant to Europe much that is excellent in America, my praise of the latter will not please even those who are dissatisfied with their own home. European liberalism is usually no more than a partial principle, directed against the monarchical heads; while it retains its own *peculiar* element, which it tends, cherishes, and fondles in every possible way. The military, the officeholders, the clergy, and the learned, regard the circle of their monopolies as too sacred to be invaded; and are loud in their denunciations of the Americans, for having desecrated all their sanctuaries, declared their gods to be idols, and their faith superstition. Nevertheless, true Americanism consists in this very *totality* of their social, ecclesiastical, and political organization; and not in this or that particular clause of their constitutions, or in solitary traits of manners and customs.

Another ground of false judgments already noticed by me is, that most observers retain the European point of view, and apply every thing to the European standard; so that of course every thing appears distorted and not reducible to rule. Thus, when the sovereignty of the people is spoken of, they have no idea of a well organized system, such as exists in the United States, but of the popular commotions in some European capitals; they forget that, if the political forms of America were as defective as they assert, the wise conduct of the American people under a bad constitution would be doubly deserving of admiration. In rebutting

such one-sided imputations, the Americans naturally assert: "It is only in the United States that a genuine representation exists. What we see in the most enlightened states of Europe is but a feeble approximation. The legislative bodies there, though respectable in point of talent, are, properly speaking, but a kind of drags or encumbrances, hung on the machine of monarchy to equalise its motions. A great number of European governments are founded only on force (as in Poland, Italy, and Ireland); and hence the dread or the impossibility of granting greater freedom. America, on the contrary, seeks no aid from superstition, supports no gainful impostures, and uses none of that disgusting cant with which the old governments varnish over the degradation of the people. When travellers say (and the Quarterly emphatically repeats and enlarges upon it), that all the freedom in America which exceeds the English measure goes only to the profit of the disorderly at the expense of the friends of order,—we can and must ask in reply, Who are the disorderly in America; or are there here more mobs, paupers, beggars, and grumblers than in England?"*

Another class of observers and critics measure the worth and practical utility of republican institutions by the unfortunate attempts of the French Revolution;—which is as fair and as proper, as if the character of monarchy were to be estimated by the times of the Roman Emperors. Although some resemblances may be traced between the French and American revolutions, the differences and contrasts are much greater, and the diversity of their origin and progress has led to totally different results. Had the French people before the revolution possessed more rights and greater political experience, fewer abominations would have been practised and tolerated. Much that was new was not true, and *vice versâ*; hence so many contradictions,—such clinging to antiquated usages, or excessive commendation of novelties. If the American revolution, which produced a really new social existence, is to be designated as a failure, in what respect were the French more successful? What admirable courage was possessed by Jefferson, not to despair at the very time when the frightful experience of France deterred the rest of Europe for many years even from the most needful improvements! He recognised the essential difference between the two *nations*, distinguished the true from the false, use from abuse, and the possible from the impossible.

That timid historians are frightened out of their wits at particular occurrences in modern French history, is quite comprehensible, and may be overlooked or commiserated; but what

* Encyclopædia Americana, art. United States, pp. 452, 454. Hinton, ii. 422.

there is that is so horrible in American history, it is more difficult to conceive. That human opinions are not to be forced upon mankind as of divine right, has become a prevalent maxim even in Europe. Besides, one might also say that the doctrine of divine right is carried still further and improved upon in America. For not only does the President of the United States place himself under the divine protection, while he is as much *divini juris* as any European monarch; but every American citizen considers his rights to have as lofty an origin and as solid a foundation as those of a king. But since the Americans have enlarged their rights beyond those of any other people, their duties also rise in proportion; and if servility elsewhere often prevails, here pride has to be tamed; nor must it be forgotten that citizens, as well as kings, nobles, and priests, need a constant spiritual purification of the heart and passions.

If we now enter into a closer examination of the American *political system*, we perceive that this was not an *à priori* invention of a few, but was the result of a preparation of two centuries, and proceeded from the whole body of existing circumstances. In general the deficiencies and advantages, the impediments and the progress of a people, by no means depend on their political forms alone. Thus the republics of South America adopted from their northern neighbors the letter of their constitutions; but they lacked the necessary preparation, education, sound principles, religious toleration, industry, and love of peace: and the result has been civil war, tyranny, and anarchy; to which every one desires to see an end, though few are as yet bold enough to hope for it. The republican principle in the United States has branched out and grown up into something quite different from any constitution in the old or new world. Hence Hamilton and his party could not carry out their plans for the centralization of power,* the abolition of independent states, the choice of senators and presidents for life, &c.

Though the old federal constitution of 1778 was (it might be said, happily) found useless, a great variety of objections were raised against the new draft, the refutation of which was undertaken with success by the authors of the *Federalist*. The motives of fear, hope, selfishness, and jealousy, were all brought more or less into play; and contradictory objections were heaped one upon another. Congress, or the states, would have too many or too few rights; the president would soon be converted into a tyrant, and the Senate into a wretched oligarchy; while the House of Representatives would produce an unbridled democracy.† Even Patrick Henry, one of the most zealous of patriots,

* Madison Papers, ii. 905.

† Carpenter's Speeches, i. 137.

exclaimed: "My fear and anxiety are very great, lest America by the adoption of this system, should be plunged into a bottomless abyss!"

Experience has already removed all these apprehensions.* It is therefore unnecessary to discuss them more fully here; but it deserves to be recorded with commendation, that with the adoption of the new Constitution all objections ceased.

The common and oft-repeated saying, that a newly made and written Constitution is worth nothing, rests upon one-sided abstractions and inductions. It was an incalculable gain to the United States that with all due reverence for former improvements in the art of government, plans never before seen or heard of were elevated into laws; and by committing them to writing and adopting them, a boundary was prescribed to the despotic omnipotence of deliberative and legislative assemblies. For even before the experience acquired by the French Revolution, men knew in America that such assemblies needed control and restraint no less than the people.

Of course the definite form thus given to the political system did not preclude numerous ingenious and useful examinations, explanations, and illustrations; and of these the most important still remain to be communicated. The idea that republican bodies, without an individual leader, could adequately represent or exercise the executive power, was sufficiently refuted by the first constitution of 1778. Yet many stood in such dread of the preponderating influence of every monarchy, that they wished to have three presidents instead of one. But it was evident enough even then, and long before similar experiments among the French, that more evils would be thereby introduced than obviated.† With equally good reason the propositions were rejected, to have the president elected for three or seven years by the Senate and House of Representatives.

In progress of time many objections were made to the mode (already described) of electing the *president*. The diversity in the modes of proceeding in the several states should, it was said, be done away with; the choice should be placed directly in the hands of the people, without an intervening body of elected electors; and the people should decide, and not the Congress, in the case of doubtful elections. For now, in voting by states, it is possible that 31 representatives of the smaller states may carry

* Niebuhr says (iii. 163): "The Constitution of the Union is Washington's greatest work; although in contradistinction to the Roman reform, its very development must end in destruction. He wanted Roman elements," &c. To this I reply, that even the *Roman* development must have led to destruction; but in America there exist elements of further improvement, which are beyond comparison more varied, grand, and comprehensive, than the Roman. If, notwithstanding, the Americans should still rush to destruction, the fault will be their own and doubly great.

† Madison Papers, ii. 763, 766, 790.

out their views in opposition to 182 representatives of the other states.

Though many announced themselves in favor of these propositions, they have never yet been adopted, for very important reasons; and particularly because an aversion is felt to any change in the Constitution, and because the prescribed forms place great difficulties in the way.* Many, particularly European critics, have not merely objected to details in the manner of choosing the president, but have rejected it altogether, and in so doing have referred among others to the elections of the Polish kings. The comparison however is wholly unsuitable; for while these elections were usually in the highest degree objectionable and productive of evil, those of the American presidents have been equally moderate and productive of good. It is true, that in a country where unlimited freedom of the press exists, there is never any lack of extravagant party excitement, of newspaper clamor, and newspaper calumny. But these little spots and shades have never obscured the prevailing light. On the contrary, every presidential election awakens a universal national feeling throughout America, and an effort to advance to the head of the government him who in truth combines with the greatest personal fitness the most correct views and convictions. On this subject of course all the voters cannot be of the same opinion; but there is a greater advantage than disadvantage in the fact that the same party has not always been victorious.

At no time however has the decision been made by a small minority as in the oligarchical elections of the Polish and Venetian nobles, the electoral princes of Germany, the cardinals, &c.; but by the really convinced majority of the entire people. And when the decision has once been made, even the strongest and boldest minority have hitherto submitted quietly and without opposition to the laws, in such an admirable manner as is seldom or never found in other elective governments. Intrigues and bribery, which appear so dangerous with a small number of voters and within narrow bounds, are of no importance, and indeed are impossible on a comprehensive scale, among three millions of voters spread over a surface as large as Europe in extent. At any rate, there has been no wealthy man among the American presidents down to the present time; and the money of their friends would have proved equally ineffectual, supposing they had been willing to employ it for such a purpose.

In consideration of the great importance of the presidential election, the question arose, whether it was not advisable, and indeed necessary, to in some way advise and direct the numerous

* Annual Register for 1826; Appendix, pp. 120, 130. Do. for 1828, and Jackson's Message, p. 130.

less instructed voters respecting the qualifications of the several candidates. For this purpose the members of Congress formerly met several times and recommended candidates of one or both parties. This practice however was soon denounced as an abuse, which was productive of intrigues and improper influence, and fettered the independence of the voters. On this account great *conventions* have in recent times taken the place of the former caucuses. Each of the existing great parties chooses a number of delegates in every state, and these, several months before the election, assemble in one or two convenient places, and unite upon the candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. This nomination is immediately afterwards made known to the people present, and is ratified by them. This proceeding has been instituted on the ground, that the twenty-six states of the Union are widely separated, and their inhabitants little known to each other; so that without a mutual understanding and agreement, the choice would fall on many different candidates, and from this injurious dispersion of their forces only strife and dissatisfaction would ensue. If, on the other hand, the public and well-grounded recommendation of but one candidate for each office be made known throughout all the states and tested for half a year, the united choice must infallibly secure the victory to the best candidate.

The first objection that arises to this method is, that the excellent Constitution neither recognises nor prescribes it; consequently, if not detrimental, it may be regarded as unnecessary. The convention exercises the power of a club, and awakens so many hopes, fears, selfish anxieties, claims for office, &c., that it restricts the freedom of the election proper in November, and indeed makes it appear little more than an after-piece. Those who undertake the *nomination* have no legitimate right to do so; and the *ratification* amounts to nothing more than the applause of an officious multitude. Besides, there is always only *one* party present. This indeed takes away opportunity and cause for unseemly contentions; but on the other hand it is destructive of impartiality, promotes the extension of prejudice, and impels to a superficial enthusiasm and blind confidence. Only the rich can travel to and crowd these conventions; and thus the aristocratic inclinations of the higher classes or demagogues prevail over the natural wishes and resolves of the people.

The whigs seem to attach more importance to the conventions, and to expect more from them, than the democrats. At least they had so many in the course of last summer, accompanied by so much pageantry, and received with so much enthusiasm, that the greater number looked upon their victory as absolutely certain. And yet when the real election came on, they were

defeated, from causes already pointed out or still to be developed ; —a proof that the conventions have not so decisive an influence as many hope or fear.

Whatever may be thought of the legal form of the presidential election, or of the preparations in reference to it,—there is no uninterrupted series of hereditary or elective sovereigns or popes, who can be compared with the eleven American presidents. Those European advocates of absolute sovereignty, who take such great offence at the agitations attending an American presidential election, should remember that during the time in which those excellent presidents were peaceably elected, fulfilled worthily the duties of their station, and quietly went out of office,—more than twice as many kings were dethroned and enthroned again, driven out, beheaded, and murdered in Europe : witness Gustavus III. and Gustavus IV., Paul I., Stanislaus Poniatowski, the kings of Portugal and Naples, Charles, Ferdinand, and Christina of Spain, Louis XVI. and Charles X., Murat, Napoleon and the other Buonapartes ; and so on, down to the Duke of Brunswick, with the wicked supplements of the murderous attempts on the lives of Louis Philippe, Victoria, and Frederic William IV. What quiet, stability, order, and security prevailed, on the contrary, in republican America ! And if disturbances such as took place in Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, are justly to be condemned, we must not forget Manchester, Bristol, Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Madrid, Rome, Bologna, Naples, Brunswick, Dresden, Munich, Lucerne,—nay, Paris alone can contribute more than is furnished by all America !

I now proceed to state and examine the propositions that have been made respecting the future determination of the powers and relations of the president. In the first place, the whigs require that no president shall remain in office longer than four years,* and that the *re-election* permitted by the Constitution shall be prohibited in future. In support of this demand, they allege that the possibility of a second election places the president in a false position. Instead, say they, of exerting himself earnestly and solely to promote truth and justice, his views are continually directed to his own personal interests ; he seeks to gain votes, in all ways, and despises no means, however unworthy, to secure this to him all-important object. Above all, he appoints persons to office or removes them, not according to their deserts, but according to their views and promises relative to the impending second election.

These reasons, in my opinion, are far outweighed by those on the other side. In the first place, it is remarkable that the party calling itself conservative, should be disposed to alter an important and maturely considered point in the Constitution ; while the demo-

* All the whigs, however, do not vote for diminishing the powers of the president.

crats, accused of being precipitate innovators, are for retaining it. By this alteration, it is certain that the already great mobility of the American government would be immensely increased in a very important particular; it would be almost impossible to carry out, undisturbed, measures requiring much time and perseverance. There is also no such superabundance of distinguished statesmen in America, that for a mere supposition they should be thrust aside and condemned to inactivity. It would be a real loss, and an unseemly restraint upon the freedom of elections, to exclude perhaps the ablest, best informed, and most popular man from the presidential chair. If the voters but do their duty, all the base means the president can possibly resort to, will be without effect or injury. Besides, there is no doubt that the employment of such means would raise up a *hundred* adversaries for *one* partisan; hence the supposition is far more probable, that the president would not resort to a course so obviously stupid and contemptible, but would by nobler means and a creditable administration, endeavor to gain the votes of his fellow citizens in a second election. Thus acted Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe; whereas no president whom the people did not desire has been able to retain possession of his office beyond four years. Finally, the plan proposed of choosing the president for six years, and making him incapable of a re-election, would still more displease the party in the minority, since they could no longer hope for a victory in four years. In one respect a true republican feeling has been shown both by the voters and the chief magistrates, to wit, that advantage has never been taken of the legal permission to elect the same person for a third or fourth term.

Another important object of the whigs, is to restrict the president's *veto*, or rather abolish it altogether. Here again we unexpectedly find that the conservatives are in favor of altering the Constitution, while the democrats take it and its monarchical element under their protection. It may be asserted indeed, that the change would be conservative in a higher sense, and that the maintenance of the power has ultimately a destructive tendency; but these assertions want proof. The vexation of the whigs at seeing their plans with regard to the banks and the division of the land-proceeds checked by the veto of President Tyler, moved even the heads of the party (as Clay and John Quincy Adams) to declarations which they would certainly not have approved of after impartial consideration, or if the veto had turned out *in favor* of their doctrines. "The veto power," says Adams for example, "is at variance with our democratic Constitution, and makes the will of *one* man equal to the will of two thirds of the people." These words agree with the now happily exploded

doctrines of the French Jacobins; who without deeper knowledge, and without guiding principles, paid idolatrous worship to mere unknown quantities. To them the King was but a worthless *unit*, opposed to the incalculable importance of 24,999,999 other Frenchmen. The American Constitution is no dull and level democracy without distinctiveness or character of its own; indeed its greatest excellence consists in the fact that it has attained a high and hitherto unprecedented *individuality*. If that doctrine is sullicient to cast down the President of the United States from his high place, and reduce him to a simple *unit*, it follows that the Senate cannot be saved, but must likewise be condemned to death; nay, the Constitution itself, deprived of its symmetry and equilibrium, must fall to utter ruin.

The veto is one of the strongest supports of freedom and order against the partiality, passion, and precipitancy of legislative assemblies. It was adopted unanimously, after serious debate, in 1787; and has never been abused. This is evident from the mere fact that ten presidents in fifty-seven years have made use of it only twenty times.* Eight of the cases were so unimportant, that they attracted no attention; one was on the reduction of the army under Washington, one on land distribution, four on banks, and six on internal plans and improvements. This prerogative is naturally exercised with reluctance by the chief magistrate; since, instead of going along with the majority of the senators and representatives, he is obliged to oppose them. But not to allow a veto against a majority, is to give it up altogether, and to degrade the president from being a co-ordinate branch of the legislature into a mere executive and subservient officer. Finally, the veto power is not dangerous; since it restrains for a short time only, involves an appeal to the people, and is ratified or rejected at the next election. It has never yet happened that two thirds of the Congress have united to overthrow a veto;† and it has almost always been sustained by the majority of the public.

If we compare the power of a president of the United States with that of a king of England, the former falls far short of the latter; and we find that the monarchical ingredient, the weight of an individual, is in America much less. The president occupies the position to which he is raised by election but for a few years, and is never wholly independent of party wishes and objects. He has no absolute veto, no influence in the formation and appointment of the two houses, no right to dissolve them, no

* Calhoun's Speeches, p. 484. Buchanan's Speech on the Veto. According to Mason (p. 109), it has been exercised only nineteen times: twice by Washington, our times by Madison, once by Monroe, ten times by Jackson, and twice by Tyler.

† Encyclop. Americana, art. Congress.

exclusive right of appointing to office, and, notwithstanding courtly language, has no power over the army and finances. His ministers have neither seats nor votes in Congress; he remains subject to the ordinary laws; and is so badly paid, that his income is scarcely sufficient for the commonest expenses. And if a solemn impeachment could not have much success, Congress can pass resolutions—and has done so—conveying official censures and admonitions to the president; nay, he is daily criticised in Congress by every member, according to his will and pleasure.

When we consider all this, and how whole series of propositions from the president are rejected by Congress, and that he can never accomplish a re-election by his own influence; may we not doubt whether the letter of the Constitution does not grant him too little power? Certainly the history of the United States shows that the real power of the president depends as much on his strength of character, on his popularity or unpopularity, and on the moderation or ultraism of parties, as on the rights conceded to him by the letter of the Constitution. Hence, although the whigs boast that, "resistance to the executive power is their fixed and highest principle;" it is impossible that such an abstract rule, which does not regard the circumstances in question, can always conduct to the right end,—it cannot be equally suitable under Jackson and under Tyler. Clay exclaimed under the latter's administration, "There is but one power, but one will in the state; all is concentrated in the president:"* but this rhetorical exaggeration has been refuted by every day's experience.

If Jackson really claimed the executive power to the English extent, and regarded himself as the especial and immediate representative of the American people, Webster had good cause to oppose him. But the latter went too far, when he maintained that in a true republican government, *principles* should be every thing, and *men* nothing.† Such an anatomical dissection and dismemberment dispenses with all vitality, and only belongs to what is dead and extinct. Nothing in the whole history of the world has been represented as more unchangeable and defended with greater pertinacity, than the principles of the Catholic hierarchy; yet how much in the application of them depended on the personal character of the popes! Principles and personal qualities, law and liberty, preservation and modification, rules and exceptions, all belong to one another; and he who honors and sanctions only one half of them, and rejects the rest, has set up a very imperfect object of veneration. Principles, without their

* Speeches, ii. 427.

† Speeches, ii. 401.

living control and application by persons, and persons acting according to arbitrary will without regard to principles, are both mischievous; and it is greatly to their honor, that the Americans have not consented to tear asunder this body and soul of their Constitution and their history. They have always associated worthy men with their noble form of government; and thus have never lighted on the same barren soil as other nations, who have hoped for every thing by turns from persons or from principles, and thus very naturally have always been deceived in their expectations.

It is nowhere more plainly seen how principles and persons act upon one another, than in the administration, or still better, in the appointments to and removals from office. Where the *Constitution* is concerned, public officers are every where elected (thus senators, representatives, governors, presidents, and generals); but as regards the *administration*, they are usually appointed, namely by the president, the president and Senate, or the ministers. If we cast aside general questions concerning appointment and election, still the attention will very naturally be directed to two important points. First, on various grounds the number of office-holders has been gradually increased, and in an equal degree the influence of the president by whom they are appointed.* Secondly, serious doubts have arisen as to how far the right of the executive should extend in removing or dismissing the appointed officers. In the United States nothing is more carefully shunned than the over-government which characterizes Europe; yet there also loud complaints have been made respecting this perversity, and the excessive increase in the number of officials.† Nay, many propositions (for example the Sub-Treasury Bill and undertakings proposed to be conducted by the government) were opposed chiefly because they involved the appointment of a number of office-holders by the executive. The small salaries usually allowed do not prevent office-hunting; as there are every where needy persons to whom the smallest certain income is welcome, and ambitious individuals hope by means of office to enhance their political importance.

It is certainly a subject of grave censure, that in making appointments to office, less attention should be paid to the fitness or ability of candidates, than to their political party standing; and that —after innumerable appointments of *one* color have been made —as soon as another party gains the day, innumerable removals should take place. Thus the election of a president is to many but a means of keeping their places; and to those who are eager for office, a means of driving others out. Jackson was certainly

* Some think that this is a beneficial increase of the presidential power, just as in England strength has been added to the crown by similar means.

† Morton (governor of Massachusetts), message of 1840.

right in saying that a numerous class of office-holders appointed for life was unrepugnant;* and that more is lost by a very long term of office, than is gained by greater experience and practice. But as a term may be injuriously *long*, it may also be injuriously *short*; and it is perfectly clear that the United States have more dangers to fear from too frequent than from too unfrequent changes of officers and judges.

To these legitimate abridgments of the duration of office are added arbitrary removals. At least it is asserted that before Jackson's presidency, only seventy-three officials were removed in the course of forty years, and those mostly on account of incompetency or of faults committed; whereas he removed a countless number, and exercised a reprehensible influence over the rest. It is assuredly no sign of a sound and safe administration, when officials are appointed or removed in crowds without any reason assigned; and it was natural for many well-intentioned persons to require that the causes of removal should be fixed by law, and that greater influence should be allowed (as in making the appointments) to the Senate.

To this it has been objected, that officers entirely irremovable, or who could be dismissed only by a regular judicial decision, might offer resistance to a shifting president, such a one being in general exceedingly intent upon some new and definite line of policy. From this would spring opposition, insubordination, and even an entire stoppage of the administration. At any rate, the discussions on this subject have suggested to the president a moderate exercise of his powers, and to Congress that they should allow him considerable latitude in this respect. President Tyler, in his message of 1841, unfolded the evil consequences that arise, when party objects and political views co-operate in the removal of office-holders. He candidly offered his concurrence in regulating and restraining by law his power of removal.

The preceding discussions have reference to defects that originate in the highest quarters; but Clay's severe remarks point to still greater dangers which exhibit themselves elsewhere.† He says: "It is an equally undeniable and lamentable fact, that the highest and lowest offices, which according to theory are the gift of the people, are often the prize of skilful political gamesters,

* American Quarterly Review, xvi. 255.

† There is an erroneous opinion still prevalent in many countries, that the office-holders are the sole possessors of administrative wisdom, and the only supporters of a government. Their knowledge is in general greater, their exertions more efficient and successful, than those of persons not in office; but all these advantages are capable of being converted into evil. A state verges on dissolution as soon as the common sense and intelligence of the nation at large separate themselves from the system adopted by the administration, and it is thus deprived of its most important support, the general enthusiasm, or at least the general satisfaction of the people.

whose want of principle, and cleverness in intrigue, serve as instruments of their selfish ambition."

However just these complaints may be, and however worthy of consideration, the unprejudiced observer must come to the conclusion, that the appointments and elections in the United States, taken all in all, have hitherto promoted in an admirable manner the good of the Union, of the states, and of the community; and that if the one or the other *party* by turns display the dark side or manifest discontent, it must be remembered that the elections and appointments of unlimited sovereigns often give satisfaction to *nobody*.

The messages of the presidents and the reports of the ministers appointed by them, contain exceedingly instructive exhibitions both of the leading principles and the details of the government. Nowhere are there fewer state secrets; every thing, with the exception only of some pending negotiations with foreign powers, is laid without the slightest reservation before the people.

Neither the president nor his ministers appear personally in Congress. It is said in favor of this regulation, as respects the latter, that in America the personal influence of the ministers in the Senate and House of Representatives, would alter their position with regard to the president, and place him yet further in the background. The president is responsible for the general tendency and for every great measure of his government, but not for every single act of the ministers. These are not mere secretaries of the president, nor entirely independent of him; a distinction is made as to whether they act as officers of state, or perform a duty in which individuals are lawfully interested.* The proposition of some of the whigs, to make the treasury quite independent of the president, and subject it to the exclusive control of the Senate,† grew out of party excitement merely, and is at variance with the whole sense and spirit of the administration.

So long as he was *vice-president* who received the next greatest number of votes, the defeated party had some consolation; but the two conflicting elements were thereby brought into close contact. The new arrangement (by which the election of vice-president is entirely independent of that of the president) brings to the helm of government men of the same opinions; so that in case of the death of the chief magistrate during his term of office, his place is filled by a successor of similar views.

The question as to whether the legislative power should be committed to one or two Houses, was easily decided by the Americans according to the experience already acquired: they declared in favor of two, while the French afterwards, from abstract reasons,

* Marshall's Writings, p. 14.

† Clay's Speeches, ii. 204, 437.

made a threefold and each time unfortunate experiment with one. Since moreover there existed neither a dominant church nor a privileged nobility, one of the houses could not be formed from those elements. It never occurred to the practical men of that time, to regard these elements as indispensably necessary; nor did they think of creating artificially what had grown up naturally elsewhere.

Hence it has been objected, that there is needed a steady, permanent body retaining their seats for life,—an able upper house to form a dignified counterpoise to the more democratic lower house. But in fact, as we shall see hereafter, all that was possible was done to create such a counterpoise, so far as it was useful and requisite. One point too has almost always been overlooked; and that is, Who constitute the true, noble, and never dying peerage? Doubtless the individual states themselves, who always through their senators exert a more or less active influence.

A question far more difficult and more strongly contested than the above, was, whether in the *Senate* each state, the larger as well as the smaller, should be equally represented? Such an equality seemed to many equally unnatural and unjust; nevertheless it was at length by a wise foresight decided in the affirmative;* and thus *right* and *might* were admirably reconciled and harmonized. If one or the other had prevailed in *both* houses, a powerful and destructive opposition could hardly have been averted. The *unequal power* of the states decides in the House of Representatives; the *equal right* of the members of the confederacy, in the Senate: and the joint working of these two principles results in a better ordered action, than if the same principle governed all. The mode of electing the senators gives to the state governments a direct and useful influence, which, on the other hand, is sufficiently controlled and regulated by the mode of choosing the representatives. No law therefore can now be passed for which a majority of the states have not declared, as well as a majority of the people. The danger lest a minority of the people should prevail in the Senate, has hitherto been obviated by the force of public opinion. If, on the contrary, the number of senators had also been arranged according to power and population, three or four of the larger states would soon have become masters of all the rest. Proposals to place the election of senators, like that of the representatives, directly in the hands of the people, or to allow the state governments only a choice out of several nominees,† have never yet (and justly as it seems) been carried into effect. The Senate likewise has no prerogatives of rank, no exemption from taxes, or other privileges, to defend,—things which in many countries weaken the authority of the upper house, or render it unpopular.

* This motion was first made by Mr. Ellsworth.

† Madison's Papers, ii. 756.

The political principles followed in the formation of the *House of Representatives* in America, differ so materially from those generally held to be unquestionable in Europe, that it seems necessary to adduce and examine some of them in detail. In the first place, it is made a subject of complaint, that the *clergy* are excluded from both houses (as they are from most civil offices), and that the character of the representation is not sufficiently religious.* In reply to this it may be observed in general, that the clergy fulfil their vocation in a purer, more undisturbed, and more effectual manner, when they keep aloof from worldly business and political movements. But in the United States, where so many creeds subsist together, every preference, every test-oath, every mingling in party politics to promote certain dogmatic principles and objects, would be altogether productive of evil; it would be opening a Pandora's box, out of which no genuine Christianity, but devilttries of all sorts would arise.

Other questions which pertain here were more difficult of solution: as, whether the number of representatives allowed to each state should be fixed according to the *population*, or directly according to the *taxation*. The latter course appears impracticable; because there is in the United States no universal direct mode of taxation, no uniform measure for the taxes of the general government or the very different internal duties levied in the twenty-six states.

A still more important question was, whether for the exercise of political rights, particularly those of voting and holding office, a certain amount of *property* or *income* should not be required. In almost all other countries and constitutions, this question had long been decided in the affirmative, and had been adhered to in practice with more or less strictness. It is only in the United States that (with very few exceptions) all requisitions for property qualification have been gradually given up, or so much reduced, that in reality there exists a universal right of suffrage. All Europeans and some Americans deem this a great misfortune; though most Americans regard it as a highly important step in the progress of human development. Even the excellent Chancellor Kent, who is of the former opinion, remarks: "If all history be not a lie, there is an inclination in the poor to plunder the rich; in debtors, to avoid the fulfilment of their contracts; in the majority, to tyrannize over the minority and trample their rights under foot; in the idle and dissolute, to cast upon the industrious the whole burden of the civil community; and in the ambitious, to kindle these combustible materials into a flame." These remarks can with equal truth be reversed: If all history be not a lie, there is an inclination in the rich to oppress the poor;

* Reed, i. 23.

in creditors, to be selfish in swelling their demands; in the minority, to trample the rights of the masses under foot; in idle and dissolute spendthrifts, to throw the burdens of the civil community on the lower laboring class; and in listless egotists, not to concern themselves about the weal or woe of their fellow-citizens.

Further arguments might be adduced in favor of the general right of suffrage, without property qualifications. In the United States, where so many sources of gain are at hand, there is no rabble, or (so far as it is found in single maritime towns) it can be controlled and managed by the great number of honest citizens. In any case it would be wrong to alter the whole political system on account of any single local evils whatever, and to treat the great majority of the upright and honest as if they were all dishonest and not fit to be trusted.

It is a very common yet untrue supposition, that property (common paupers who are a burthen on the public have no vote even in America) offers a certain guaranty for honesty, ability, and patriotism. On the contrary, there is a rabble in all conditions; and that of the higher class is still more dangerous than that of the lower. And what has been gained by those states who have always paid more regard to what a man *has* than to what he *is*; and have trusted in material mammon, rather than in minds and persons? According to European notions, he who *has* nothing is nothing. But where all who possess nothing or but a little are stamped as the rabble, a rabble is created. The American doctrine, *quisquis præsumitur bonus*, and that those who *have* little may still *be* something,—educates and elevates men, and gives a spur to exertion and honorable ambition; whereas the European theory degrades them, and almost entitles them to be wanting in self-respect and to suffer themselves to sink deeper still. Moreover, public life and political education in America by no means limit enthusiasm (as they frequently do in Europe) to the time when an enemy has invaded the country and threatens it with destruction. It is there preferred that the fire of true patriotism should never go out, but reveal itself daily and hourly in a thousand lesser and greater flames, all ministering to the happiness and comfort of the community.

Almost all the eminent and rich assert that their morality is greater than that of the mean and poor; whereas in truth they are only addicted to, and obliged to struggle with, vices of another sort. Nor is superior knowledge of any great consequence as regards the mere giving of a vote for a well known candidate. The granting of political rights frees men from excessive dependence, and gives them both the strength and the disposition to act according to their own convictions. The result has not been more favorable to the true welfare of the *whole* peo-

ple, where the clergy, the nobility, and the highly taxed alone have been the lawgivers. These monopolists have not shown themselves wiser, less selfish, or of more extended views than the American democracy.

When France, with a population of thirty-two millions, numbered, as is said, about 250,000 voters; and Great Britain, with one of twenty-four millions, numbered 700,000; the United States had already two and now probably three millions of voters, in a population of thirteen millions.* These *must* elevate their regards above merely selfish occupations, to a public life for public objects. American democracy knows and endures no cyphers. Its representatives do not appear on behalf of a small minority, or exert themselves to promote mere private interests (such as sugar-manufactories, forges, and the like), but really express the wishes and views of the majority; so that, even if these should be erroneous, no hostile schism can ever grow up between the people and their legislators.

It might be deemed hasty and superficial, to weigh every sort of property in the same balance, and without regard to whether it was inherited, or acquired by skill, industry, accident, or fraud. But since it is as impossible to make a more accurate valuation of property as it is to take the true gauge of the people's mental and moral gifts, and since the peculiar relative importance of the various qualities possessed by men cannot be determined, we find ourselves brought at once to the simple expedient of regarding men in their personal capacity alone. The people are then conservative, and *must* be so; because there is nothing to be gained by any political change.

With this truth in view, it is said by Morton, the governor of Massachusetts: "To make civil freedom and the right of voting dependent upon the accidents of property and taxation, seems to me incompatible with the natural, essential, and unalienable rights of man. It exalts the secondary above the primary consideration, and shows more regard to the uncertain possessions of this life, than to intellectual and moral responsibility."†

Power too is not always a consequence of property: the number of persons is often more decisive; and 100,000 dollars in the hands of one, are not of so much consequence to the state as the same sum in the hands of 100,000 individuals. Those who attribute determining value to property must, to be consistent, increase its political influence with its quantity; which it must be owned would lead to a moneyed oligarchy of the worst kind. It would be equally difficult to divide the rights of voting, and grant them to all, for instance, only for the election of local magistrates, but

* Encycl. Americana, art. United States, p. 452. † Message for 1840, p. 311.

not for that of the president. Democracy places every thing in an equilibrium; while every kind of aristocracy necessarily leads to a preponderance of some sort or other. The universal right of suffrage offers the best security against corruption: inasmuch as the means by which individuals may be seduced, cannot be applied to millions; and the secret voting by ballot is a protection to the weak, although it does not always answer the purpose of concealment.* Besides, there are a plenty of other reasons why no rich or eminent persons in America can venture to try the system of intimidation so often practised in Europe.

There is in this place another point to be discussed, which in our consideration of the subject of slavery we could only allude to. The Constitution gives to five slaves as many votes as to three freemen; that is, in determining the number of representatives for each state, according to its population, as many are allotted for 50,000 slaves as for 30,000 freemen. This regulation has in later times been vehemently opposed, particularly by many of the New Englanders, who say: If the slaves are men like the whites, they should be allowed their freedom and equal privileges; if they are merely goods and chattels, no political rights should be granted on their account,—since in the United States it is the person alone that decides, and no regard whatever is had to property. Besides, this privilege was granted only under the supposition that the state taxes would be imposed according to the number of persons, including the slaves; which, however, has never been done. And thus an improper *right* continues, while the *obligation* is no longer thought of. In the slave states 5,935 free voters, and in the free states 10,278 appoint a representative. If only the free voters elected members of Congress according to their number, the slave states would have but sixty-six representatives, instead of eighty-eight. Important as these considerations are, the fundamental conditions and points of compromise on which the whole Union rests, can hardly be removed without laying the edifice in ruins. But whether the existence of slavery is to be recognised by law in the admission of new states, whether political rights are there to be granted to slaveholders in any numerical proportion on account of their slaves,—is quite another question, and one which the Constitution by no means decidedly answers in the affirmative. The conditions of the admission of new states—that of Texas for example—may be the same as the former ones, or may vary from them. It is certainly a departure from the principles maintained in other respects, to give to slaves alone rather than to any other species of property an important weight in the political scale.

* In Virginia alone there is no balloting.

The question as to whether the majority of voters may or ought to give *instructions* to their representatives, has often been raised, but has never been legally decided in the affirmative; because a strict restraint and obligation laid on delegates destroys the idea of representation, and because the voters are in general sufficiently well acquainted with the views and principles of the persons they elect.

That the senators and representatives, considering the great diversity of situation and interests among the several states, should be chosen out of these states, appears very natural; yet they are by no means instructed or obliged, as in some European confederacies, to represent their own state exclusively, and to set its local interests above the general welfare.

As the number of the members of Congress is always regulated according to the number of souls, it should not be permitted to increase excessively with the increasing population. Accordingly there were chosen,

In 1789, one representative to every 30,000 inhabitants.

1793,	"	"	"	33,000	"
1813,	"	"	"	35,000	"
1823,	"	"	"	40,000	"
1833,	"	"	"	47,700	"
1843,	"	"	"	70,680*	"

Thus there were,

in 1789,	. . . .	65	representatives.
1793,	. . . .	106	"
1803,	. . . .	142	"
1813,	. . . .	183	"
1823,	. . . .	213	"
1833,	. . . .	242	"
1843,	. . . .	223	"

Democratic as the American institutions are in comparison with the English, the British House of Commons is two and a half times as numerous as the American House of Representatives.

The number of senators for twenty-six states now amounts to fifty-two. The political weight of each state in this upper house always remains unchanged; whereas it is unequally increased in the lower house, in proportion to the greater or less increase of population.†

* If there remain an overplus of population of more than one half this sum, a representative is chosen for it.

† The following are the number of representatives sent by each state :

	in 1789.	at present.		in 1789.	at present.
Alabama,.....	7		South Carolina,...	5.....	7
Arkansas,.....	1		Connecticut,....	5.....	4
North Carolina,...	5.....	9	Delaware,.....	1.....	1

Although both the House of Representatives and the Senate were necessarily founded on the principle of election, yet (as we have seen) the form and substance of these elections were not only very different, but every possible means was employed to make of the Senate a more limited, exclusive, aristocratic body. Hence its fewer members and the unvarying number for each state, their greater age, longer residence, and less frequent changes.

More recently doubts have arisen, as to whether the delegates to Congress should be appointed by the whole body of voters in a state, or according to certain districts; and whether Congress had the right to make regulations on this head. In the Constitution (Art. I. Sect. 4) it is said: "The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators." In virtue of the right thus given, Congress decided that the election in each state should take place by as many districts as it sends representatives. Only four states—New Hampshire, Georgia, Missouri, and Mississippi—have still adhered to the old method.

The gross violations of decorum and order that occasionally take place in Congress, admit of no justification; but this fault of the passions of individuals directed against individuals, is to be charged to them alone.* The great contending parties never suffer themselves to be betrayed into such general improprieties as occur but too frequently in Paris. In Washington by far the greater number have always been distinguished for propriety of demeanor, moderation, and patience. This last virtue in particular has been much in requisition; and the complaints that are made of the lengthy and multitudinous speeches in Congress

	in 1789.	at present.		in 1789.	at present.
Georgia,	3	8	Michigan,	—	3
New Hampshire, ...	3	4	Mississippi,	—	4
New Jersey,	4	5	Missouri,	—	5
Illinois,	—	7	Ohio,	—	21
Indiana,	—	10	Pennsylvania, ...	8	24
Kentucky,	—	10	Rhode Island, ...	1	2
Louisiana,	—	4	Tennessee,	—	11
Maine,	—	7	Vermont,	—	4
Maryland,	6	6	Virginia,	10	15
Massachusetts, ...	8	10	New York,	6	34
Total, 65 to about 30,000 in 1789; and 223 to 70,650 persons at the present time.					
Florida, Wisconsin, and Iowa each send a delegate, making 3.					

* *Ira procul absit; cum qua nihil recte fieri, nihil considerate potest. Rectum est autem, etiam in illis contentionibus quæ cum inimicissimis fiunt, etiam si nobis indigna audiamus, tamen gravitatem retinere, iracundiam repellere.*—Cicero de Officiis, I. 38.

appear but too well founded, when we compare the shorter time occupied on an average by the English and French speakers, and the smaller number of individuals who in London or Paris undertake to speak at all. But here again it must not be forgotten, that in Congress not only are two great parties under able leaders opposed to one another; but the very different and complicated interests of twenty-six states are to be represented and adjusted. In the House of Representatives interminable speakers are now limited to an hour's duration. Before the aid of law was invoked, a happy thought was now and then employed with good effect: as for instance, when a tedious orator said to one who impatiently interrupted him, that he was speaking not to him, but to posterity; the other replied, "The gentleman seems in a fair way, before he ends, to have his audience before him."*

Tediousness and loss of time ought certainly to be avoided; but too strict a limitation of the speaker is obnoxious to the still greater disadvantage, that the majority may force a decisive vote before a topic has been thoroughly discussed.†

In any case a speaking, active congress, whose proceedings are fairly before the public, is to be preferred to a silent and inactive one; moreover, the praise or censure of hearers and readers is a far better restraint upon the speakers, than any attempt to enforce moderation by not naming them (as among the Prussian deputies); a mode of proceeding which in fact places the able man and the bungler upon a level, and deprives the voters of all grounds of judgment as to whether they should re-elect or discard them.

As regards the relations of the single *states* to the *general government*, there is not yet an entire unanimity of views and wishes; but the difference is not as great as formerly, when some would have no federal government at all, and others no states. Jefferson, with great sagacity, foresaw that the political institutions of the country would receive their full development only in case the latter were granted as much independence and power of self-government as possible. How many improvements, what great public works have been achieved by these latter; while the undertakings planned by the general government have made comparatively little or no progress.‡ A just complacency in this spirit of local and provincial enterprise, and this astonishing advancement, has sometimes caused the necessity and utility of the federal government to be too much overlooked; or else an excessive and groundless fear has been

* North^h American Review, li. 111.

† Much time is lost by frequent voting; it was calculated that the last Congress consumed 146 hours in this manner.

‡ Long's Expedition to St. Peter's River, i. 26.

entertained that the chosen presidents, senators, and representatives might easily become the absolute masters of all.

Although a strict interpretation of the Constitution has for a long time controlled the extent of congressional powers, and the danger of a one-sided preponderancy lies more on the side of the states than of Congress; still the latter has far more authority and power (e. g. over the army, the navy, taxation, and legislation),—has produced, without over-governing, far more wholesome uniform measures for the good of all,—and has preserved more unanimity both internally and externally, than all the assemblies and diets of European confederacies. Thus it guarantees to each state its free constitution; and any arbitrary attempt to undermine or subvert it, would be frustrated by the joint efforts of all. It is equally true that the twenty-six states are really twenty-six states, as that all the Americans form *one* great people. Even at the adoption of the Constitution, there came forward neither a formless democracy of all the inhabitants, nor a mere aristocracy of the thirteen states. The *people* decided in thirteen assemblies, through representatives for thirteen states. These must render obedience as long as Congress keeps within the limits of its rights. At the time of nullification, its course was imprudent, and that of South Carolina dangerous; and moderation and compromise were found to be the best remedies by far. As Congress has no right to deliberate on the concerns of the individual states, so these are debarred from interfering in the sphere of the general government. A reconciliation of the duties and positions of both, was and continues to be possible. Thus John Quincy Adams observes: "Even the most perfect constitution is no security against different interpretations and doubts as to what is the *right*. But the indissoluble link of union between the people of the several states of this confederated nation is, after all, not in the *right*, but in the *heart*."*

That the power of the several states must change, and that that of the Western states in particular must increase, cannot admit of doubt. But in this there lies no new or more imminent danger, than when in former times Virginia and Pennsylvania had a preponderating weight. On the contrary, the creation of new states, through the judicious and generous cessions of land already mentioned, is substantial gain. This is evident from their extraordinary advancement, and from the fact that their laws and civil institutions exhibit by no means, as many suppose, mere crude beginnings; but in judgment, perspicuity, purity of design, and zeal for liberty, surpass or at least equal any others.

But (and this question has been answered in the affirmative

* Speech on the Jubilee of the Constitution, p. 69.

by many, with mournful sympathy or malicious joy) will not this increase of the population and of independence, this opposition of interests in the several states, together with a thousand other reasons, lead ere long to a complete dissolution of the Union? *Quos Deus vult perdere, dementat!* Madness knows no rule, and is blind to the light of truth. There is however no trace of this madness in the United States; but, with all the diversity of views on subordinate points, one and the same conviction is entertained by all respecting the naturalness, necessity, and usefulness of the federal Union. How enthusiastically Washington expressed himself on this subject, in his admirable Farewell Address, I have already shown.* John Adams repeated: "The Union is the rock of our safety and the pledge of our greatness." John Quincy Adams says in his Inaugural Address: "That the policy of our country is peace, and the ark of our salvation, union, are articles of faith upon which we are all agreed."† Webster exclaims: "The Union has been hitherto the source of our greatness and our renown; it is the foundation of our highest hopes."‡ In such great prophets and in such a long and happy experience, every one willingly puts confidence. It is also very evident, that with the dissolution of the Union, innumerable and grievous evils would rush in and destroy the brightly blooming and still increasing prosperity of the country. Who in such a case could avert all the infirmities and woes that sap as it were the life-springs of Europe:—envy, jealousy, discord, standing armies, custom-house restrictions, augmenting taxes, excises, military debts, foreign interference, civil wars, and constitutions which are despotisms in all but the name.

Let us lay aside the obviously foolish supposition that mere madness can demolish the noble structure of the Union; and let us rather consider the dangers that threaten it in a natural way, or which are designated as most probable, in order that they may be guarded against and avoided.

In the *first* place, the decided preponderance of too large a *capital* (as Rome and Paris) or an excessive number of poor, has often proved detrimental to the establishment and preservation of true freedom. Such a danger does not exist in America. The larger cities, in which a rabble might gradually be produced, are not even the seats of government in the several states; and still less likely is it that Washington will ever play a formidable

* P. 82 et seqq.

† Presidents' Messages, p. 397.

‡ Speech on the Bunker Hill Monument, p. 12. "No man deprecates more than I do, the idea of consolidation; yet between separation and consolidation, painful as would be the alternative, I would greatly prefer the latter."—Clay, Speeches, i. 61.

part in this respect.* The danger of large capital cities grows generally out of centralization and over-governing, from which no country in the world is further removed than America.

Secondly. Danger arises from the entire separation and opposition of different forces or powers in the government. But the constitutions of the states of America are not grounded at all on such pretended philosophical, but in reality empty and useless abstractions. On the contrary, the different forces of the governmental machine properly act upon, work into, and restrict one another.

Thirdly. No overthrow of the Constitution is to be feared from the president. The mode of his election, the brief duration of his term of office, the absence of a standing army, the impossibility of his expending large sums of money as he pleases, his wholly insignificant personal property, the example of his great predecessors, the admiration felt for them, the general character of the people, &c. &c., make it plainly impossible for a president, until he has effected an entire overthrow of the existing state of things, to erect himself into a king or a tyrant. What a clamor was raised in this respect against Jefferson and Jackson; and how insignificant it was found to be! So that, as we have seen, there is much more reason for asking if the president does not possess too little power, than there is for complaining of his inordinate influence. It is true, however, that if the democrats had not combated and overthrown the doctrine of the beneficial effects of gaining large surpluses by means of high duties, and then expending them in alleged improvements, or assigning them to this or that bank, the influence of the executive would have become too great, and that too in a very injurious manner.

Fourthly. That the Senate may be able to found an oligarchy, has not occurred to any one; and such others as may desire to form a dominant power of the wealthier and more distinguished members of the community, will certainly get no further at present than to complaints of the preponderance of the opposite tendency. Where there is no acknowledgment of hereditary prerogatives, and where a constantly recurring division of property takes place, it is hardly possible for a lasting and dangerous aristocracy to be established.

Fifthly. The stronger tendency alluded to is particularly exhibited in the House of Representatives. But their strength rests not on their own power; on the contrary, it would instantly be changed into weakness, should they venture to come forward in-

* It is remarked as a fault, that the representatives at Washington do not enter into society with many cultivated men, but each goes away as he came. Yet too much influence possessed by the residents of the place, is more to be feared than too little.

dependently, and step, without regard to the people, beyond their legitimate sphere. The Constitution must be administered according to its spirit; and the literal claims of each part of the government must not be pushed to extremes. Should the president interpose his veto or remove functionaries without the most weighty reasons, should the Senate inconsiderately or through party spirit refuse its sanction, or the House of Representatives withhold absolutely necessary supplies,—they all, under the shield of the letter of the Constitution, would destroy its spirit, life, and action.

Sixthly. It is certain that the Union is threatened by no substantial danger from without; neither the Indians, nor Mexico, nor Canada, nor Europe, could overcome it. There remains then only one, and the most serious cause of apprehension; that—

Seventhly. The superior power and self-will of the individual states may lead to a dissolution of the Union. However, the disputes respecting the tariff and nullification have so plainly shown what errors the federal and state governments have to shun, that in case of similar dangers they will certainly hasten to bring matters to a proper accommodation.

The conflicting aims and interests of the several states, are most frequently adduced as the daily increasing cause of an impending dissolution of the Union. But here too a closer examination would dissipate many apprehensions. Thus, as I have observed, the population, might, and right of the Western states in the valleys of the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi, are increasing at a rate that is recognised as natural by all. Besides, the East has need of the West—and *vice versa* (e. g. for importation and exportation); and it would be very foolish for those who are becoming the stronger to deprive themselves of the aid of the weaker,—or for the latter, out of pure envy and vexation, to convert the former into enemies. Neither does the contrast between producing and manufacturing states afford any reason for a separation; on the contrary, if rightly considered, it will be seen to constitute a ground of union. Their mutual wants impel them to each other; they cannot dispense with one another; and it would be a sin and a shame attended with the bitterest punishment, if they should continue to quarrel on subordinate matters, such as import duties, and refuse after the plainest experience to come to an agreement.

The most important and dangerous difference is that between the North and the South,—not so much in respect to climate and products, as in reference to *slavery*. But should the North, in a false enthusiasm for general views, destroy the great Union; the severance would not only lead to all the evils enumerated, but

would deprive them of all power to interfere for the abolition of slavery. If this interference continues mild and moderate, if the existing difficulties are acknowledged,—the South, on the other hand, will have no reason to rise up in arms against well meant philanthropic theories. They must not forget, too, that times of necessity and peril may come, when their only help may be found in their white brethren of the North.

In opposition to the circumstances enumerated, and which seem to have a greater or less tendency to produce a separation, there are others to be adduced which facilitate the maintenance of the Union in all its integrity. Canals, railroads, and steamboats are not merely material, but also spiritual means of connection; and the constant locomotion of the Americans, and the numerous intermarriages between natives of different sections of the country, work to the same end. Moreover, the entire population of this great Union, in language, sentiments, manners, opinions, and dispositions, are much more homogeneous and accordant than in many European countries, for instance in Russia, Austria, and England. The constitutions do not hold states and individuals aloof from each other, but encircle them with a powerful and salutary political bond; and even dogmatic differences, in consequence of the perfect freedom of religious opinion, have almost lost their decomposing power, and become subordinate to the precepts of peace and love.

Nothing upon earth remains unchanged during the lapse of centuries. But is the *temporal* therefore nothing on earth, because it can never be designated as *eternal*? If time has speedily destroyed the fairest blossoms and the noblest fruits of so many nations, this should afford us less cause for malicious censure than for melancholy sympathy and salutary self-knowledge. A contemplation of the American forms and of the changes that have taken place in so many particulars, must lead to the supposition that they have been continually tinkering at their Constitution also, and have adopted into it one alteration after another. Yet history shows directly the reverse. Almost all the changes proposed since 1787, have been rejected; and America is, in comparison with the European states (its movements and progress notwithstanding), the most quiet, most steadfast, and most conservative of all. And even should important changes become necessary in future, it would be wrong to behold in them nothing but mischief; such things are mischievous only when men are obstinately bent on retaining what is useless, or heedlessly introduce what is new and untried. The country is fortified against the latter danger, by the provisions of the constitution and the character of the people; and with the weight which democracy possesses, the former is little to be feared.

But here again break forth the loudest remonstrances, the bitterest censures, the most contemptuous scorn. This very *democracy* is in Europe inconceivable to the learned, a terror to the timorous, unseemly to people of quality, and to the rulers (from kings to secretaries) an abomination. One after another, they join in a rambling fugue to swell the chorus of complaint. "There," say they, "the will of the majority decides; and the majority are always ignorant, stupid, and passionate, compared with the cultivated minority. Instead of the multitude's looking up to the latter, and submitting to them with reverence; those of the higher class are compelled to look down, and subject themselves to peasants and tradesmen. These ignorant persons make all sorts of foolish laws, and fancy that they and the like of them are fit to rule and govern. Truly distinguished men are odious to these presumptuous and scarcely middle-rate people; and above such mediocrity no one can or is permitted to raise himself. He who knows his own value and perceives the wretchedness of this state of things becomes wearied of such doings, withdraws from the contest in disgust, and leaves the decision of affairs to those who should have been excluded even from the debates upon them. Hence weakness of the authorities, insolence, indecorum, and impunity for crime. Universal suffrage affords no guarantee for good elections; because flatterers, brawlers, and charlatans are ever most in favor with the multitude. For the highest and noblest pursuits of life—for art, science, refined manners, and intellectual intercourse, democracy has neither sense nor feeling.* The diversity of physical and intellectual power and development is not acknowledged; and with this murder of individuals, the state also is robbed of its highest strength and vitality. Every one who acknowledges the principles of the Holy Alliance and of the congresses of Laybach and Troppau, will grant that the United States have always been in a state of tumult and anarchy, and are so still."†

To these and similar charges and complaints it may be answered: If universal contentment, untiring activity, and uninterrupted progress, are tokens of sound health,—where do these appear in more vigor and fullness of life than in the United States? Among so many millions there are scarcely a few peevish individuals who (if it came to the point) would exchange their beloved Constitution for any other whatever. In Europe on the contrary, where do we find this contentment, this love for what is possessed, this enthusiasm for the existing state of things? Not only is censure expressed secretly or openly, but efforts are directed to its subversion; and hardly one of the European gov-

* This charge has been sufficiently refuted in other places.

† Webster, i. 248.

ernments is free from a fever of anxiety produced by malcontents who, rightly or otherwise, are seeking to introduce new constitutions and administrations, or to abolish those that exist. From Maine to Louisiana, order and obedience to the laws prevail in America, and that too without military force or compulsion; while solitary exceptions receive their just punishment, without the employment of any disproportionate and over-costly apparatus. The most momentous elections, the most numerous assemblies go off quietly, without the use of other weapons than words and arguments; while on the continent of Europe (through the fault both of the rulers and the ruled) nothing even distantly resembling these acts of the people is possible, without the intervention of policemen and soldiers for the preservation of order. If freer England rejoices in undisturbed movements, the military force which she opposes in Ireland to a single man, in order to keep up the ancient oppression of a whole people, exhibits such a crying wrong and a condition so morbid and unhappy, that her writers should be the last to storm and rail against the republics of America. How many Irish find here the aid and safety which the mother country has always unwisely and cruelly denied!*

Of course there are many things that the people do not understand, and others which they cannot directly carry into effect; but the Americans have made no claim, as is done for instance by the mob of Paris, to be able to understand and accomplish every thing. On the other hand, there are also many things incomprehensible and unintelligible to the so-called cultivated class; hence there is no reason for deifying a few individuals, and condemning the masses in a lump. Only in the United States are *all* suitably represented, and not a single part, as for instance the clergy, the nobility, the rich, the landholders, &c. *Political equality* in America diminishes all dissatisfaction in regard to *other* existing *inequalities*; whereas in most countries there is no other equality than that of the *non-possession of rights*, which cannot possibly produce equal satisfaction. In the United States, the *majority* that always decides in elections is a *true* one: not so in Germany, France, England, &c. Accordingly, when the governments of these countries are obliged to submit to certain untrue, factious majorities, they often act contrary to the interests of the whole people.

It is not true that the Americans never look upwards, refuse to trust in genuine wisdom, and pay less regard to real statesmen than to mere brawlers and charlatans. They know that a democracy can only be secured by a general cultivation and enlightenment of the mind. Nor is there any where so general, efficient, and influential a political education and activity, as in the United

* It should be mentioned, and with praise, that a different course has lately been adopted.

States. Every citizen there lives and breathes from his youth in an atmosphere of political relations, of which we in Europe have scarcely any idea. Democratic institutions by no means keep all in a state of wretched mediocrity; on the contrary, as history proves, they permit every one, without positive and legal hindrances, to aspire to the highest position; and more are enabled to reach it, than where the way is stopped by distinctions of caste and rank together with hereditary or official privileges.

Mistakes and errors certainly do occur in the choice of men by and from the body of the people; though it is difficult to perceive why more able public officers should proceed from legally closed and restricted circles, and why—above all—the class-interests of nobles, priests, soldiers, courtiers, and the learned should rule in the best and most impartial manner. It is false, that in America the rich only are chosen, or that those who were not rich (as Washington, Jefferson, &c.) turned out the worst. There is in the United States neither a mobocracy of the poor, nor an oligarchy of the rich. The people are contented and anti-revolutionary; for, as I observed, they have nothing to gain by violent changes, but every thing to lose. Our political struggles, says in this respect an American writer, are indeed not regulated by the most minute and elaborate etiquette; nevertheless they are in general harmless, and even profitable.*

Parties in America are not rudely and unaccommodatingly opposed to one another; there is no immoveable, irreconcilable minority; but every where we find mobility, transition, and mutual intervention. Nor have the minority ever been deprived of the right to express and propagate their opinions by speaking, by writing, or through the press. The free institutions which there exist have not sprung up from the rank soil of despotism and immorality; they are not the result of empty declamation, or the fruit of public paroxysms; they are the slowly ripening, wide spread, rich harvest of sound principles and penetrating sagacity in the people at large. Hence the powerful masses have heretofore often brought back even a wandering Congress to the right path; have accomplished more in other ways than the boldest ventured to expect; and have given themselves the ablest, noblest, and wisest presidents and magistrates;—sure tokens of that penetration, self-knowledge, and thoughtfulness, which eventually rise superior to all agitation and passion.

The questions that disturb Europe in so dangerous a manner, and spread so much discontent (e. g. respecting freedom of the press, public judicial proceedings, the quality and quantity of political rights, the equalization and liberation of all creeds, &c.),

* American Review, xi. 528.

have long been arranged and settled in the United States.* All this morbid matter is here taken away; and the state is so strong, its freedom so well grounded, that the setting up and advocacy of every dissentient opinion can be permitted without risk.

There has never yet been upon earth a *people*, in the political sense, that there is in America; and all the evils of democracy taken together have not produced as many woes there, as the single question (which they never hear of) respecting the legitimacy or illegitimacy of sovereigns in England, France, Sweden, Portugal, and Spain. But our perceiving and deploring this, does not make us republicans; and consequently the materials do not yet exist out of which to form a republic. On the contrary, most of the so-called republicans of Europe forget that a constitution of the kind they contemplate requires every one, whatever may be his pretensions, to practise *submission*.†

Where all are subjected and kept in leading-strings by the powers that be, no one learns to govern himself. While in America things go forward by a spontaneous energy, and both ability and a free and noble sentiment grow with the possession of individual rights,—in many European countries, fit men can rarely be found for the higher offices of government; because the youth are changed by passive dependence into dull machines, and their strength is already exhausted, when the time is come for them, not indeed to soar aloft, but to go without crutches. The number of enactments from the higher authorities, of reports from their subordinates, of superfluous officials (from ministers and councillors down to copying-clerks), grows like an avalanche. The practice of interfering in every thing, of prescribing in the most insignificant matters, the want of independence and habits of self-government, produce either discontented or thoughtless and spiritless bondsmen, and introduce in the place of energetic enthusiasm, at best a fruitless carping criticism.

Democracy in America is no secondary matter or party matter; it is the very being of the nation, as monarchy and aristocracy have been in other states. In spite of all resistance and of all uneasy feelings, those otherwise disposed are obliged to conform, and, willingly or unwillingly, to praise the system of Jefferson and his friends, of trusting in the American people and recognising their authority.‡ Once more, all the conclusions

* How many more questions are there respecting servitudes, hunting privileges, &c., which are constantly declared to be sacred and unalterable, by those who promote political revolutions by opposing every reform, and have no idea of how private rights must of necessity be reconciled with political rights, and the welfare of the community?

† Hence many ambitious liberals are displeased with the comprehensive democracy of America, when they become acquainted with it on the spot.

‡ With many other nations his experiment would hardly have succeeded.

formed respecting America from other democracies and confederated republics mentioned in history, are insufficient and inapplicable. The United States are something essentially new and peculiar; and which, on a comparison with former phenomena of the kind, exhibits more differences than similarities. In particular, the American system goes far beyond what the ancient world offered or even consented to in constitutional forms. Thus all the so-called democracies of those times were mere oligarchies; all the so-called *state* constitutions were nothing more than *city* constitutions. Thus Hellas prepared its own downfall by incompatible principles, and unceasing internal wars. Thus Rome suffered no freedom beyond her own walls;* was wholly inclined to war, and never to peace; and her consuls were as uniformly impelled in this prevailing direction, as the American president is to render himself conspicuous for his love of peace. Neither Athens, nor Rome, nor Venice, nor Florence, nor Switzerland, nor the Netherlands, granted equal civil rights to the provinces they acquired either by conquest or in any other way; the United States of North America have been the first to grant in this respect what justice and wisdom demand.

Of course in America the democratic elections determine every thing in the end; but democracy prevails chiefly in the smaller sphere of individual towns. In the next highest degree, the *representative* system rules, with a president in the place of a monarch; and in the third place, the *federal system*, with its independent states united at the same time into *one* grand whole. It is altogether untrue that in the United States a mere numerical majority every where decides: the position of the President, the institution of the Senate, the provisions with respect to alterations in the Constitution of the Union and of the several states, &c. sufficiently refute this assertion. It is only by associations of various kinds, and through the existence of cities, counties, and states, that democracy and the sovereignty of the people, which were formerly impossible, are now made possible and real. As soon as the people by their elections have provided themselves with a magistracy, they no longer exercise any disturbing influence, either by law or by force; they interfere not in the legislation or in the course of administration, but obey well pleased, or wait quietly till the next election. When this gradation, and the reciprocal effect of democracy, representation, the monarchical element, and the federal system, are properly considered,—nearly all the objections raised against the American constitutions must fall at once to the ground.

From that quarter in which the greatest power of a state resides

* The later grant of the rights of citizens occurred in times when republican freedom was already at an end.

the greatest danger is also threatened; and this in America without doubt is democracy! This can lead from a noble self-respect to vain presumption, and from presumption to an insolent disregard of all law. The greater the privileges and the greater the advancement of a people, the more they have at stake, and the more important do their duties become.

The most healthy government can suddenly perish, the most rational may fall into madness, and the most sickly (like that of the Byzantines) may drag on for centuries a miserable existence. May judgment, moderation, self-control, and patriotism exercise in time to come, as in times past, a powerful influence on the political course of America; may every one extend his views beyond the indispensable requirements of private morality, to discern what public morality and public wisdom are, and what they demand; may no rabble, seduced by flatterers into pernicious ways, ever lift up its head; and may zeal for dogmatic opinions never banish Christian toleration and love! Then the work which has now prospered for sixty years—and whose cause is the cause of honor, virtue, and humanity—will not degenerate or be brought to an untimely end; but the United States of America will press forward unceasingly, with redoubled spirit and exalted vigor, in the same glorious path which they have hitherto trod!

EXTRACTS

FROM

LETTERS WRITTEN DURING MY TOUR.

Boston, 22d April, 1844.

On the first of April we came from London to Manchester; on the second to Liverpool. Commercial and manufacturing towns of this kind make a strong, and not altogether pleasing, but rather one-sided impression. The noise of the machines in the factories sounded in my ears more unmusical than ever; and the steam and smoke that obscured the sun, seemed to me, in comparison with, I will not say the Neapolitan, but the Berlin sky, quite intolerable.

For eighty-two pounds sterling—which rose on the way to eighty-six—we two obtained permission, on the fourth of April, to go on board the Royal Mail Steam-Packet Acadia. The weather was fine, and the number of passengers, all in good spirits, was over a hundred. On the deck there was more stir and bustle than was agreeable; so that some gentlemen and ladies who were promenading up and down could hardly thread their way through. A cheerful dinner enlivened our spirits, while the monster of a steam-engine impelled the large and heavily laden ship with ease out into the world of waters. Many of the passengers doubtless, like myself, cherished æsthetic and sentimental purposes, of watching and admiring the rising and setting of the sun and moon, the brilliancy of the stars, the glories of the heaving sea, &c. &c. But inexorable fate had otherwise determined. The wind was strong and against us, and unhappily continued so for the greater part of our voyage. In the night between Maundy Thursday and Good Friday (the 4th and 5th of April) the well known consequences overtook me also; and I was ashamed to feel no desire nor want but to ——. Again and again I strove, by dint of thought and will, to raise myself to the dignity of man;—but in vain! I remained in “the penetrating sense of my own nothingness,” and envied the portman-

teaus that stood before me, quiet, unmoved, unmolested, and unrummaged. To make a sea-sick man believe that he is created in the image of God, would be a difficult undertaking. That in this depth of humiliation I by no means repented my plan of an American tour, must be regarded as a sign of firmness of character—or of great obstinacy.

My sea-sickness however lasted only about four and twenty hours; after which I had no relapse, although the sea often ran very high, and I was tossed to and fro in my berth like a bundle of old clothes. But this rendered me all the more conscious of other discomforts. Our little closet, or “cabin,” contained two beds about the width of a coffin, placed after the well known fashion one above the other. In front of these beds was our “*state-room*,” according to the elegant plan of the vessel. It might better have been called our *standing-room*; for after one portmanteau had been thrown outside, and the other set on end, there was a narrow space left beside the little wash-table just large enough for *one* person to stand in. The other must either lie in bed or stay in the door-way. Nay, it was quite impossible to put on pantaloons or boots, without opening the door and thrusting one’s leg out into the narrow passage. All these things were far from being “comfortable;” inasmuch as each motion in the pitching vessel was ominous of a return of the sea-sickness, and it required a stern resolve, and was indeed a very great exertion, even to draw on a stocking.

At last the moaning and groaning, even with those who were longest sea-sick, came to an end; and I determined to pass away the time as well as I could, in eating and drinking. There was a first and second breakfast, a dinner, a tea, and supper for those who wished it,—enough in all conscience. The quality of the provisions, however, did not by any means compare with the quantity. Notwithstanding all allowances for being at sea, where no great variety at least of fresh provisions can be expected, the poverty of the English kitchen, so found fault with by K., was made doubly perceptible; it was far too heavy for an enfeebled stomach, and I was in no condition to enjoy the roast beef and mutton to which I have elsewhere given due honor and praise. The eatables were good in themselves; but the culinary art had done nothing to produce a variety by preparation, sauces, &c. The pies and tarts labored under the usual defects—underdone crust and bad butter. Besides, the food was brought up in two great courses all at once; so that, excepting the over-peppered soup, one was obliged to eat almost every thing cold. In drinking too I had no satisfaction: the sweetish ale I cannot

relish ; brandy I detest ; and all the wines, even the champagne, were strongly adulterated with spirit.

To beguile the period of my compulsory indolence (no *dolce far niente*, I assure you), I lay in bed as long as possible. You will ask, Why did I not seek more society, and make that my amusement ? I reply, The company was too numerous to become closely acquainted with ; and consisted mostly of merchants and merchants' clerks, whose peculiar tendencies I will not blame, though not of a very interesting character. Besides, I was not "amusable," but disposed to taciturnity ; and felt more inclined to brood over my own thoughts, than to collect statistic trifles by questioning. I observed that a young German merchant who ventured on a scientific discussion, confounded the "superlative" and the "imperative ;" though he might have been able to show that both often coincide.

From thinking in bed, I would fall into dreams, in which the voyage and the motion of the vessel would take a part. In Berlin, for instance, I often fly in my dreams ; but on board the *Acadia* I dreamt that my feet were turned uppermost, and that I ran about beneath the deck like a fly. Another time, when we were near the coast of America, I found myself in Charon's wherry ; and he asked me, alive as I was, whether I wanted to cross over to the dead, or go back to the living. As I thought of departed parents, brothers, sisters, and friends, I hesitated between conflicting desires ; till at length I awoke, and came to the common-place recollection, that I had to sail to America.

— From morning till night, nay, the whole night through, there was play, play ! One man lost all his money, and got into debt besides. One pair began with mutual abuse, threw the cards in each other's faces, gave each other a hearty pommelling, and then—made it all up again !!

An American captain wished, I know not exactly why, that O'Connell was hanged ; while an Irishman lauded him to the skies. This Irishman, who was about thirty years of age, had already thirteen children ; his mother had twenty-two.

People at sea are as eager for novelty as on land. If a few fish poked their heads above water, every one rushed to see the sight ; and still more so, if a ship was perceived in the distance. How was our curiosity excited on the 15th of April, when we saw a ship bring to in order to communicate with us, and send a boat off to our steamer ! Among many conjectures, that one seemed most natural which attributed their conduct to necessity of some kind, and most probably hunger. But when we saw that the sailors were in excellent condition, and that they had a large seal in the boat, every one was certain they came to sell the seal. On this business, as some would have it, the strange captain immediately entered into negotiation with ours. How astonished were we all,

as soon as he was gone,* to see the latter put our steamer about, and set off in an easterly direction on the road back to Europe! He had been told, it appeared, that by keeping on our present course, we should infallibly find ourselves surrounded by icebergs and fields of ice. And sure enough, as we were thus creeping about to avoid the danger, large masses of ice appeared in sight, floating slowly and majestically along, some like vast plains of snow, some in all sorts of fantastic shapes, such as gigantic animals, stately swans, ships, churches, towns, sometimes illuminated with the most gorgeous colors, like the ice in the glaciers of Switzerland. I watched them with great delight till it grew dark, and then went to bed, and enjoyed profound repose; though many others, who had lost all courage, would not venture to undress, but kept wandering anxiously about the deck. Two days after, we entered the Newfoundland fog, which gave the timid cause for new alarm. This fog was certainly far less pleasant and poetical than the varicolored icebergs. Our discomforts were manifold: It was too narrow and confined in the standing-room, too hot and offensive by the chimney, too crowded and damp in the eating-room, too cold, wet, and stormy upon the deck. We thus tried one place after the other, from morning till evening; and so the day passed away. On the whole I found it impossible to remain lost in astonishment and admiration at the sea; on the contrary, I became something of an enthusiast in my dislike to it. Of its infinity, nothing need be said; in view of the smallest magnitudes of astronomy, it is only the negative infinity of monotony and tedium. The most barren tract of land offers beyond comparison more variety and change; and Thales was quite right in his idea that water may be the origin of all things, since in itself it is nothing. But even granting it to have an existence, the most acute teleologist would be puzzled to tell why to so small a portion of land there has been created such an immense quantity of brine. How active and poetical, on the contrary, is the air, or the ether! From the former, and from light, the water sometimes borrows a few colors; but the Atlantic itself mostly resembles dirty ink. The air has completely the upper hand of the water: it sets the latter in commotion; draws it up to itself; shapes it, by way of pastime, into manifold, part-colored, fantastic clouds; and then, when wearied with the sport, flings it back in the form of rain, hail, or snow, into the great seething caldron. I may be reminded of Neptune, Amphitrite, the Nereids, and their palaces and feasts. But who can imagine them sitting down there all in the water, while the nasty liquid runs into their poor mouths, noses, and ears, and makes them keep coughing and snorting like whales? No; they float lightly above the billows, or have below them their crystal water-proof

palaces, which let in air and light, but keep out sea-water and sea-vermin of every sort.

On the 19th of April, after an unusually *long* passage, we came in sight of Nova Scotia. The coast enclosing the large and secure harbor of Halifax consists of high projecting headlands covered with pines of middling growth, the soil being for the most part stony and barren. The city is built round a hill, on whose summit is a strongly fortified citadel. We walked, somewhat giddy and staggering from the sea, through the rapidly growing, though not handsome city; witnessed the ceremony of dissolving the local parliament; saw the parties of military in every direction, and moreover—what was to me almost a still greater curiosity—two Indian women. Both smoked tobacco; one was frightfully ugly, the other might pass for a human being. To a young yellow-haired Englishman who addressed to her a coarse and silly remark, she very pertinently replied: “Sir, you disgrace *yourself*, not *me*.”

In the warm glow and haze of evening, Halifax and the surrounding country looked very beautiful; and thus we first greeted America, under a favorable light. The night of the 19th we sailed for Boston with a fair wind, but on the 20th had very unpleasant weather; and on the 21st were obliged to lie to half a day, on account of the fog. At length, at noon, we sailed through a number of variously shaped islands into the harbor of Boston; admired the very peculiar situation of the city; went to the Tremont Hotel, where we partook of an excellent meal; and then, in spite of the bad weather, sallied forth to view the town. I had, I must confess, but little inclination, after so long a sea-voyage, to listen to Rossini's *Stabat Mater*; still I could not go to bed at six o'clock. But as I was cogitating on the matter, Professor B., who had already heard of my arrival, made his appearance; and the evening passed away very agreeably, in most instructive conversation. So did this morning with Prof. T. I feel, thank heaven, quite well and in good spirits; and at length, after my long compulsory idleness, can begin again to be usefully active.

WASHINGTON, 25th April, 1844.

The necessity of speedily reaching the seat of government caused us to fly, as it were, through the four largest cities of North America. This haste does no harm, as we shall return to remain longer; on the contrary, it gives rise to peculiar observations and impressions. Scarcely could four such cities be elsewhere passed through in so short a time. Boston, surrounded like Venice with water, and proud of its character and refinement;

New York, outstripping all in size and business activity; Philadelphia, cleanly, beautiful, and cheerful; and Baltimore, emulating New York. In Halifax we saw ice and snow; in Boston, the first indications of green on the trees; between New York and Philadelphia, still further encroachments of spring upon winter; between Philadelphia and Baltimore, the rich orchards, particularly the apple-trees, in luxuriant bloom; and here in Washington, at six in the morning, the thermometer at 70°, and no longer a trace of what we saw three days ago. On the whole, the country improves in appearance as one goes further south, without having a character exactly picturesque. In Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, the ground is stony and by no means remarkably fertile; further south, it appears generally as at home in Germany, or to speak more accurately, in Dessau. But we felt a great difference, when passing over so many deep and navigable streams, and looking down the mighty bays. The view was very fine down the Susquehanna, and still finer up the stream, reminding one of the Rhine. The scenery was equally varied and charming at Ellicot's Mill, between Baltimore and Washington. Of this last city, and the country around it, too much has been said in dispraise. It gives the impression of a very cheerful, convenient, agreeable watering-place. More of it, when I know more.

The custom-house officers gave us not the least trouble on our arrival. We have met with kindness every where.

CHARLESTON, 7th May.

On the 24th of April we came from Baltimore to Washington, and remained there till the 30th. The plan of that city is certainly designed on an immense scale, of which but a small part is executed. It may also be doubted, for many reasons, if it ever will be completed. In proportion however to the extent and prospects of the United States, the size of Berlin, as boldly sketched by Frederick William I., was still greater than that of Washington; and yet Berlin is growing in many directions beyond those limits. The most important difference may be, that in the United States the increase of all towns depends on a free commercial intercourse, and the so-called capital of the country is not the constant residence of a court and a powerful government. The surrounding states are of higher importance than their centre; even as in Germany, Regensburg, Wetzlar, and Frankfort on the Maine were not brought to a rapid growth by the Imperial diet and the meetings of the confederacy. The situation of Washington is favorable; and the view, particularly from the president's house

and the capitol, over the Potomac and the extensive wood-girt country around, is very beautiful. It is true, the world of former deeds and recollections which lends such interest to the *Roman* capitol is wanting: but here we have instead the living present; and the thoroughly *peaceful* tendencies of the people will certainly never permit the old Roman triumphs to be enacted over conquered nations.

The halls for the Senate and House of Representatives are conveniently situated on the two sides of the capitol, and the spacious circular hall that rises in the middle is adorned with pictures from the early history of the United States. I was particularly attracted by the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the countenances of several of the sharers in that act. As yet I have been present but once during the sitting of the Representatives, and heard a member make an unimportant speech in favor of high protective duties. The late decision, that no member should be allowed to speak longer than one hour, has certainly put an end to the multitude of interminable speeches; but the remedy is only an external one, and is not adapted to all subjects or to all persons. Demosthenes, Pitt, and Burke often spoke longer than an hour; and that which is a wholesome and necessary restraint for inferior natures, is to great spirits an injurious clog. *Self-government* should be exercised also in this respect.

— My high esteem for Mr. C. has been fully confirmed by personal acquaintance; and his Speeches which he has given me with his own marginal notes, will be a treasured token of remembrance. I had already made myself acquainted with them in Berlin. Every one speaks in the highest terms of C.'s morality and excellent character; though some, half in reproach, call him a *metaphysician*. I am well aware that by this is understood nothing of what has been called so from Aristotle to Schelling. In a like manner the minister Struensee used the word *poetry*. If he said, "That is poetry," he meant, that is unpractical, impossible, empty dreaming. Assuredly C. cherishes none of the whims of unpractical philosophers—least of all that of an exclusive commercial state, like Fichte. His metaphysics consist essentially in this, that he will not attribute absolute truth and omnipotence to the opinions and crotchets of this or that day; nay, as the defender of the slave states, he has practically opposed a kind of metaphysics of the north. It is true that scientific cognition, the philosophico-systematic thinking of which the Germans have made such a hobby, are not yet predominant in America to a dangerous extent; and men of the logical sagacity of Mr. C. are a necessary counterpoise to mere rhetorical talent.

Mr. Clay, the whig candidate for the presidency, I also saw in Washington. He is a large man, of cheerful manners, and very

highly esteemed. He was surrounded with admirers—or rather worshippers, of the, as they imagined, rising sun. He neither could nor would expound his politics in a few minutes; but I was well pleased to hear the observation, that he had kept his health, by never *eating too much* or *sleeping too little*.

— On the 30th April we went by the railroad back to Baltimore, to be present at the nomination and ratification of Clay as the presidential candidate in the whig convention. Of the value or worthlessness, the use or abuse of these great assemblies, I speak in connexion in another place; here a brief sketch of what I myself saw and experienced must suffice. All the hotels, and many of the private houses were filled to overflowing with strangers; and it was only through the good offices of Mr. G., our fellow-passenger in the Acadia from Bremen, that we obtained a night's lodging in the Exchange Hotel. By means of another rich countryman, Mr. L., we obtained on the first of May (a very great and singular favor) admission into the Universalist church, where the delegates of the twenty-six states, chosen by districts, were assembled to consult and unite upon the candidate of the whig party. The business was conducted, as is always the case, with the strict observance of certain forms, whereby order and moderation are secured. Thus a committee of arrangements had been previously appointed for the purpose of distributing the places, erecting a stage, &c. Then there was an election and confirmation of a president, vice-president, and secretaries; a short and appropriate religious service; and the reading of a suitable chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. When, after this, one of the members proposed that Henry Clay should be nominated as the whig candidate for the presidential chair, there was a burst of unanimous and unbounded applause. But before they could proceed to the nomination of the vice-president, there came from the gallery of the church—we sat *below* among the delegates—the most frightful noise and shrieks, as if murder were going on. It was ascertained after some minutes, that a broken window had frightened people into the belief that the gallery was tumbling down. After three ballotings, the majority of votes was found to be in favor of Frelinghuysen for vice-president.

It was certainly impossible to behold without interest and admiration, the orderly and at the same time spirited manner in which the delegates of twenty-six free states united in deciding on the man who, according to the best of their knowledge and belief, should be chosen as the head of their common country.

In the evening we went to several places where distinguished whigs were addressing the assembled sovereign people in the lan-

guage of their party, and receiving boundless applause—because their adversaries stayed away.

On the second of May a vast procession, consisting not of the delegates alone, but also of all others who had come to Baltimore from the twenty-six states, and many citizens besides, moved to an open space near the city. Each division had its own devices, inscriptions, mottoes, allusions, &c., to enumerate and explain which would require several sheets. There were indeed no uniforms, no military array; but every one dressed, walked, and talked as he pleased. There was however a cordial unanimity in the vociferous huzzaing, the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and every possible motion of the arms and legs. It was in truth, notwithstanding some little matters that smacked of the ridiculous, the grandest, noblest, and most impressive national festival not only that I have ever seen, but that can now be witnessed upon earth. Without any police or gens-d'armes there was not the slightest disorder, confusion, or struggle; the way was left open without quarrelling or ordering. There was shown too a pleasing piece of gallantry, in the fact that *all* the windows of all the houses, with a very few exceptions, were given up exclusively to the ladies. The whigs look upon their victory as most propitious, and as absolutely decided; and on seeing all these thousands animated by one mind and in the highest pitch of enthusiasm, one feels inclined to agree with them. Certainly they have hitherto acted more discreetly than their opponents. 1st. They have attributed, as usual, all existing evils to the present government, and have promised to remove them. 2dly. They have worked upon certain views and prejudices that were becoming prevalent, and have used them to promote their own cause. 3dly. They have united on *one* man, whereas the other party is divided between several candidates. 4thly. They have held their convention *earlier*, and thus have probably gained the advantage in many respects.

CHARLESTON, 8th May.

— In fact we had in Baltimore no rest by day or night. The speechifying and hurraing lasted till two in the morning, and the music of the wearied performers was often out of time and tune.

— And first to-day of some *non-political* matters. If one takes into account the size of the principal hotels here, and the number of their guests, it will seem very natural that no calculation should be made for individuals as individuals. Every one pays the same per day, whether he eats or not: whereby of course some gain and others lose. At dinner, long bills of fare are laid upon the table. But the black waiters are often ignorant of the

French words, *fricandeau*, *cotelettes*, &c., pronounce them as one will; nor is it of any use to point the finger to the written or printed word, since they can seldom read. Accordingly, one who wants those dishes generally fails to get them at all; or he is helped so late, that all the others have hurried through before him, and he does not get enough to eat. Thus the long list of eatables shrinks into a wondrously small compass, and the most advisable course is to adhere to the universally understood routine of *beef, mutton, lamb, and chickens*.

— — — The 3d of May, in the afternoon, we went on board the steamboat *Herald* for Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk. The view of Baltimore, as we receded, was very fine, and the sail down the Chesapeake Bay extremely pleasant. We had magnificent clouds, and a sunset of the most gorgeous hues; then the moon, and opposite to it gleams of lightning breaking forth from masses of black clouds. To the lovely evening succeeded a disagreeable night. By some mischievous contrivance, the beds engaged by us were taken possession of by others; and we, for the sake of peace and quietness, contented ourselves with worse. That mine in particular was near the bow of the boat, so that I heard the sound of the rushing waves, was not unpleasant to me; but that three horses should stand over my head, and keep continually stamping and kicking about them, I considered the worst that could befall me. I was mistaken. A sable Bacchus opened his "bar" close by the head of my bed. The spitting customers were the least troublesome, as I lay quite out of the line of their fire. But three cigar-smokers seated themselves on the edge of the empty berth below mine, and pulled away at such a rate that I could scarcely see through the cloud over their heads that the noise I heard a few feet off proceeded from people who were playing all manner of games of chance—prohibited, as I knew, on land, but probably allowed, according to a literal interpretation, on the water. The losers grumbled; the winners shouted; and it was not till daybreak that these refined enjoyments had an end. Among the king or president makers returning from Baltimore, were several very plain and sensible people; and by way of variety, a few tall and slender youths, with spindle shanks, that reached all the way across the rail-car and were usually elevated higher than their heads. These positions offered a singular contrast to the vanity displayed in the manner in which their cravats were tied or not tied, and to the ribbons, medals, badges, and other distinctive tokens of the Clay party, which they wore about them. That however was their own affair. The worst of all was, that they screamed, not sang, with little interruption, songs set to the most villainous tunes. A grave American remarked to me, that this behavior of the young people caused

him pain, and was very unbecoming. I was quite of his opinion ; but observed, that young people often did what their elders did not approve of, and still were to be excused.

On Saturday, the 4th of May, we went from Portsmouth in Virginia to Weldon in North Carolina; where we viewed the small but pretty falls of the Roanoke, the water of which is as yellow as that of the Elbe or the Tiber. We slept a few hours, and at midnight took our places in another rail-car ; we breakfasted in Goldsborough, and on the fifth at noon reached Wilmington. The country has not much of the picturesque about it; the ground is flat, barren, and often swampy, with very few fields, and here and there some new clearings (doubtless in consequence of the railroad) made in the manner already so often described. The woods were truly striking and attractive; they were mostly very dense, with trees of an immense growth, and in a grand, wild, and luxuriant disorder, that is no longer seen in thickly peopled countries. Even here, like the wild beasts and the Indians, they are receding before the white man. But these forests, which are now regarded as worthless and their treasure squandered without remorse, will one day be sorely missed ; and can hardly be replaced. The woods form the head-dress, the waving locks of Nature. Let people praise as they will the arid mountains of Sicily, or the Roman Campagna; they are like the bald forehead of a venerable old man, which bears the traces of many time-honored recollections, but is shorn for ever of its early beauty. Then comes the landscape gardener with his wigs, and scalps, and false hair ; useful substitutes for what is lost, but without its youthful strength and freshness. It is true that neither fruit-trees, corn, rice, cotton, nor man himself can thrive in the shade of these mighty forests ; but all progress involves change, and every change a loss. When the storm surges through the woods of the Alleghanies—those crowning locks of nature, it seems to me as if the wondrous mistress of this leafy world were a giant maiden, to whom one might become more readily attached than to the metal maiden in Tieck's Runenberg who allures with gold and seduces to avarice.

— — Charleston lies between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, which discharge themselves into bays, protected from storms by the islands in front. The yellow fever breaks out here much less frequently than in New Orleans. No particular cause is known for it. It appears with all sorts of winds, in dry, in damp, in hot, and in cold weather. By the middle of May, the citizens return from their plantations ; for the *city* remains healthy, while the whites die in the *country*. The negroes, however, breathe the same air and encounter the same danger, without being liable to the destroying fever. Even now we are not permitted to visit the

rice plantations, as a *single night* would involve great risk. On the other hand, the large cotton plantations near Columbia are quite healthy. The neat looking houses with verandas, scattered around, look uncommonly charming and poetical; yet the vegetation has no peculiarly southern character. This is more the case even in Naples. The vine does not succeed in Charleston; and no orange and citron trees are seen, as in Sorrento. Some few scattered ones are found in the gardens; but hard winters usually kill them.

CHARLESTON, May 9th.

— — In the Literary Club at Charleston, consisting chiefly of clergymen, Mr. C. gave an excellent lecture on the English translation of the Bible, to which each person added his remarks. The matter was considered and examined from every point of view. I was much pleased: first, to hear at length conversation in which nothing was said of politics; secondly, to see clergymen of almost all the Protestant denominations, and even Catholics, take part in the discussion, and treat the subject in a most able manner, without dogmatic controversy, but with mildness and moderation; and thirdly, because all manifested an interest in, and several a thorough knowledge of the subject. They discussed the value of the different versions; the importance or unimportance of readings and variations; the necessity or non-necessity of new translations, the philological value of the old ones, the danger of hierarchical and binding prescriptions and decisions, &c. When my turn came to speak, I let myself be tempted to say a few words about Luther and the German translations. *Afterwards* it seemed to me, as is so often the case, that I should have done better to hold my tongue!

— — On Friday, the 10th of May, at nine in the morning, we set off on the railroad from Charleston to Columbia. It costs each, for a distance of 120 English miles, \$6.50. The land here is cheap, and the construction of the road as easy as possible; but all labor is extremely dear, and the number of passengers is small,—hence the high prices. The way lay continually through the woods, which consist chiefly of pine; but the effects of the railroad were seen in several new cotton plantations carefully laid out. The destruction of the fine old trees on the ground preparing for cultivation, so that not a *single one* is left, may be beneficial to the cotton, but is fatal to beauty; and when the light dry soil has been loosened still more by the extreme heat and converted into sandbanks, it will no longer produce trees that yield a grateful and protecting shade.

— — With some gentlemen to whom we had letters of introduction, we went at half past seven in the evening to the college, where the annual exhibition of the students was held. The exercises were conducted in a sort of chapel; the galleries being occupied chiefly by women and young girls, and the space below by men and students. The speakers stood on an open stage; on the sides of it sat spectators of rank and distinction, and among these we were placed, in spite of our politest remonstrances. The speakers had committed their written speeches well to memory, and but seldom needed a hint from the prompter. The subjects were well chosen, and, unexpectedly to me, for the most part related to history; a department of study which seems but little cultivated in this country, many regarding it as superfluous for a practical life. Here is a list of the speeches:

FIRST EVENING.

1. Napoleon on the Island of St. Helena.
2. Reciprocal relations between public opinion and legislation.
3. Influence of the present diffusion of cheap literature.
4. Influence of the works of Johnson and Gibbon on English style.
5. Criticism on Moore's Epicurean.
6. Comparison between Pagan and Christian toleration.
7. Cultivation of a national spirit.
8. Literary character of Macauley.

SECOND EVENING (at which we were present).

1. What circumstances in the history of nations have led to distant settlements?
2. Repeal of the Edict of Nantes.
3. *Advantages of travel in foreign countries.*
4. Aztec Civilization.
5. Civil and Religious Institutions in Thibet.
6. Causes that led to the decline of the power of the United Netherlands.

The speeches were in general good, and equal to those one would hear from our best gymnasiasts. The first speaker declaimed in the Asiatic, or American style—with extravagant action and changes of the voice. The others were more moderate. H. Porcher, the fourth, spoke in a remarkably clever and natural manner. The performance of the sixth, Mr. Carlisle, was very judicious, and admitted of useful application to the United States of America. Every speaker was greeted with more or less clapping, or rather stamping of canes and feet. Between the speeches a band of black musicians played continually the same piece, as they do with us in the circuses. Once it occurred to the head performer to start off in the middle of a piece with a new key and measure, which felt to me like a

shot through the body. I did not by any means understand all the speakers said ; but that was not altogether *my* fault, for of what was spoken distinctly and naturally I did not lose a word.

— Yesterday I heard some bitter railing against O'Connell ; which, as coming from Americans, I did not exactly comprehend, till I remembered with what violence and prejudice he had spoken on the subject of slavery. When one gentleman remarked that the Irish ought to have patience, and expect the best from a wise people like the English, I replied that similar counsel had been given to the Americans at the time of their Declaration of Independence, which goes far beyond O'Connell's doings in the cause of Repeal.

A remark that "youth is democratic, but age is generally anti-democratic," has to a certain extent a good and natural meaning. Youth belongs to the movement party, and would rather rule than be ruled ; and the old would keep themselves and every thing around them in the same condition. But years do not *alone* determine ; there are young absolutists and old democrats ; and the right medium is not to be calculated from the baptismal register. I was much more of a tory in my youth (when French follies and abominations were held up as the only true and wholesome republicanism) than now, when judgment is freer, and my experience more enlarged.

COLUMBIA, 13th May.

I have been interrupted, and only resumed to-day. Yesterday there came up a storm. However, it neither brought rain nor cooled the air ; but was burning hot as a sirocco ; so that, in spite of all precautionary measures, the thermometer in the room stood all day at 90° F. Every one was depressed and suffered from the heat.

The preacher I heard to-day appeared to have as accurate and certain a knowledge concerning the government of the universe, as if he had been all his life assistant-ruler in heaven. I learned, for instance, that the angels are diligent students of church history ; * * * * and was told that God instituted representative government, which is the only one good for any thing in the world. It was further decided (for dogmas are the main point) that every man is charged with, and must bear, Adam's original sin ; that some are predestined to eternal damnation ; and that every human being hates God, and is as passive in his own conversion and sanctification as a stone. This will suffice to distinguish the school and tendency.

Yesterday we went through the great but endurable heat (it blew no sirocco) with Mr. T., to visit his and Col. H.'s large cotton plantations. There are two kinds of cotton; the finer, longer, and more valuable, is grown on sandy islands on the sea-coast; the shorter and coarser kind is cultivated in great quantities in the interior. The soil is divided, according to its quality, into beds from four to six feet in width, and is ploughed twice lengthwise,—the second time so that a high ridge is formed through the middle of the bed. Then a channel is ploughed into the ridges, with only one horse and a small ploughshare shaped like a lady's shoe; and in this, in the month of March, the seed is sown tolerably thick with the hand. When the plants have from four to six leaves, the ground is ploughed again between the rows, and is worked with the hoe, so that it presents somewhat the appearance of asparagus beds. The seed is sown, as I observed, pretty thick; because the cold, drought, insects, and worms often destroy some of the plants. If this does not happen, the least thriving are taken out by hand, and the weeds carefully rooted up. In September the harvest begins; the crop is gathered, and the stalks and leaves laid in the lower part of the beds, and ploughed under,—the next year's seed being sown over this imperfect manure. Other manure, or a change of crops is never thought of. The seed is separated from the cotton by a simple machine; and is used, when not wanted for sowing, as food for cattle, or to make oil. The price of cotton is very much reduced, chiefly no doubt by reason of the excessive increase of cultivation. With the exception of the overseer, all the laborers are negroes and negresses, of *American* birth. It will hardly do, according to European notions, to speak of the beauty of the colored women's faces; however, some of them had finely formed shoulders and arms. The houses occupied by the slaves are built nearly all alike: they afford room to live in, with a fireplace and a sleeping apartment. Sometimes they may be very much confined, from the great number of children; but in this climate they live almost constantly in the open air. All the negroes appear well fed; the children particularly are healthy, sleek, and fat. The field-hands have commonly each an appointed task assigned to them. The industrious often finish it by two o'clock, and employ the rest of the day in cultivating the piece of land allotted to them. They also raise a great deal of poultry. In every thing the personal character of the master is of great importance.

— — We dined with an agreeable party at the house of Colonel P. After dinner we had a very interesting conversation upon Shakspeare and the Greek tragedians. Our host showed throughout a great deal of knowledge and acute judgment; others were

not behindhand, and the ladies also took a lively part in the discussion. Seldom do we hear among us such sensible and coherent remarks.

RICHMOND, Virginia, May 20th.

On the 17th of May, we proceeded in the steam-packet to Wilmington; on the 18th, the weather continuing very warm, per railway to Weldon; whence we came the following night, by railway and stage-coach, to Richmond. The night was of course cooler than the day; but still very oppressive. I shared my seat, which was not more than sufficient for one, with a very tall gentleman, who had no place at all. At first I kept about half the space; but when my companion fell asleep, he stretched out his gigantic limbs, which had hitherto been folded up, after the fashion of a pair of tongs, and laid himself upon me in such wise that, as Dabelow says, I felt as if annihilated. Presently we had a new arrangement. I stretched my legs straight out from the seat; and he formed with his a bridge across me, resting the monstrous arch against the frame of a closed cross-window. To provide against the danger of breaking down, it was proposed to pass a sling beneath these immense pedestals, and hoist them higher up; but as his head was already considerably lower than his feet, a further elevation of them seemed too great a violation of the order of nature. These and similar things the Americans take very coolly, and never lose their composure; being intent only on the great object, viz. to *go ahead!* I can more readily enter into this, than into their dull, dry, severe Sundays, on which the negroes alone display any cheerfulness or enjoyment of life. These indeed strut about proudly among their belles, with ruffled shirts, white gloves, walking-canes, &c., in which European dandies would find it hard to outshine them. The negresses, in their white dresses and pink ribbons, render the contrast of their skin as conspicuous as our ladies.—Among the whites, the men are in proportion much larger and stronger than the women; partly, no doubt, in consequence of their manner of life.

WASHINGTON, May 26th, 1844.

— — The capitol of Richmond (which resembles the Maison Quarrée at Nismes) is admirably situated, and, like the Acropolis of Athens, presents itself in bold relief to all parts of the country round. There stands Houdon's statue of Washington, very interesting as a faithful likeness, but destitute of true artistic con-

ception and elevation. It has tight breeches and boots, thin legs attached to an inelegant belly, and is provided with a queue behind and a walking-stick. But the benevolent, noble countenance of Washington is the main point.

— — — Thursday the 23d, early in the morning, we rambled from Charlottesville (Virginia) through woods and clover-fields, up towards *Monticello*, the residence of Jefferson. A place enclosed with a half-decayed wall attracted our attention. A half sunken tomb, neglected and in disorder, was there; and a damaged granite pyramid, already inclined to one side, with a partly defaced inscription containing the date of a birth and a death.*

Here, where the pressure of outward circumstances, the perishable nature of man's works, and the indifference of posterity and of nations, made themselves most bitterly felt, faith in true virtue and immortality rose with renewed vigor in my breast. "Put off thy shoes; for this is holy ground!" So said I within myself; until there intervened the disturbing thought of the many clergymen who affect to acknowledge the merits of Jefferson—Brutus is an honorable man!—and then add with a sigh, "But alas, he was an unbeliever!" In the infallibility of which of the numberless sects ought he then to have believed? What is belief, what unbelief? Intolerance, and the opinion that they possess the truth entirely and exclusively, are interwoven into the being and nature of theologians much more deeply and intimately than they themselves are aware of. Even those who sincerely strive after liberal views, and even pass for liberal men, are at length fettered within equally narrow bounds. When one of these expels the whole Catholic, and another the whole Protestant world, together with all philosophizing minds, from the temple,—how should Jefferson find grace? His memorable declaration of 1785, on behalf of Virginia, respecting *religious liberty*, is even grander and more comprehensive than the Declaration of Independence. With these two banners of victory, he will pass through the fiery ordeal of succeeding ages. If a church or a school rejects all toleration, and seeks to prove the necessity of maintaining even by force one and the same faith throughout the earth, and of establishing and supporting a universal church independent of the state and of the community, the plan at least is consistent and all of a piece. But what shall we say, when an American divine receives and adopts the so-called free-will system of Jefferson; and then condemns him, because he asks toleration for Jews, Mohammedans, and Pagans? Where are his Christian equity and charity, when, without proof, he slanderously

* Jefferson's family and relatives directed money to be appropriated for the restoration of the monument; but either it was not sufficient, or has not been properly employed; or else time has again shown his power to destroy.

adds: that Jefferson declared and maintained all his great truths and principles, only to *degrade* Christianity? Consequently this "arch infidel" did not rejoice, but complacently laughed in his sleeve, because the *great* principles of his Declaration were *true*. When they want to level one of the gigantic forest trees in this country, but do not venture a direct attack upon it so as to fell it at once, they very gently peel off the bark round the trunk to the width of an inch; then the tree *must* die and fall to the ground, though its branches reached to heaven. Even so the stigma of *infidelity* is traced with airs of pretended sanctity around the name of Jefferson, in the hope that his glory will in like manner wither away. But he was a man who would have torn the sword and firebrand from the hands of Albas and Torquemadus, and their iron-bound textbooks from the war and damnation loving combatants of certain theological schools. He would also have put down the modern fashionable shrugging of the shoulders and hanging of the head, the feigned regrets, and the sweet honey-droppings with which many besmear the lips of their gaping auditors, that they may goodnaturedly or stupidly swallow the tough and indigestible things prepared for them.

WASHINGTON, 28th May.

— — On one side of the steps of the capitol is placed a group in marble by Persico, brought from Naples. There is Columbus, stepping far forward, with his left hand placed very awkwardly on his hip, and his right stretched upwards, and holding a globe—or a ninepin ball. Beside him is an Indian woman in a strangely contorted attitude, expressive either of hope or fear. Both knees are awfully twisted; her hands are too sharply turned; and to look at her from behind, she seems ———. The whole group is exactly in the style and spirit of an extravagant actor. On a bridge in Paris such specimens of art may be in vogue; but I cannot approve, much less admire the work. Another new statue, by Greenough the American, represents Washington sitting, larger than life, in Roman costume, or rather like a Jupiter Tonans, with the upper part of his body quite naked. Notwithstanding many meritorious points in the work, this mode of conception and treatment does not exactly suit me;* and I heard an American remark, that poor Washington must be cold and sadly want to put on a shirt! Rauch has been far happier in attempts

* The strict philologist would also find not a little to criticise in the inscription on the fourth side: *Simulacrum istud, ad magnum libertatis exemplum, nec sine ipsa duraturum, Horatius Greenough faciebat.*

of this nature especially as regards the management and embellishment of drapery.

— — It is certainly very instructive to hear judgments passed on our native works in distant countries, whether they depart from or coincide with the ordinary opinion. I subjoin an extract from an article on Göthe's *Egmont* in the *North American Review*. After enumerating and acknowledging many great merits on the part of Göthe, the reviewer proceeds: "But what shall we say of the moral sense or intellectual perceptions of the poet, or of his regard for historic truth, who represents *Egmont*, the husband of an illustrious wife, and (like *John Rogers*) the father of nine children; the patriot, the hero, and statesman, the admired and beloved of a whole nation,—as the licentious lover of a low-born girl, whom he himself has seduced; and who thinks to heighten the tragic effect of a great and bloody historical catastrophe, by adding to it the self-poisoning of a fictitious paramour? It was bad enough for poor *Egmont* to have his head cut off by *Alva*; but it is far worse to have his character murdered by Göthe. What a conception of the romantic poetry must Göthe have formed, if he thought it necessary to intermingle lust and suicide with the shedding of patriotic blood, to give his dreams the romantic stamp. The true romantic spirit, made up of honor, courtesy, chastity, and the Christian virtues, appears to have been lightly esteemed by Göthe, either as a source of poetical effect, or as a controlling principle of life. A romantic hero, in his estimation, was a man who showed his lofty spirit by seduction and licentiousness. A rake, and his mistress, and his mistress's mother, were to him a highly 'æsthetic' group, and the very incarnation of romantic poetry."

This criticism, in its direct reference to individual facts, and to a certain work of art, has a distinct meaning and also a portion of truth. But Mr. Putnam goes into generalities with his accusations, when he says: "We can look upon Göthe as the embodiment of moral indifference. His want of moral sympathies was remarkable; and a moral duty he seems never to have recognised. He was cold, selfish, and deceitful. In Germany his name is synonymous with dissoluteness." If, as Mr. Putnam asserts, Germans said such things to him, he should not have repeated them, thus *nude et crude*, to the exclusion of other testimony.

Here is another very interesting specimen from the above-mentioned American periodical: "If the novel be intended as a mirror of actual life, either past or present, it should contain not only events, but men and women. Character should be exhibited, not didactically, but dramatically. We demand human beings,—not embodied antitheses, or personified qualities, thoughts, or

passions. The author has no right to project himself into his characters, and give different proper names to one personality. We want a forcible conception and consistent development of individual minds, with traits and peculiarities which constitute their distinction from other minds. They should be drawn with sufficient distinctness to enable the reader to give them a place in his memory, and to detect all departures, either in language or action, from the original types. We desire beings, not ideas; something concrete, not abstract.

"To fulfil this condition seems easy; but the scarcity of men and women in current romances and plays proves at once, that it is difficult and indispensable. A wide range of what is sometimes called 'characterization' is very rarely found, even in the works of men of genius, or rather men *with* genius. Byron's power in this respect only extended to one character, and that was his own, placed in different circumstances and modified by varying impulses. When he aimed at a larger range, and attempted to give freshness and life to individual creations, the result was feebleness and failure, which the energy and splendor of his diction could not wholly conceal. Manfred, Childe Harold, and Don Juan are the different names of one mind. Shakespeare's Timon comprehends them all, and is also more naturally drawn. Innumerable instances might be given, of strenuous attempts made in this difficult department, which have ended in ignominious failure. Dr. Young's Zanga and Shiel's Pescara are ideas and passions embodied. Iago is a man, possessing ideas and passions.

"In truth, to be successful in the exact delineation of character, requires a rare combination of powers,—a large heart and a comprehensive mind. It is the attribute of universality, not of versatility, or subtilty. It can be obtained only by outward, as well as inward observation. That habit of intense brooding over individual consciousness, of making the individual mind the centre and circumference of every thing, which is common to many eminent poets of the present age, has turned most of them into egotists, and limited the reach of their minds. They are great in a narrow sphere. They have little of that clear catholicism of spirit, which is even 'tolerant to opposite bigotries,' which seeks to display men as they are, not as they may be, or ought to be; which is not fanatical for one idea, and seeks not to be considered as the one inhabitant of the whole earth. Most of our great poets of the present century have taken the world into their hands, and made it over again, agreeably to a type of excellence in their own imaginations. The current subjective metaphysics of the day pursues the same method. Egotism in poetry and philosophy meets us every where. The splendid mental qualities often exercised in

both redeem them from the censure we apply to meaner and smaller attempts in the same one-sided, subjective method.

"Not in this manner did Shakspeare work. It was not from a lack of imagination, that he did not turn every thing he touched into 'something rich and strange.' His excursions into the land of dream and fancy throw all others into the shade. But he knew when and where outward men and events should modify inward aspirations and feelings. He would not do injustice even to crime or folly, but represent both as they are. In what may be called the creation of character, in distinction from its delineation, as in Hamlet, Macbeth, and Lear, his excellence is unapproachable. In no other department in which the human intellect can be exercised, does it so nearly approach the divine, as in this. It is creation in the highest human sense of the term. It takes the elements of humanity, and combines them in such a manner as to produce a new individual, essentially different from other beings, yet containing nothing which clashes with the principles of human nature. Who believes that a character exactly like Macbeth or Miranda ever existed; yet who ever thought they were unnatural? In fact, these ideal beings are as true existences to the soul, as any friends or enemies whom we see bodily. They are more real than most of the names of persons which we read in history. We quote their sayings, and refer to their actions, as if they were living beings. They are objects to us of love or hate. We take sides for or against them, in all their principles and actions. We forget the author in his creations."

WASHINGTON, 2d June.

In the afternoon I went with Mr. G. and Mr. H. to the president's gardens, where there is music every Saturday. The musicians, in their red clothes, stood on a high and very narrow platform, and played chiefly pieces from Italian operas. The most interesting part of the entertainment was the great number of gentlemen and ladies wandering about the garden. The latter were very much dressed, mostly in striped stuffs of bright colors on a white ground; and were *much prettier* than any I had yet seen in America. It was proposed to go up to the president; which I thought inadmissible, as I had on a great coat. But when I saw several who preceded me in the like circumstances, shaking their temporary chief cordially by the hand, I followed their example, and was not in the least displeased at the absence of all etiquette. On the contrary, this friendly contact of freemen appears much more patriarchal, than the wholly unequal relations to which that term is applied by us. I feel constantly how neces-

second; where it is enclosed in a marble sarcophagus, and is now at least protected by a stone superstructure from the snow and rain.

BALTIMORE, June 10th.

Yesterday, the ninth, which was Sunday, Mr. B. M. sought me out in the morning. He was ambassador to Mexico, and has written a good book on that country. He took me to the Catholic church. It is one of the largest and handsomest in America. The ground-plan and the dome remind one of St. Peter's, though on a very small scale. The chief object of my visit was to hear the music, which is much talked of. It would hardly bear a comparison with any European church music; but the organ has a fine register, and one of the soprano voices was deserving of praise. Mr. M. then accompanied me, at my request, to a negro church, frequented both by free blacks and slaves. All the men were well dressed, and not a single one of them showed any traces of want. The women and girls all wore straw hats, and were dressed pretty much like our spruce servant-maids and sempstresses. They showed as little appearance of want of any kind as the men. The black preacher wore no robes, but was dressed very respectably, and spoke just as well (or ill) as the generality of white preachers. The temperate exordium was quietly listened to by the congregation; but when the voice of the minister rose, and he applied to his auditors descriptions of sin, death, the wrath of God, hell, the devil, and such like spiritual Spanish flies, a different effect was produced. Some began to join in; one woman repeated over and over, "Oh yes, my God!" another "Holy, holy!" a third, "Bless me!" &c. &c. This powerful accompaniment urged the speaker to the most violent exertions of voice, and the most energetic action; while the tumult among the greater part of the audience gradually rose to shrieks and yells, as if every one of them was being murdered. One man clapped on his hat, held fast with both hands to the desk, and jumped up and down as fast and as high as he could. His exploit was emulated by a black dame, who sprang equally high, till at length she fell back exhausted. In the meantime the chorus of shrieking, squalling, and howling was continued, as if for the purpose of keeping time. In the evening—when I went again with H., who had not been present in the morning—the tumult was much less. Some individuals only, uttered shouts and cries, and repeated certain forms of words; but to compensate for this, the Holy Ghost, as they said, had been pleased to descend upon a negro lad about eighteen years of age.

In proof of this, he shouted, and threw about his arms and legs in such a way, that several persons could not hold him. The scene presented by this negro church was such as I had never before witnessed in my life; but many eye-witnesses, and among them H., assured me that this was but a slight beginning, compared with the preachings and doings of the *white* Methodists and their congregations.

In the afternoon I went to a well situated public house just out of the city, which is frequented by Germans. A violent storm crowded us into a bowling alley; where during the peals of thunder—as in all sorts of weather—politics were talked, and the affairs of Europe and America adjusted. Some of our countrymen pointed out European defects accurately enough, but wanted to introduce reforms at once and by *force*. While I was fearlessly protesting against these modes and means, others called to mind imperfections in *this* country; so that it was not difficult to recognise the truth, that to err is human, and that the same bark cannot grow on every tree. As our absolutists see and seek for the origin of every evil in the people, so here a disposition prevails to impute all European defects to princes and kings. The former have for the people too little regard and sympathy; the latter are apt to confound the caprice of a mob with the genuine will of the people.

— From a building that includes a kind of medical university, I had an excellent prospect. There are in the city two such institutions, which would certainly accomplish more by a union of their forces, than they can now do by division and imperfect rivalry. I went with Mr. B. M. to see Mr. G., who has an excellent collection of autographs, and gave me several American for European ones. Mr. G. quite agrees with my opinion of Persico's Columbus; he thinks that Columbus looks like a French dancing-master, that the attitude and drapery of the maiden are preposterous, &c. Mr. G.'s house was very tastefully furnished, and adorned with pictures and sculptures. A reclining female figure by Greenough, in the style of Rauch's queen, merits great praise.

In speaking here of American taste and feeling for art, I will take occasion to mention two things which do violence to this feeling. And first of the fences so frequently found fault with. Straight fences, which are beginning to be used, perform the same service, and last very long, if care be taken to char the posts. But these zigzags, with their long spider-like legs, make the most disagreeable impression on every one accustomed to proportion, harmony, and beauty of lines. Still worse are the enclosed bridges. Though this style of building may be useful and necessary on account of the weather, and though it may not

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be a great waste of timber, still it is a sign of indifference to the beauties of nature, that one should almost always be forced to cross the streams that offer the finest views between two wooden walls, that remind one of the canvass lane that Krusenstern had to march through in Japan. They are not even pierced with windows or openings in every instance; and Broad river, which I was to see on my birthday as a reward for my fiery trials, was more effectually hidden from me than the promised land was from Moses.

PITTSBURG, 13th June.

We have now gone over, in good spirits and in excellent health, a large part of our north-western tour. If you wish to follow us understandingly, you must not neglect to take the map in hand. I have often cautioned myself against judging precipitately of the whole from a part, and drawing general conclusions from single facts; and yet am continually falling again into the same track. One can no more form an idea of the United States, and the fertility and beauty of the country, by the line of coast from Baltimore to Florida; than of Germany by the coast of the Baltic, or by the roads from Hamburg to Berlin, Potsdam, Frankfort, &c.

We started from Baltimore on Tuesday, the 11th, at seven in the morning, with the thermometer standing at $54\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; and about six miles from the city, we left the Washington road, to follow the Patapsco up the stream. The long, straight tracts of our railways have been often found fault with, as tedious and unpoetical; but the like censure cannot be applied to *this* American road. It followed first the Patapsco, and afterwards the Potomac, in the boldest manner; pursuing their windings, and bringing all the views before one's eyes. A person accustomed to the straight German railways is astonished at the quick turnings and abrupt angles, like a serpent's path, in which the car rushes along. The valley of the Patapsco reminds one of the Plauensche Grund, and offers, particularly in the neighborhood of Ellicot's Mill, a series of the most enchanting pictures. Small waterfalls, mills and milldams, gardens, cultivated hills, scattered houses, bridges, and orchards, thick and wild woods,—all pass rapidly before the sight, in gay and checkered vicissitude. I scarcely had time, amid my observation of nature, to direct my attention to men; but at length was surprised to notice at the end of the long car a pair of legs against the wall. The body pertaining to them was reclining on the seat and altogether invisible; while the legs were stuck up perpendicularly in the corner, doubtless to the indi-

vidual's great enjoyment. If apoplexy is to be avoided by a habit of lying with the head not too high, the Americans—at least many of the men—must be safe from that sort of death.

The valley of the Potomac (we were now approaching the Alleghanies) began to assume a somewhat grander character; though it is extravagance to assert, that it is worth a voyage across the Atlantic merely to see Harper's Ferry. When Jefferson said this, he had not yet seen Europe. As to Alpine scenery, avalanches, glaciers, &c., there is here nothing of the kind. But gradually vast masses of rock rose proudly before us, their summits crowned with lofty trees, which were shrouded in such a luxuriant growth of climbing and creeping plants, covering trunks, limbs, and even leaves, that the grave parent could not be distinguished from its frolicsome children. The woods kept growing more and more beautiful; for though with us the trees are equally large in diameter near the ground, what particularly delights one here, is their immense number and dense growth, the richness of their foliage, and usually their taller and slenderer forms.

The expression, "primeval forests," has here a good but an indefinite meaning. Trees have their term of existence like men and animals; so that the idea is inadmissible, that they could stand sound and fresh on the same spot ever since the days of creation. On the contrary, innumerable *young* trees keep crowding up between the old ones; and a primeval forest is merely one on which the hand and axe of man have not yet encroached. In Cumberland the railroad ends; it is a good one, and we went rapidly. Only the horrid whistle sounds in America oftener than elsewhere. Cattle, sheep, and hogs roam here in herdless multitudes, and—an unlooked for consequence of "self-government" and superior breeding—always find their way home again. Sometimes however an ox, with a boldness surpassing that of Alcibiades, lays himself right across the track where the train has to pass. If he listens unmoved to the hideous screeching of the whistle, the train is obliged to hold up; and then the proverb is made good, "He that wont hear, must feel."

From Cumberland we went in one of the often described stage-coaches to Brownsville by night, during which unfortunately one can see as little in America as in Europe!

From Brownsville we intended to go down the Monongahela in a steamboat to Pittsburg; but the water was too low, and we were again packed into the coach. We sat, however, only two on each of the three seats. Presently I saw a large, stout old woman, armed with a heavy basket, approaching to take her place amongst us; which obliged H. to come and make the third on our seat. This crowding did not dispose me favorably

towards our new fellow-passenger; and the impression was by no means rendered more agreeable, when on getting in she trod upon my foot, and afterwards made frequent use of my knees as a resting-place for her basket. This, thought I, is a judgment for ridiculing the small size of the American women! But lo! it happened to me as it did to Mrs. Trollope with her broad shouldered American, who turned out to be an Englishman. This woman of stout body and great modesty was a *German*, though somewhat confused in her dialect. My heart was so softened at the discovery, and so turned from a traveller's petulance to philanthropy, that I willingly held *her* basket on my lap, while she ate *my* cherries! Both these days of travel, in spite of a few unavoidable inconveniences, were among the pleasantest one could desire. The parallel ridges of the Alleghanies running from northeast to southwest, rise and fall so frequently, and present so great a variety of mountain and valley, that the attention is continually excited, and yet never wearied. As we went on, the trees towered more proudly towards the sky, which only here and there can pierce with its bright eyes through the leafy canopy. This region of lofty woods is every where interrupted and intersected by the finest fields of wheat and oats, which this year promise a very large crop. There is much more cultivation than I expected; and the country is richer and more beautiful than on the sea-coast. No wonder people emigrate from that level, sandy region, to the fertile and charming West. The first settlements are every where rude, and the houses are small; but they are tenanted by sturdy, free, independent, and industrious citizens. Amidst all this glory of nature, and these fields of abundance, every factory looked like a prison,—that is, before the invention of the silent system. It seemed to me madness, to wish to force on, by protective duties, a state of things that will take place fast enough in the natural progress of civilization.

We reached Pittsburg on the evening of the 12th, early enough to observe its magnificent situation at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and the beginning of the Ohio. Pittsburg has in its vicinity countless treasures of iron and coal, and is on that account the *natural* seat of large factories of iron, glass, engines, &c. But even here they clamor for high protective duties; and one of the political parties promotes and avails itself of this disposition in every possible way, for the furtherance of its own ends. The smoke and steam of these factories have not yet blackened the town as much as many English ones; still it has a much older, duskier, and more uncleanly appearance, than most of the young cities in America, and is much found fault with for that reason. The woods on the mountains enclosing the river banks are not yet destroyed; but they will soon be

overtaken by this fate, which must greatly injure the beauty of the surrounding scenery.

— I took a long walk; saw the covered market place (which is wanting in Berlin), the great reservoir, where the water is drawn up by powerful steam machinery, for distribution through the town (this too we need in Berlin); and admired the Philadelphia canal, which is led over the Alleghany like a great bridge. Three other bridges cross this river, and one the Monongahela. The town stands on the tolerably level triangle formed by these streams; further up both are separated by high hills, and their opposite sides also exhibit lovely wood-crowned heights. But, as I observed, the iron foundries and glass manufactories will soon change these green environs into bald Sicilian rocks, and found the exclusive dominion of the unwashed cyclops. These were forging a large steamboat entirely of iron, with horizontal wheels placed underneath the body of the vessel.

— A Dr. S. has just sent me a copy of his work printed here, called a "Description of the promised *Holy* City of the New Jerusalem," &c. I can give you no idea of the artificial arrangement, the architecture, or the constitution of this city; however, the following extract from the minute directions on the subject of clothing will serve as a specimen :

"The dress, which must perfectly correspond with the inward and outward purity of the holy man, shall be as follows: The pantaloons must not be too wide, nor too narrow; and the drawers must be attached to them in such a manner, that they shall hang loose inside, and both be drawn on together.

"Each man may choose the color of his clothes, to suit the nature of his labor; but when he is not occupied in work that soils the dress, he shall wear pantaloons of bright shining yellow, a snow-white coat, and a brilliant yellow or golden girdle. A hat of bright clear yellow or gold color is the best. Where it encircles the head, it shall have small air-holes for the sake of evaporation, which shall be covered by a loose band of precious stones and pearls, the most precious he can afford to buy. The females who are gifted by nature with long hair, shall employ it for its only proper purpose, to keep the neck warm, and shall wind it about the same, fastened in a suitable manner. The males, to whom beards are given to compensate for their short hair, shall not shave them off: for the beard, according to the will of God, is an essential part of a man's body; and repeated shavings cause the roots to grow in such a manner that they disfigure the countenance. The clipping of the beard has likewise a wholly unnatural effect.

"The official teachers and elders of the people shall ride on white horses; for the duties of their office oblige them to have a

most direct and clear acquaintance with all knowledge ; wherefore this charge should also be signified by external brightness.

" The judges shall ride on horses of a bright bay color : because the exercise of their office should manifest a zeal of fiery energy ; each one fulfilling, in holiness, the duties of his department. The treasurers shall ride on black horses ; as the exercise of their office is directly concerned with those necessary wants, which change and disappear like the shady side of life.

" The inhabitants of our holy city may not marry : for what true Christian can doubt, that God is able of the stones to raise up children unto Abraham ?"

CINCINNATI, June 18th.

On Saturday the 15th, we started at 11 A. M. in the steamboat *Majestic* ; and arrived here on Monday the 17th, after having travelled between four and five hundred miles on the Ohio, at an expense (in consequence of opposition) of only four dollars each, including meals and lodging. The boat was admirably arranged. The lower space was occupied by the engine, wood, coals, and articles of freight. Over that, a large saloon and dining room extended nearly the whole length of the vessel. On each side of this were the state-rooms ; with one door opening into the saloon, and another out on the open, but sufficiently sheltered passage-way, running round the boat. These little apartments had a warm floor, but were far more comfortable than those in the *Acadia*. The breakfast, dinner, and tea were also respectable ; but as I have an aversion to heavy and highly seasoned food, I contented myself morning and evening with bread and milk.

As to the main thing, the journey, it was pleasant and satisfactory in every respect : the Ohio in truth deserves to be called "*the beautiful river*." In a distance of 400 and odd miles, the forms of the hills, the character of the woods, &c. must of course offer repetitions ; but I saw no flat, sterile, tiresome spots. The outlines of the mountains, the magnificent forests, the shady valleys and ravines, and the bright green or golden fields, filled me with admiration and delight. From its many windings, the river often seemed to be shut in like a lake ; or islands divided it, and added to its diversified appearance ; while the hills that rose one above another formed an enchanting background, that alternately approached and receded from the view. There was always something to be seen ; the constant motion produced a succession of changes, behind, before, and on either side. Wherever the river and the hills left a level spot, or a ravine opened on the

sight, there might be seen a cottage peeping from the curtain of leaves, with its slope of cultivated ground; while cows, calves, poultry, and dogs, added in their way to the aspect of cultivation. The enjoyment of this scenery, however, did not wholly withdraw our attention from the human beings who formed our companions. Three chiefs of the Seminoles, with their travelling marshal, a negro who spoke English, were on their way from Washington, to their home west of the Mississippi. The most aged of them had once led an attack, in which many Americans were killed; this brought about a war and their final expulsion to the other side of the Mississippi. These chiefs were oddly dressed, or rather ornamented, but only in articles of English or American manufacture. Their stockings were red and drawn above the knee; and they wore colored girdles, but no pantaloons. They had on great coats made of stuff with different colored stripes; their necks and bodies were hung round with all sorts of trinkets; and their heads were wrapped up in colored handkerchiefs. Notwithstanding all the care bestowed on their toilette, they usually lay stretched out in the dirtiest place on the upper deck; and their black attendant once borrowed my umbrella to fetch down one of them, who was lying fast asleep in a pouring rain. Another made a long speech to the bystanders. He spoke fluently; and his gesticulation was so appropriate and temperate, that many a member of Congress might have taken lessons from him. He was not in the least disturbed by the fact that his audience did not know a word of what he was saying. By the way, it is difficult to understand in the reverberating halls of Congress; and many do not even make the attempt.

CINCINNATI, June 19th.

I shall elsewhere give a connected and circumstantial account of the state of Ohio, and the city of Cincinnati; here I will make but a few passing observations. Yesterday cannot certainly be called a lost day; indeed it must be reckoned among the most profitable of our journey. We drove in the morning with Dr. P. and the Rev. Mr. N., and in the afternoon with lawyer W., through the city and the most considerable part of the environs. The lofty wood-crowned or cultivated hills usually slope down to the banks of the Ohio. But at Cincinnati they recede for a space on both sides, forming a wide circle, within which are situated Cincinnati and the opposite towns of Newport and Coventry in Kentucky. From the rising streets you look forth upon a world of verdure. Most of them are laid out with unexpected elegance, and are full of shops; some are

planted with trees, and are *now* so clean, that Mrs. Trollope's accusations have lost all their truth. In the more remote quarters, to be sure, one perceives here and there a hog, busy with his deep investigations. I saw the same in Baltimore and Washington; and perhaps it would be as well (so long as Major Baier's plan for washing the streets is not carried into execution) if such scavengers were instituted in Berlin. From the projections of the hills the finest views are obtained of the city, with the navigable stream intersecting it, and the circle of mountains that shut the landscape in.

We dined with Dr. P. The evening was spent at Mr. W.'s, in an agreeable company of gentlemen and ladies. Two of the latter sang very well indeed, and tempted me to put my now stiffened fingers once more in motion. Besides the enjoyment of scenery, we had instructive conversation during the day and evening; but neither prevented me from observing that many fine looking women passed through the streets, and that the young girls were remarkable for their height, shape, and carriage.

— — To-day we went first to visit a court-room; and after that to Woodward College, where I was present at a lecture on spherical trigonometry and one on the *Œdipus* of Sophocles. Both instructors and students merited praise; and I had to read a passage to show how Greek is pronounced in Germany. Whatever faults our pronunciation may have, it is certainly more correct than the English, which gives two or three quite different sounds to the same Greek letters: for example, *ae*, *ü*, *ii*, *ei*. From the college we walked to one of the common schools, which was divided into a number of departments, where female as well as male teachers were employed. We dined at Mr. C.'s, and after dinner went with him across the Ohio to Covington and Newport; places belonging to another state (Kentucky), but which may be considered as included in the Cincinnati valley. The varied prospects, the farm-houses and villas, the woods and fields, all presented the same charming appearance.

COLUMBUS, Capital of Ohio, }
June 21st, the longest day. }

We left Cincinnati at nine in the morning of Thursday, June 20th, in an American stage-coach, and arrived here to-day at 8 o'clock, A. M. We dined in Lebanon, supped in Dayton, came by night through Springfield, and reached this, the fifth town, in the morning. The *nil-admirari* system (that dry fountain from which so many dunces endeavor to draw at least a

show of wisdom) has never been my Hippocrene; and to resort to it here, would be more perverse than ever. Since I have been in the state of Ohio, my admiration, already expressed in Berlin, has been unceasing. So too with regard to the mighty city Cincinnati; though the growing up of a city in a well chosen spot, is not so remarkable, as the conversion of a wilderness into a settled and cultivated country, in the space of fifty or sixty years. Yesterday we travelled over hill and dale, along a good road, the whole day through; passing by the most carefully cultivated and luxuriant fields, particularly of wheat, Indian corn, and oats. There is little barley, and no rye. The bright colors of the fields are set off by the rich dark verdure of the forest in the background. The weather was favorable, and by way of variety we had a shower; after which the dusky woods were brilliantly lighted up, and a rainbow made its appearance, here a veritable sign of peace and reconciliation.

To-day, the 22d, we drove round the environs with Mr. S., who had kindly received us into his charming family circle. The town stands in a fruitful plain; and, notwithstanding its recent origin, is already of a respectable size and well built. The hotel, called the Neil House, is, after the American fashion, larger than any in Berlin. We visited the lunatic asylum, the institution for the deaf and dumb, the prison, &c., of which I shall give an account in another place.

LEXINGTON, Kentucky, 26th June.

We started in the steamboat Franklin, on Monday the 24th, at 10 o'clock, and arrived at nine in the evening at Louisville. The boat was comfortable and still, without noise or crowding; the fare creditable; and the company quiet. In fact, I needed no conversation to beguile the time; there was so much of the beautiful to be seen, from morning till night. All that I have said in praise of the Ohio and its banks to Cincinnati, should here be repeated. As the beautiful shifting scenery in a certain ballet (I have forgotten its name) presents to the eye in the course of a few minutes a series of charming landscapes, lighted up in various ways,—so here we had before us for twelve hours in succession an endless variety of pictures delineated by the fertile and vigorous hand of youthful Nature herself. The evening was, if possible, still lovelier than the day. Soft breezes moved the light clouds, which, invested with gorgeous colors by the beams of the setting sun, had their glories mirrored in the smooth stream. On the opposite side, the woods showed their sombre green, and gave the waters a deeper hue. Fireflies in great num-

bers sparkled among the foliage; and the rising moon formed on the left a new path of light over the dark waves. Venus, greeting Diana, floated on the right over the tops of the trees, now concealing, now showing herself, and contemplating her image in the water. At a bend in the river, the moon came between the two great black chimneys of our boat, and at the same instant there issued from them two sheaves of fire, showering sparks all over the deck, and sending the liveliest of them further on, till their glow expired in the moist kisses of the stream below. This was a happy day!

On Tuesday morning, the 25th, at half past five, we again took seats in the coach, and proceeded to Frankfort; and thence on the railroad to Lexington, where we arrived at six in the evening. At first the coach was not filled; so that two gentlemen sitting opposite me formed a *dos-à-dos*, and were able to stretch their legs out of the windows. Instead of "*sursum corda*" (lift up your hearts!), the word here seems to be "*sursum pedes*" (lift up your feet!). No people raise these latter so high as the Americans; the condition of the soles of the feet, and the quality of several other parts of the body elsewhere kept out of view, are here frankly submitted to public observation and opinion. At last the occupants of our coach mustered as follows: two grandmothers, two unmarried and two married daughters, two suckling infants, a stout old negress, and two gentlemen. We did very well, however; as the coach had seats for twelve.

The country from Louisville to Lexington is quite level in the neighborhood of both towns: in the intermediate parts, it is hilly and undulating; and, though not quite as beautiful, fertile, and carefully cultivated, as the country between Cincinnati and Dayton, it is likewise distinguished in those respects. Hemp is generally grown instead of wheat; the woods consist chiefly of tall beeches; on the road flourish camomile plants, mullein, and white clover; and in the gardens are cabbages and turnips, roses and mallows.

In the evening after our arrival in Lexington, we paid a visit to General C., and enjoyed an agreeable and instructive conversation. I alluded to General Harrison's order to the Kentucky militia, not to show too much daring and valor in battle against the English; and it turned out that General C. and his men had themselves received this rebuke.

A chief cause of our journey to Lexington, was the wish to see again and speak more particularly with the probable next president of the United States, Henry Clay. For this purpose we went early to-day to his country-seat, which is pleasantly situated among meadows, fields, and trees. But unfortunately he had left an hour before for Frankfort, the place whence we

had come. We drove about therefore, and viewed the town from every side. It lies in a fertile region richly adorned with trees, and gives one the idea of being a delightful place to live in. In some parts it reminded me of Gotha. Even the lunatic asylum, standing among large and beautiful gardens, has a pleasant aspect, that almost causes one to forget its melancholy associations. The building having been originally intended for another purpose, it is not quite as well arranged as in Columbus; but the patients are treated on similar principles, and with the like good success. Many *soi-disant* kings and almost all the great men of America, including several Washingtons, may be found here.

— — Besides what is great and worthy of admiration, we meet also, it must be confessed, with sundry little drawbacks, that obtrude themselves daily and constantly upon our unwilling attention. Above all, I must mention *spitting*! No well bred American, certainly, spits in good company; but aristocratic distinctions are reprobated here, and one is perpetually stumbling against the spittoon. Even in the capitol a negro sweeps away the *beaux restes*. So that the vice is at least as universal in this country, as smoking in Germany. Nor is it in consequence of the use of tobacco; for persons keep in constant practice who neither smoke nor chew, and even schoolboys spit right and left with great self-complacency. With watch in hand I ascertained that on an average, in the space of *one* minute, one man spit five times, and another (a clergyman too) eight. Is this caused by disease, or merely a bad habit? Must it not enfeeble the digestion, and, together with the indigestible, hastily swallowed food, produce the dyspepsia of which so many here complain? At any rate, the practice is nauseous and disgusting to the sight, and perhaps still more so to the hearing! Heaven grant that with the progress of refinement, spitting about may come to be as much out of fashion, as cleansing the nose in like manner. In great matters the Americans are as civilized as any nation in the world; but many are deficient in the smoothness, tact, and polish of most Europeans.* There are old pieces of music, those of Couperin for instance, in which a simple, intelligible, touching melody predominates; and then we have the same piece decorated or embroidered with so-called *agrémens*. We are fond of *agrémens*, and in the superabundance of them often fail to observe, that no sensible or beautiful melody lies at the bottom. On the other hand, many Americans, like a man on

* To-day in the hotel, I was looking for a newspaper; it chanced that a very elegantly dressed young man had found it convenient to lay both his legs upon the table, over the pile of papers. At my request he raised them a little, so as to allow me to take the one I had hold of, and then quietly resumed his former position.

board our steamboat, beat the wrong time to the simple melody, and then fall into a *tempo rubato*.

— — — Here the eye must enjoy the lovely verdure of woods and fields; and I have ample opportunity to indulge this inclination. Hence I cannot look without regret at any of those giant trees, whose death has been artfully compassed by the girdle or by fire. In vain these Titans stretch heavenward their hundred arms, stripped of all ornament; they find from the new gods no compassionate hearing for their prayers, and fettered to the ground are incapable of rebellion.

LOUISVILLE, June 28th.

On Thursday, the 27th, we set off at five, by the railroad, on our return to Frankfort. This city, the seat of government of Kentucky, stands in a plain by a river of the same name as the state, and is surrounded with woody or cultivated hills. After waiting some time, the steamboat arrived, which was to take us down the Kentucky to Louisville. We started at half past ten in the forenoon; we reached here during the night, but remained on board till morning. The Kentucky flows quietly on in numberless windings; yet in three or four places we had to be let down to a lower level by means of water-gates. It seems astonishing that a stream no wider than this can float such large boats without being deepened; but perhaps the dams and water-gates keep the water higher than its natural level. The banks are hilly and thickly covered with trees. Yet we find no loftier growth in these primitive forests, than in our well stocked woods. The weather was changeable, and thus exhibited the country round under multifarious aspects. A violent thunder-shower was succeeded by a beautiful moonlight evening.

LOUISVILLE, 29th June.

— — — The calls we made took us through every part of Louisville; a city which is astonishingly advanced, considering that as yet it has numbered only the years of a man. It is true that the queen of the west, Cincinnati, has much the advantage as regards situation, beauty, population, business, and wealth; but Louisville may still be likened to the respectable towns of our own country. Its regular plan, straight, broad streets, many of which are planted with trees, roofs as flat as possible, with some other characteristics, are shared by Louisville in common with other new American cities. Bishop C., with whom I had

a conversation last evening, told me that when he came here, many years ago, Louisville had but a few houses, and Cincinnati still fewer. He could not even find a night's lodging in the latter place, and was accordingly obliged to return to the boat. What indescribably great and rapid progress! And not alone for the breeding of hogs, and the manufacture of coarse canvass. The city of Louisville has raised \$115,000 for building a medical university; or has borrowed that amount and paid the interest on it. The lecture-rooms are well arranged, and generally in an amphitheatrical form; the anatomical collection has made good progress, and the medical library numbers already from four to five thousand volumes. Some of the numerous churches are larger and built more in the proper church style, than in many of the American towns; the court-house deserves the like commendation; and the prison resembles on the outside an old feudal castle with towers and battlements.

LOUISVILLE, June 30th.

The whigs of Louisville had yesterday evening a grand procession. They bore a great number of lanterns, the paper sides of which were covered with designs and mottoes, in honor of themselves and in ridicule of their opponents. One would rather expect the democrats to take pleasure in such things; but they are either disinclined to the expense, not having such large resources, or else they are unwilling here to make a display of their small numbers, while the whigs gladly seize an opportunity of showing their strength.

ST. LOUIS, on the Mississippi, 6th July.

— — I was interrupted while writing by the pleasant intelligence, that the Manhattan was to leave for St. Louis on the first of July, at 10 o'clock. The departure, however, was put off till three; a delay which was doubly disagreeable, as the temperature in the motionless boat was as high as $90\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F. For the preservation of the nice proprieties, a notice was put up, forbidding the gentlemen to pull off their coats, and requiring them to appear in "full dress." But this compulsory regulation in democratic America concerns only the aristocrats, to wit, the travellers; for the waiters went about in their shirt-sleeves, without vests or cravats. Besides the heat of the sun, we had three other fires: first, that of the engine, the glow of which, in consequence of the way in which the American steamboats are built, was diffused through-

out the vessel; secondly, a washing establishment with its coal fires, which had been set up just in the most shady place; and lastly, a stove lighted by some good ladies in their cabin, for the purpose of drying before it the envelopes of their hopeful little ones—a burnt offering and a sweet smelling savor. The boat was crowded with passengers; by far the greater number consisted of respectable country people, who however entered into discussions on politics and the presidential election in a style quite unheard of among ourselves. For about seventy men, there were but two basins and two towels on hand; the latter were hung on rollers, and must have made their circuit many hundred times during the day. The water for washing and drinking, drawn from the muddy Mississippi, looked yellower and dirtier, than the dirtiest dish-water in a Berlin kitchen. With prudent foresight I had purchased lemons, and drank lemonade for the want of milk. The natural look of the water, however, without addition or mixing, closely resembled the color of this brewing. The immense force of the stream, and the weakness of our engine, lengthened the journey from three to five days; the fare was wretched, and we only reached here on the fifth, yesterday, at three o'clock. In order to overcome the force of the stream, the safety-valve had been loaded; as Mr. S. the traveller, who was conversant with such things, remarked. The trunks of trees presented their hostile points against us; and we certainly ran much greater danger than on the Atlantic ocean.

I might thus have pointed out with all brevity the dark side of travelling on the *utmost western boundary of human civilization*; and there would still be materials enough left for a more circumstantial description. But I will stop here; and will merely add, for the comfort of sympathizing minds, that nothing of all this affected or annoyed me, except the excessive heat and the spitting. As decency and good manners forbid my saying as much on this subject as might be said, I will let what I have already remarked suffice; though, forced to confess, to the satirical delight of S., that smoking without spitting is better than spitting without smoking. But to this merely qualified acknowledgment I must for truth's sake add something further. Mr. Stephens, in his travels through Central America (ii. 303), says: "Blessed be the man who invented smoking, the soother and comforter of a troubled spirit, allayer of angry passions, a comfort under the loss of breakfast, and to the roamer in desolate places, the solitary wayfarer through life, serving for wife, children, and friends."

Now for the sunnier side of our river-voyage. On this one might enlarge for ever; for in rapid succession we saw, at least at a distance and on the map, Rome, Hamburg, Troy, Belgrade, Cairo, Herculaneum, Vienna, Brandenburg, Unity, and Trinity;

to say nothing of the less important towns, villages, and hamlets. Streams, like men, have their peculiar character and their peculiar fate. How often does youth fleet away in insignificance ; how often is manhood crowded more with toils and wants, than with joy and success ; while later age again returns to the feebleness of youth ! To many there is scarcely granted a year, a day, or briefest space, of fair and noble life : thus the Danube is compelled to die alone in the Black sea ; and the Rhine, to fail among sands. But there are gifted individuals among men and rivers, happy from birth to death, who are continually imparting to others joy and fortune, beauty and nobility. Such a blessed and blessing stream is the Ohio, from the beginning to the end of its course ; and if its youth is more romantic, its advanced life exhibits calm serenity and dignity. Not so the Mississippi. Stirred up to violent rage by the Missouri, its appearance, as we turned into it from the Ohio at Cairo, wore less of sublimity than of savage strength. For many, many years, it had not reached such a height : all its banks were overflowed, and the nearest houses and villages were under water. If its flood had long spread abroad blessing and plenty, it now appeared to execute judgment on the guilty and the innocent. In furious eddies the vast body of water (which makes European rivers seem small in comparison) rushed on, hardly vouchsafing the Ohio, which in breadth and depth far exceeds the Rhine, a friendly reception, and terrifying all the dwellers on its banks, to the distant New Orleans.

These natural phenomena did not prevent a part of the company from engaging in all manner of disputes about the presidential election, the tariff, the banks, and the like. Along with good and ingeniously developed arguments, there was no lack of shallow talking and echoing of bad newspapers. What I thought more worthy of notice than these for months past *toujours perdrix*, was the circumstance that, notwithstanding the zeal and vivacity of the disputants, uninterrupted good humor prevailed, and not a single bitter or discourteous word was uttered. This is the consequence of daily, all-composing habit. Here is displayed a self-control to which the constrained and irritable literati and non-literati of our fatherland have not yet attained.

— — — On the fourth of July I expected an outbreak of patriotism, speechifying, and drinking of healths ; but we had nothing of all that, only universal quiet. Whigs and democrats lay about every where, like languid flies, in consequence of the intolerable heat ; and I was fain to follow their example. The boat was so crowded, that the floor and passages were filled with sleepers at night, and so-called beds or camping-places were made upon and underneath the tables.

BUFFALO, on Lake Erie, July 18th.

For twelve days, since my arrival at St. Louis, I have found no time to take up the pen; so that divers matters of my experience remain to be recorded. The situation of St. Louis is extremely favorable; which has caused its recent growth from an insignificant place, to a large city. The unprecedented height of the Mississippi and its tributary waters, has prevented for the last year the erection of new houses (among other things there is a want of wood and sand); but this misfortune affords a salutary lesson with regard to the further enlargement of the city. It is, like all new American towns, laid out regularly with wide streets, and has a number of churches and (which here are never wanting) large market-places. The court-house, however, sets all architectural rules at defiance, particularly in the form and position of the windows; thus, the upper are not placed in a line with the lower ones, but are tastelessly shoved sideways.

Monday, the 8th of July, we set off at four in the afternoon in the steamboat *Raritan*, passed in the night the place of junction with the Missouri, and in the morning turned into the Illinois. This river also has fresh green woody banks, which the water had overflowed. It is far clearer and purer than the Mississippi or more properly the Missouri. Travelling in so remote a region has a quite peculiar interest. But a temperature of 88° , together with innumerable mosquitoes, disturbed my enjoyment not a little. I counted 113 bites on my right hand, and my face was in like manner covered with red spots—a sorry sight; but the evil is soon forgotten, as no mirror is at hand, and the bites caused neither itching nor pain. I must observe that the little animals showed greater attachment to me than to any one else. The 10th we came to Peoria, and on the 11th reached Ottawa above Peru. The heat had abated, and in the morning was hardly 30° F.; but it soon increased till it was as warm as before. From Ottawa we proceeded in a crowded stage to Chicago, on Lake Michigan, through the prairies or level meadows, so often spoken of and described. They are peculiar, remarkable, boundless on every side, an ocean of grass and plants. In spring and autumn, it is said, they are covered with innumerable flowers; but now they are wholly green, and ornamented with but few other colors. They convey the idea of vastness, without variety; and are consequently wearisome. Why no trees are found here, it is hard to say; for all the new settlements demonstrate that they will grow, if planted.

In St. Louis we heard so much of the danger of a journey to Chicago, with the water at such a height and at the present time of the year, that several gave up their plan of journey, to preserve their lives. I do not readily suffer myself to be intimidated; and we have come through sound in life and limb. But I cer-

tainly never before saw such a road. We were tossed about like tennis-balls in the coach; and obliged to get out I know not how often, to avoid the danger of being overturned. We then went literally through thick and thin, in the road and out of the road, through standing or trodden-down grass; till sprinkled and spattered with all kinds of soil, exhausted and dripping with perspiration, we took our places again in the thumping, jolting, rickety vehicle. No one would risk travelling at night under such circumstances; we lodged therefore in Juliet, and on the evening of the 12th reached Chicago. This town is situated on Lake Michigan, in a country even more level than that around Berlin. Like all the towns in the West, it has grown out of nothing in a short space of time.

— — — We had no lack on board the *Raritan* of political discussions and disputes among the Americans, the contents of which were constantly the same. The manner was more remarkable than the matter—by this time known to me beforehand; for here also the disputants never passed the bounds of moderation, or lost their good humor, or became severe or bitter. One zealous individual took the votes of the passengers for Clay or Polk; in order to form from the result a conclusion as to the comparative strength of the two parties. When the question was put to me, I replied that I went for *both* or *neither*: one set of papers having declared both to be the first and best of men, and the other set having denounced both as unfit for office and unworthy in every respect.

On Saturday, the 13th, we took passage from Chicago, in the steamboat *Great Western*; and on Wednesday, the 17th, reached *Buffalo* on Lake Erie. The passage through Lakes Michigan, Huron, and Erie, is reckoned at over a thousand miles; for which we paid, including board for four days and a half, fourteen dollars apiece. How much can be seen in Europe by travelling such a distance; but then how much time it consumes, and how much money one has to pay! We saw little; but made rapid progress, and advanced so much nearer home. These fresh-water lakes, the largest in the world, are beautifully clear, of a greenish hue, and abounding in fish. For the purposes of business and trade they are of incalculable value and importance; but their shores have no picturesque beauty whatever, and appear flat and in general sandy. From the land some fine points of view may be obtained, but they are hidden to the passenger in a steamboat; and even the famous Mackinaw, between Lakes Michigan and Huron, though it affords a prospect of immense bodies of water from some low hills, has no form, outline, or physiognomy in the highest sense of the term. Milwaukee on Lake Michigan, Detroit near Lake St. Clair, and Buffalo on Lake Erie, display

however such astonishing activity and such wondrous progress, that complaints of the want of scenic beauty sound ill in the mouth of a traveller, who is not roving the world as a mere landscape painter. Since my report of the country turns out so unsatisfactory, I will add a few words respecting our life on board the boat. The Great Western has a high reputation as a steamer, and can accommodate several hundred passengers. The cabins are elegantly decorated, the floors carpeted, the berths hung with silk curtains; and all is, as they say here, "splendid!" But there are things to counterbalance this sumptuous exterior. To begin with the table: there is no want of excellent materials, but a decided ignorance of the art of cooking. I therefore had to study moderation most immoderately, and, far from living to eat, I only ate to live. This indeed seems commonly the case on board steamboats, particularly when the passengers are fed at two tables. The second table being usually worse than the first, those who are eager to fare well seat themselves around the walls half an hour or an hour before the meal is ready, in order to push forward to the table at the given signal. This gives the whole affair an appearance of repulsive greediness or suffering from hunger.

— — — My sleeping-place was unfortunately close to the piano; and on the other side a squalling child performed a solo, to which the mother beat time. The next evening they played dance-music in the principal cabin; but that did not disturb the singers and squallers. What harmony! But at length I too fell asleep. Then a bug (there were plenty of them) fell from the berth above right into my ear, and kept up a buzzing that drowned every other sound, till I succeeded in dislodging the creature. This boat had not merely two, but three berths one above the other; which brought them so close together, that but a narrow space remained between, and one had to roll in and out,—to sit upright was out of the question. After the musical joys and sorrows were at an end, the third occupant of our bedchamber appeared, scrambled into the uppermost berth, and began to cough. I thought of Göthe and Radziwill; and words and tune seemed to sound in my ears, Will he spit; will he spit? Heaven be praised, he did not spit! All these disagreeablenesses may appear so great to stayers at home, as to make them feel no desire to follow our example; but the traveller gets inured to them *by degrees*, till at last they seem a necessary seasoning. I passed the many leisure hours in reading the speeches of the proposed president, Mr. Clay; they are in the highest degree interesting and instructive. The traveller in the eastern part of Europe does not find the means of travelling, the swiftness of progress, and the hotels, which are met with in young western

America; and still less frequently the masterly speeches of a native statesman. Let this serve as a set-off to the over harsh judgment into which *I* may have been led by the remembrance of the bugs and mosquitoes. But these latter are also not wanting in Europe; and the Venetian *zanzare* have plagued me much more than these American insects.

— — Buffalo rises, like Venice, out of the water, in a situation unusually favorable for *trade*; and by the aid of this magic lamp of our time, has grown within a few years to be a large city. There are shops on shops in the broad principal street, a busy traffic never found in our inland towns, and more large steamboats on Lake Erie (which was scarcely known fifty years ago) than little boats on the Spree. We enjoyed here, as every where, the most prompt and courteous attention. Mr. M., a member of Congress, drove with us about the city and environs; and Mr. T. took us to visit the last Indian village to be found in this part of the country. The Indians have sold their land to private individuals, and are going west of the Mississippi. It is sufficient to see these men, women, and children, to be convinced of the superiority of the white race. God has ordained it thus; and it would avail nothing to deny or refine away the distinction. When we see that the most intellectual and bravest of nations, the Greeks and the Romans, have perished, and that the Arabs have sunk again to their ancient level, we are forced to acknowledge the truth, that the onward rushing tide of human events has so ordered and produced it. How insignificant in comparison seem all these Indian tribes!

On the 18th we visited Mr. —'s country seat, which, standing on an elevated spot, commands a charming prospect of land and water. It showed that there were many picturesque spots on terra firma, which are neither seen nor dreamed of by the traveller on board the steamboats below and at a distance from the shore. Yet with these just admissions, neither Lake Michigan nor Huron is a Lake of Como or Geneva. *Suum cuique!*

NIAGARA, July 20th.

When the excellent Jefferson, before visiting Europe, said it was worth coming to America merely to see Harper's Ferry, he might have been told that there are many places as beautiful or more so in our Germany alone. Is it perhaps the same with Niagara? Do all the representations of it show any thing else but a monotonous mass of water tumbling between tiresome cliffs? Was I not told by many Americans—who are apt not to underrate what belongs to their country—that I should be much disappoint-

ed, and that I must stay at least a week (which was impossible) in order to discover and comprehend its varied beauties. "You will feel," said another, "quite depressed and annihilated." "The oppressed heart," sighed a lady, "must be relieved by tears." Of this, as the saying is, I could make neither head nor tail. I therefore established beforehand, in true German fashion, the following fundamental propositions: Among all categories, that of quantity prevails universally in America (witness the size of the country, its lakes, and its rivers, the universal right of suffrage, the majorities of the whole, &c.). So it is with the cataract of Niagara. Its fame rests on *quantity*, while its *quality* is very imperfect. By virtue of this last category, a much less quantity may produce a greater impression; and if this want of quality be obscurely felt, or clearly perceived, one feels disappointed; and prefers much smaller waterfalls—such as those of Tivoli, Terni, Reichenbach, or Handek—to the great, broad, tasteless, and characterless Niagara.

So much for American remarks, and German philosophic speculations. Both amount to nothing; they are all fudge! On casting the first look at only one of the falls, all this wisdom fell like a thick fog to the ground. When after a hot day I walked out into the open air of a cold night in Chamouni, and saw before me the glaciers of Mount Blanc and its neighbors stifled in eternal snow, the thought seized me, What would become of this benumbed nature, if God should but for a moment withdraw his hand from it and from feeble man! When, standing on Etna, I beheld around me nothing but destruction and death, I collected myself, and compared this lawless, savage strength with the Heaven-imparted gift of the human soul, whose noble thoughts, in spite of all apparent weakness, have more of life and a longer duration, than grey lava and shapeless ashes! It was quite otherwise with Niagara. I could have shouted with exultation; and my excited spirit soared aloft, like the tones of an Eolian harp harmoniously blending with the thunders of this miracle of nature. Immersion in this sea of beauty seemed to renew the vigor and vivacity of early years; it was a fountain of rejuvenescence—such as the pressure of dry categories could never set flowing. There was nothing frightful, horrible, oppressive, annihilating, or repulsive,—but the beauty of nature in her noblest manifestation and the most amazing variety. No painter could represent this world of *moving* wonders in full truth and beauty; nor can any description be successful. For if I dwell on the wondrous unity and harmony of all these phenomena, their multiplicity is lost sight of; if this last is made prominent, the former disappears in the fragile mosaic of a dry enumeration.

From the top of Niagara one sees in the distance the broad, smooth, mirror-like expanse of Lake Erie. By degrees its surface begins to be ruffled; projecting fragments of rock and trunks of trees lodged against them increase the agitation; until the entire mass of water is transformed into rapids of great extent and singular beauty. Through several islands the impetuous torrent forces an easy path; it then dashes against a rocky islet (Iris island) adorned with the most magnificent trees, and separates into two great arms;—but not for ever; for the same fate awaits them both, and below the falls they are again united into one stream, which flows majestically onward, decked in every shade of green, fantastically intermingled with streaks of silver. The rapids and this river—without any cataract—would form a scene justly entitled to the praise of rarest beauty. And then what accessories!—stupendous walls of perpendicular or projecting rocks, or receding cliffs covered and garlanded with trees, shrubs, and flowers! From this region of verdure and rocks the floods rush onwards, now of the brightest emerald hue, now crimson as the sunset sky, and again dissolved in snowy foam, and whirling upwards from the abyss in volumes of mist borne far over stream and land. It is not one, nor two water-falls; it is a whole series of wonders, renewing and changing at every step, and presenting a world of incomparable beauties. To him who is not caught up and enraptured in the first moment, time will prove of little avail. Nevertheless, three hours (how many, governed by the railroad, try it!) are not enough to satisfy one; and one day—in spite of our very limited time—is being lengthened into three; for I know of no place in the wide world, so fitted for the soul's initiation into all the mysteries and revelations of nature.

NIAGARA, July 21st.

We have seen the falls from every side—from above and below, from the level of the ground, and from hills and towers; and to-day, the third of our stay, we are going to enjoy the sight once more. From my window, in the Cataract Hotel on the American side, I see the rapids, and many mills and other establishments scattered up and down, which make use of the water-power. Near the hotel two bridges lead over several small islands, and cross the rapids to Iris island. Turning to the right, you come upon the American falls, the very smallest of which has more than twice as much water as Tivoli. To the left, the path leads to the still greater falls, that divide the Canadian from the American shore. A flight of steps and a rough path brings you down to the bed of the river, and affords a near view of the raging

abyss and the descending floods. Again, from a tower standing on a projecting rock, the whole extent of the upper falls can be seen; and from a second tower, lately erected in the so-called Pleasure Garden, you have a panoramic view of the lake, the rapids, the cataracts, the river, and the country round, such as the world besides cannot afford. We were taken in a light skiff over the foaming river to the Canadian shore; whence all the falls are seen, not sideways or foreshortened, but in their full breadth,—and that too in an incredible variety of views, both near and remote, from below and from a first and second range of hills. A museum of objects of natural history merits all praise, but could not long engage our attention beside these miracles of nature; and I found still less satisfaction in peeping into a *camera obscura*. I had more pleasure in a drive to the Whirlpool, where the river makes a rapid turn, and then flows on to Lake Ontario. The falls, however, and their environs, are of such exuberant richness and splendor, that additional attractions like these, though of themselves deserving of all admiration, are not required. Though the scenery which I beheld throughout a large extent of the United States was very much inferior to that of Europe, it must be admitted that the old world can offer nothing to equal Niagara. Such an accumulation of splendors would certainly well repay a voyage across the ocean. Although, as I remarked, the painter's art cannot fully depict the motion of the waters, there are yet a multitude of points and views, which might be represented with success, and would be well worthy of his labor.

— — In the hotel six long tables were set, full of guests, and served by thirty-six black waiters, among whom the division of labor was carried so far, that each had his department—of bread, knives and forks, spoons, &c.—assigned to him. These solo performers marched with regular steps to villanous table-music, and did all their work in measured time. Thus they came, thus they went; and thus each brought in his hand two dishes, which he deposited on the table as directed by two grand musical *fermate*.

MONTREAL, on the St. Lawrence, }
Canada, July 28th. }

We prolonged our stay at Niagara one day more, and again viewed the wonders of earth, water, and sky on all sides and from all points. Although a visit to the United States can have attractions but for few, and least of all for women, who with reason prefer Paris, Italy, Switzerland, and our own Germany so rich in natural beauty; yet I wish I could charm hither the true

votaries of nature, in order, after their many blanks, to show them this magnificent prize. I do not find fault with those whose love of nature enables them to be delighted with a simple meadow, a bed of flowers, a running brook, or a cloud; on the contrary, the true wisdom of life and its purest enjoyments are found in the use of this daily proffered food; and poor indeed is he who knows or values it not. But there are festal days for this kind of enjoyment too; and those spent at Niagara belong to the brightest and most memorable among them.

On Monday, the 22d, we made another circuit around Iris island; and then went on the railroad to Lockport. Some backward glimpses which we had of the falls were wondrously beautiful; we then passed into a pleasant, well cultivated country. From Lockport, noted for its great locks on the Erie canal, we proceeded in a stage-coach to *Rochester*. This town, like so many in America, has grown up very rapidly: it has new broad streets, handsome shops and houses, and beyond this central portion, numerous scattered buildings, all disposed according to a grand and bold plan laid down beforehand. The word with these towns seems to be, "Forward, march!" while that of many European cities is, "Stand at ease!" Rochester is remarkable for the pleasing variety and the taste displayed in its churches, public buildings, bridges, and aqueducts; which, in spite of differences in other respects, give it somewhat of an Italian air. Within the town, the Genesee, which is of considerable width, forms a beautiful waterfall, besides two other remarkable ones further down. Even to one coming from Niagara, these falls are extremely pleasing, and present several enchanting views, particularly from the lofty cliffs of red sandstone, overlooking the deep, narrow ravine through which the river flows. The drawing off of part of the water from the first fall, for manufacturing purposes, has been censured as detrimental to its beauty; but I cannot coincide in this judgment. Without regarding its great utility, there is a romantic look in the situation of the buildings perched on the ledge of rocks, while from between and beneath them larger or smaller streams are seen plunging into the deep valley below. These structures, to be sure, are no palaces of Mæcenas; but they answer the purpose, and may yet be found to admit of divers ornaments.

On the 23d, we went from Rochester to *Auburn*, through a lovely and well tilled country; and enjoyed a sight of lakes Canandaigua, Seneca, and Cayuga, lying on our right. I shall speak in another place of the great prison at Auburn; besides, you would have more pleasure in seeing the fine new country houses, with their charming gardens, than in surveying those silent tombs of living men.

On the afternoon of the 24th, we arrived by the railroad at *Syracuse*. Its useful salt-works have no pretension to beauty, and some hills near it have been too soon stripped of their timber ; on the other side however it is adorned here and there with pretty country seats. We proceeded on the 25th by canal from *Syracuse* to *Oswego* on Lake Ontario. The boat was drawn fast enough, by horses ; and the absence of the noise of a steam-engine gave a novel and pleasing character of quietness to this passage betwixt green banks. A hill near *Oswego* commands an extensive prospect over Lake Ontario, whose shores are somewhat richer in scenery than those of the other great American lakes. On the 26th, we took passage, on board the *Lady of the Lake* for *Ogdensburgh* ; and thence, on the 27th, on board the *Pioneer* for *Montreal*.

The St. Lawrence river does not perhaps afford more beautiful views than the Ohio, but it certainly far surpasses the monotonous and turbid Mississippi. Its water is of a clear green ; the Thousand Islands present in rapid succession a variety of foregrounds and backgrounds, interrupted with streaks or sheets of water. Here the river expands into the large lakes St. Louis and St. Francis ; there it contracts itself so that the boat is tossed about among powerful rapids. These rapids are thought so dangerous, that travelers in general go round them in a carriage ; to me they appeared the most delightful and attractive part of the whole route.

MONTREAL, July 29th.

— — — There is no steamboat on Sunday to Quebec ; so we are obliged to stay till evening. They *never* go by day ; and thus we shall be able to see only a part of the country. Could I not, however, without seeing, and from the relations of others, who perhaps saw no more than myself, assisted by former studies or readings, make up an account of Canada, of its government and administration, its relations to the United States, &c. ? It required scarce twenty-four hours to observe various peculiarities and differences. Thus there were many soldiers, some too without pantaloons, to wit, the Scotch Highlanders ; no spit-boxes in the hotels ; water-closets on every floor ; no crowd or hurry in going to table, and a longer sitting at meals ; but the attendance was less prompt, and the request was made—which I declined—for one of the company to officiate as carver. We found also police officers in the streets ; good public buildings ; waterworks at the harbor ; a large catholic church (the sects require and have only chapels), whose exterior is well enough, though the interior is not without sins against good taste ; evil speaking and railing under

the royal as under the republican government ; a ministerial party and an opposition, &c. &c. A walk through the city and its suburbs shows the different character and tendencies of the two principal races, the French and English. I could easily sketch a description, in poetical prose, of the elevated, cheerful country life of the seigneurs, and the happy contentedness of the bourgeois ; with a contrasted picture of the restless, dissatisfied, ill humored disposition of the Germanic race. But then here we have the very reason why the old, mean, French-built houses show scarcely a trace of alteration or improvement, and very little of the rapid, useful, and elegant advancement of American cities. English activity is every where fettered and broken by the easy *far niente* of the French, whose aims and enjoyments in life differ here as elsewhere completely from those of the English. The one or the other may be praised or preferred ; but the simplest and most obvious phenomena show that it was the destined mission of the Germanic, and not of the Romance nations, to colonize North America and call her into being. Thus, as has been observed, the battle on the plains of Abraham decided for centuries the fate of an entire continent.

The prospect from the hills behind Montreal, over the city and river, is admirable ; it affords too a birds-eye perspective of higher mountains in the distance.

QUEBEC, July 31st.

— — — All the persons I have spoken with agree in this, that no book or pamphlet affords a thorough exposition of the state of Canada, and that the papers contain only a tissue of errors and misrepresentations. In this condition of the *free* press, where shall the truth be sought and found ? One man promised me a brief account of what he would not dare to print. The substance of *his* relation is as follows : After the conquest of Canada, in 1763, the French population were satisfied with the conduct of their masters, who suffered them to retain their old civil *coutumes*, but introduced the English forms of proceeding in criminal cases. The French noblesse and the gentlemen in the English army agreed well enough. The American Revolution produced great excitement ; and the government enlarged the privileges of the citizens, in order to quiet them. Yet these new concessions did not amount to full political rights ; and the French Revolution changed their views once more, and increased their demands to such an extent, that England, in 1791, granted a constitution, which divided the country into two parts—the English, and the French. On the one hand, this satisfied many of

the inhabitants; on the other, it led to resistance and opposing resolutions, and divided what was still looked upon as one. The French party in particular became bolder, assailed the government, and endeavored from English history and English principles to derive greater power for the lower house; since the upper one was altogether dependent on the government and the governor. In the war with the United States, in 1812-1814, the French on the whole behaved in a praiseworthy manner; and now was the time when it would have been advisable to show full confidence in them, and to grant many of their requests. But the influence of English zealots prevented this; whereupon the French *habitans* organized a new opposition, refused contributions of money, &c.; which at length grew into open rebellion.

After this was suppressed, *one* constitution was given to *both* Canadas; and it was hoped that the moderate French party and the English who held together would always have the majority in the parliament. Unexpectedly, however, many of the English radicals united themselves with the French; and the forced efforts of the governor could not be successful in the long run. The government was also opposed by the operation of the naturalization laws, which granted the rights of citizens to all *Protestants* after a seven years' residence; and thus attracted a great many republicans in feeling from the United States. The greater favor shown to the French offended the English; and the governor found himself obliged to dismiss his French ministers, who aimed at reducing him to a mere cypher. This measure, however, has not again attached the English to him; and many hope that an open rupture between the quiet and the seditious French parties, will come to the assistance of the government.

It may be seen from all this, what *endless* difficulty there is in harmoniously uniting such different nations as the French and English into *one* constitutional whole. How then can it be imagined that such a union is possible between the Americans and the negroes?

At six o'clock in the evening of the 29th, we left in the steamer Montreal for *Quebec*, where we arrived at seven in the morning of the 30th. The country round Quebec is the most beautiful and varied we have seen in America. The city lies on a point between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles rivers. One part of it is built on the level banks; the streets then rise very abruptly, between walls of rock, to Cape Diamond, which overlooks and commands the whole country, and reminded me of Ehrenbreitstein, although the fortifications have a less picturesque appearance. The St. Lawrence and St. Charles form *two* bodies of water; but the former is divided by the beautiful island of Orleans. This gives *four* different water-courses; and the fifth,

that of Montmorenci, is indicated by the high and dark walls of earth, behind which it is precipitated into the abyss below. This region of waters is girt about with hills, slopes, and plains, in great variety; with gardens, meadows, woods, and fields, all fruitful and well cultivated; while houses are scattered wherever the eye can reach. We drove through this picturesque country to the beautiful yet wild Falls of Montmorenci, ascended the citadel, crossed through the city, sailed over to Point Levi opposite, and had (next to Niagara) a feast of nature such as is rarely found, in the highest sense of the word, in North America.

It affords little pleasure to visit the fields of unimportant battles; but that of St. Abraham near Quebec deserves a much larger share of attention, and excited in me the liveliest interest. As Marathon decided for the Greeks against the Persians; Zama for the Romans against the Carthaginians; Tours for the Christians against the Mohammedans; so the heights of Abraham have decided that in America, aye and throughout the world, Germanic civilization and development shall for a long time lead the van. Both generals, Wolfe and Montcalm, fell, each bravely fighting for his country; and with noble feeling, Earl Dalhousie has caused to be erected in Quebec a monument to the memory of *both*, with this inscription—

Mortem virtus communem,
Famam Historia,
Monumentum posteritas dedit.

Both of them, the victor and the vanquished, were happier in this heroic death, than Hannibal and the elder Scipio in their longer life.

BURLINGTON, Vermont. }
On Lake Champlain, 2d August. }

On the 31st of July we paid several visits; took a long walk on the right bank of the mighty river; surveyed the city of Quebec, which lay in front of us, from many beautiful points of view at different elevations; and admired the rising, falling, and variously indented line of mountains, and the richly cultivated foreground. At 5 P. M. we embarked in the steamboat Lord Sydenham, and proceeded, partly in the day time and partly by night, to Montreal. On the first of August, at nine in the morning, we crossed the river in another steamboat to La Prairie, on the right bank. From here we went by railway through a level, monotonous region, to St. John's. Instead of wasting our time on a too early dinner, we walked about the growing town and over the long bridge that crosses the Sorel. At one we again

went on board a steamboat, and reached Burlington at seven in the evening; where, after long fasting, we sat down to a good dinner in the American Hotel. In twenty-six hours we must have passed over 240 miles. The flat, characterless country of La Prairie, and the level banks of the Sorel, afforded no enjoyment, and excited but slight hopes. These rose however when we entered Lake Champlain: and as we approached *Burlington*, the scenery improved so much, that I set it down among the most beautiful I had ever seen.

ALBANY, on the Hudson, }
State of New York, August 6th. }

My first favorable impression of the country round Burlington was confirmed the next day, the 2d of August. A morning walk—partly indeed through wet meadows—gave us charming glimpses of scenery; and from the top of the University, or rather College, we saw a rich and beautiful panorama. In the afternoon, Mr. W., the president of the College, very kindly accompanied us round the neighborhood, and showed us some delightful views. On one side we had the large lake, indented with green tongues of land, and dotted with islands of various size; while far off were seen the wavy line of the mountains of New York. In the distance rose, like a gently swelling bosom, the town itself, with its straight streets ornamented with trees; behind it, on the Vermont side, appeared hills of many forms and cultivated valleys, among which a winding stream found its way; while still further off, the horizon was bounded by the magnificent and rightly named *Green Mountains* of Vermont.

In addition to this enjoyment of nature, we had in Burlington a literary surprise. A Mr. M., a member of Congress, to whom Mr. W. introduced us, had an excellent Spanish and Portuguese library. His Swedish and Danish collection was still more richly furnished; and as to Icelandic lore, there was perhaps not a book relating to it that was wanting. He had completed an Icelandic grammar, the printing of which had only been prevented by minor considerations.

On the 2d of August, in the evening (there is unfortunately no day boat), we proceeded, in the neat and elegant steamboat Burlington, through Lake Champlain to *Ticonderoga*. As in St. John's all the beds were engaged by travellers, so that I was obliged to stretch myself out on a hard bench, I had hoped that I should be able to indemnify myself on reaching this place. But here too the only hotel was so uncommonly crowded, that I was forced to pass the latter half of the night in wretched guise

on some chairs, between open doors and broken windows. Accordingly the morning of the third of August found me very weary and broken down; and the view of the ruined fort of Ticonderoga (which is far behind that of Burlington) failed to raise my spirits to a very brilliant pitch,—since loud and low the news was repeated, that there would hardly come carriages enough at noon to convey us to Caldwell on Lake George! When at last they arrived, we took in great haste the worst but undisputed places on the top of the coach, while the people were quarrelling for inside seats. One stout lady told the driver she would pay for two, so that a gentleman who had placed himself next her should not touch the seat. In the evening we reached Caldwell in a steamboat. It is pleasantly situated on Lake George. This lake is much smaller than Champlain, and presents better defined prospects on both sides. Its shores are much richer in vegetation than those of the lakes of Scotland; but, owing to their steep declivities, they are less cultivated than many German and Italian lakes. On the whole, the scenery is finer than on any of the great lakes of the West. An unpromising morning was succeeded by a beautiful afternoon and evening; and I thought at intervals of the Berlin University celebration, without envying our friend L., who is probably entertaining his unlearned auditors with Latin, which they do not understand. This they call keeping up the ancient elevation and dignity of learning!

On the morning of the fourth, we first drove with two Americans and an Englishman to the falls of the Hudson. These precipitate themselves over picturesque rocks of dark granite; and their power, as at Rochester, is partly appropriated to useful purposes. We then left for *Saratoga*, the principal watering-place in the United States. In the new world as in the old, people go mad after these sour, salt, bitter, sulphurous waters,—when the stomach is too full, and the head is empty. It is looked upon as the triumph and highest enjoyment of the fashionable world, to spend their time here from morning to night, in play, gossip, and dancing, dressing and undressing, eating and drinking, &c.! Twice I held a special review of the ladies,—by daylight, as they were pouring out of the much frequented church; and by candlelight, when, after tea, they commenced in narrow file their endless elliptical procession. Were I a modist, what lengthy descriptions I would and could furnish on the subject of dress! But in this respect, it is just the same with America as with Europe. There is no “self-government” here, but a slavish subjection to the arbitrary sway of Parisian fashions.

— — From Saratoga, the rail-car conveyed us to Troy. We had a noble view from Mount Ida, but found neither a Helen nor an Andromache in this region. One thing, however, is certain;

that King Priam and his numerous family had no such "comforts, conveniences, and accommodations," as are at the command of every inhabitant of this modern, unpoetical Ilium.

Yesterday afternoon we arrived here, after an agreeable passage on the upper Hudson. *Albany*, the seat of government of the state of New York, is a considerable town, with handsome public buildings. From the Capitol and the City Hall, very fine views are obtained of the city, the river, and the adjacent country.

[New York, 8th August.

— — — The day before yesterday we spent very delightfully in Albany. The hotel, Congress Hall, is an excellent one; and Mr. O'R., Mr. H., a natural philosopher, and Mr. S., a reverend gentleman, accompanied us around, and gave us information concerning many things. Yesterday, we came down the Hudson, in the large and beautiful steamboat *Troy*, from Albany to *New York*. The scenery on the river is very celebrated, and has often been compared to that of the Rhine. Hills, perpendicular rocks, curved inlets, thriving towns, elegant country seats on the heights,—all form such a delightful variety, that not a moment of weariness or exhaustion is experienced. There is much similarity and much dissimilarity between the Rhine and the Hudson. The latter sometimes expands to the width of a lake; the former, with its more beautiful color, keeps within the bounds of a river. Woods here take the place of vineyards; and there is seen the elegant mansion of the gentleman of fortune, instead of the feudal castle. The Rhine is the more poetical, from its ruins and manifold associations; and it is perhaps too readily forgotten, that the poorer sort there once suffered from noble freebooters, ill treatment such as can never fall to the lot of free American citizens. Even now the habitations of the poor vine-dressers are far meaner than those of the dwellers on the Hudson. Individual spots, such as West Point, can compare with the most beautiful on the Rhine; though on the whole, the rocks and mountains of the latter are bolder and more fantastic. To the enjoyment of this magnificent scenery there were not wanting, alas! the usual American dampers upon enthusiasm in travelling,—to wit, a hoarse hawking and cawing as if from a flock of crows, and a brown spring of odoriferous tobacco-juice whose supply knew neither failure nor diminution. The sea-sickness, against which no human will can aught avail, is natural and bearable in comparison with this voluntary, self-indulgent filthiness.

NEW YORK, 14th August, 1844.

Among the youthful, luxuriantly thriving states of North America, there is scarcely a single city, that has retrograded, oppressed by the preponderating force of circumstances, like Venice and some other places in Europe. On the contrary, there is naught but progress, wherever the powers of the industrious men and wise institutions can be brought into play. But some few cities, among many that are making equal advances, are so favored by nature, that they already, or must very soon surpass all others. I reckon among these St. Louis, New Orleans, and New York. Boston, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Rochester, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Buffalo, Charleston, Savannah, and others, have a definite, and as it were prescribed and limited sphere of operation; beyond which they cannot pass, without interfering with others, and encroaching or being encroached upon. But the three above named cities are, as I may say, the hearts, or pulses, which diffuse life and motion in all directions, and receive it from every side. Their destiny, their mission, is a natural one; and the more other states and cities advance, the more their greatness and importance must increase. Boston, though now connected with the Hudson by a railroad, has no large, navigable river, and lies too far north and out of the way, to be able ever to rival New York in business and consequence. Cincinnati, notwithstanding its wonderful development, has more or less formidable rivals in Louisville, Pittsburg, and Buffalo. Cairo, at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, seems, on the map, designed to be one of the first of cities; but its low situation, exposed to inundations, renders futile all these plans and hopes.

St. Louis, on the contrary, is a natural, indispensable central point of trade and intercourse, from the source of the Mississippi to its mouth. Every day the immense country around the Missouri extends in importance and increases in population. Finally, by means of the Illinois and the canals and railroads shortly to be constructed, its connexion with Chicago and the great lakes will be rendered as easy as it will be comprehensive.

New Orleans is the starting-point or terminus of all the commerce of the immeasurable valley of the Mississippi. Although this river can present but slight claims to varied beauty of scenery, it is, or will be, together with its branches, the most important in the world. The restless activity of the people whose territory it drains must lead to unexampled prosperity; it will even remove more or less the insalubrity of certain spots, such as New Orleans, by means of dams, aqueducts, cultivation of the soil, &c.; and will produce, export, and import to a greater extent than the boldest can now venture to anticipate. The *St. Lawrence* has more beauty than the Mississippi; but it keeps within the same degrees

of latitude, and flows in a far too northerly direction, ever to equal the Mississippi in respect to trade and intercourse. The greatest advantage of the last mentioned river is, that it flows through so many degrees of latitude, and that its course is from north to south. Were its course reversed—did it empty for instance into Lake Superior, or still further north, it would be, in spite of its supply of water, as unimportant and useless as the rivers of Siberia.

As St. Louis is a connecting central point, and New Orleans the outlet for exportation, so *New York* is the chief place of importation in the United States. Since the time when the wisdom and perseverance of Morris and De Witt Clinton connected the Hudson with the great lakes by means of the Erie canal, there has been an uninterrupted chain of navigation, to which the world can show nothing equal, from the Atlantic ocean to Lake Superior, the Rocky mountains of the west, and the Gulf of Mexico. How natural then do we see the past and future growth of New York to be, of which I have already spoken in another place. The situation of the city and its environs, is beautiful, and has even been compared with that of Naples. The comparison, however, is not altogether appropriate. There is very little of the activity of business in Naples; the number of the ships, that sign of really industrious life, is insignificant; its houses are less convenient; the streets are many of them crooked and gloomy, &c. On the other hand, New York has no Vesuvius, and no islands of such note as Capri, Ischia, Nisida, and Procida; its heights are insignificant in comparison with those of Sorrento and Castel a Mare; and it lacks the fanciful picturesqueness which even Neapolitan beggary exhibits, and a climate producing the myrtle and the orange. But why meddle with comparisons; why not rather acknowledge without criticism the beauty and excellence of what we have before us?

New York covers a sharp triangular piece of ground; whose shortest side is towards the country in the interior, and whose two longer sides are washed by the Hudson and the East river. At the point where they may be said to meet, the eye wanders over large bodies of water, and distant shores and islands; and sees ships and steamboats lying at anchor, or coming and going in rapid succession. On this beautiful spot is a piece of ground or garden planted with large trees, called the Battery; which with justice is diligently frequented and highly esteemed by the New Yorkers. It is unique in the world (as everything individual is unique); but, to allow myself once more to be tempted into a comparison by excessive praise, the Piazzetta in tragic, expiring Venice,—with its St. Mark's, its Campanile, its palace of the Doges, its Procuratie, and the islands, churches, and fantastic build-

ings opposite—appears to me more beautiful and poetic than any thing which the Battery exhibits or can call to mind by the aid of association. From the Battery the principal street, Broadway, runs through the whole length of the city. It is by far the liveliest and most frequented of all; and in this respect reminds one of Oxford street and the Strand in London. Many other streets run parallel to it; and many cross Broadway at right angles. The latter however are much shorter than the former; since the city, on account of the rivers that enclose it, can extend only in length, and not in breadth. Nevertheless, Hoboken on the Jersey side, and Brooklyn and Williamsburgh on the other side of the East river, considering their short distance, and the easy connection by steamboats, may be regarded as portions of New York. Brooklyn, in particular, has grown astonishingly of late years. It stands on the slopes and tops of hills; and thus may be said to afford finer views and prospects than the whole city of New York, which is level throughout. Hoboken, on the other side of the Hudson, is likewise situated on heights, which towards the interior spread out into plains; while on the river side the descent is abrupt, and a beautiful walk leads down to the water's edge. When we visited Hoboken, many persons had gone over to witness the herculean feats of two Ellsler brothers. The show cost *nothing*; as the proprietors looked for a recompense to the increased number of passengers in the ferry-boats. The spectators of both sexes differed in no respects from our Berlin people, while the ladies of the American beau monde seem now and then to pitch their taste a note higher. At least *à posteriori*, certain parts exhibit an extent and circumference corresponding to the magnitude of America as compared with that of Europe; while the lower classes are fain to content themselves with Heaven's natural gifts.

— — — Mr. W. had the kindness to invite us to the country seat of his mother-in-law on Staten Island. We made in his company the circuit of the whole island; in which the simplicity of nature is charmingly diversified and blended with the cultivation of fields and gardens, with small dwelling-houses and elegant villas. The surrounding prospect from the top of the house, extending over the island, the rivers, the city, and the sea, was exceedingly rich and beautiful. New York, like all American towns, has a great many churches, some of which are elegant; but there is only one, now building in the Gothic style, that can be named beside the great churches of Europe. On the other hand, the aqueducts, reservoirs, water-pipes, and fountains, for the use and embellishment of the city, form a work that can be placed by the side of the greatest undertakings of the kind; nay, in boldness, solidity, adaptedness, utility, and extent, it is perhaps

without an equal. Compared with these, the Egyptian pyramids seemed to me mere monuments of thoughtless despotism. The water-works of New York have cost immense labor, and a very great amount of money, which in part has been borrowed on interest, and has not yet been repaid. Unjust as I deem it, that the present generation should supply its wants, its enjoyments, or its fancies at the expense of posterity; I cannot but think it proper that in the execution of schemes involving vast efforts, but extending real blessings to after ages, the expenditure should be borne in part by those who in coming years will derive their share of the advantage. The opposite principle, strictly carried out, would deter from great enterprises that promise to benefit the future.

— — — You must not expect me to record every visit paid, every courtesy rendered, or every piece of information furnished; but I cannot help mentioning Mr. Gallatin. Born in Geneva, and once engaged in the most important offices in the United States, he still retains, in his eighty-fourth year, his youthful energy of mind and interest in every thing that is worth knowing. I was the more pleased with his views of banks and paper money (which I already knew in part from his writings), from the fact that they agreed with the results of my own inquiries and observations. Gallatin was present in Geneva at the first historical lectures of Johannes Müller. A French officer expressing himself displeased at what Müller said concerning the vanity and other defects of the government of Louis XIV., little Müller replied with emphasis, while a sense of dignity seemed to lend him an increase of stature, "Sir, what bravery is to an officer (namely, indispensable), that is love of truth and impartiality to an historian." The latter, it is true, is often condemned and calumniated for this; but he must not lose *that* very courage that belongs to his profession.

NEW YORK, August 18th.

Next to London, New York is the first commercial city in the civilized world; for even Liverpool is less varied in its commercial business, and has altogether less to attract and instruct. The number of omnibuses in Broadway, the great thoroughfare, is greater in proportion than in London; and the noise is louder, as they have not yet introduced wooden pavements, as in Oxford street. The houses for the most part are three windows in width, and built of red bricks, neatly pencilled with white lines. They are of very different heights, from one story to three, and less frequently four or even five. The shops, some of which are very rich and tasteful, offer almost every thing the earth produces or

men manufacture for sale. The disposition to go straight to the point as simply and briefly as possible, evinces itself in many things; for instance, in the above mentioned omnibuses. In London a driver sits in front, and another man stands at the door behind, to let the passengers in and out, and take the money. The Americans dispense with this second functionary. The driver receives the fare through a little hole behind his seat; a strap fastened to the door and around his foot gives him the control over those who get in and out; *One* pull at the strap signifies that he is to stop on the right side of the street, *two* pulls direct him to the left. New York has fewer squares than the West end, but more than the old city of London, and some very fine fountains,—a proof that even democracy knows how to unite the beautiful with the useful. It is true that European sovereigns have often done more in this respect than so-called constitutional assemblies; but the searcher of history should not on that account forget the achievements of this sort in republican Athens, Florence, Venice, and young aspiring America.

NEW YORK, August 20th.

— — On the evening of the 16th, we embarked again on board a steamboat, arrived at midnight at West Point, and scrambled in the darkness up to the hotel upon the heights. The attendant whom we knocked up, carried us to a still greater height; and I submitted in the hope of a fine prospect. But when he showed us into a cell without a window, and immediately under the roof, which was horribly hot and full of impure air, I demanded another apartment. He answered, there was no other empty. H. submitted in silence, but I gave free course to my tongue, and ordered him to take the beds and follow me. He obeyed; and I marched down stairs, entered the best room I could find, and told him to make up the beds there. He replied in astonishment that this was the “ladies’ parlor,” and I could not by any means be allowed to desecrate it. I brought him to the door in the midst of his remonstrances, and, as he endeavored to possess himself of the key, pushed him fairly out, and locked the door; I did not concern myself about the talking which he kept up on the outside, but slept extremely well, undisturbed by any apparition of American ladies.

The 19th we rambled about the magnificent country in the vicinity, and clambered up to Fort Putnam. The Hudson flows between mountains of varied forms. Its course is turned aside by the jutting promontory of West Point; and after a bend in the form of a semicircle, it flows on towards New York. The

heights are mostly covered with trees ; but the more level portions are cultivated and embellished with buildings. The large Military Academy established here is admirably conducted, and is a most useful institution for the United States. The young people show excellent training, and more propriety of demeanor, politeness, and dexterity, than many other undrilled republicans.

NEW YORK, 21st August.

— — — Yesterday was a day of honor for me. Several Germans, headed by Messrs. R., P., and B., had arranged a party of pleasure at a hotel in New Brighton, on Staten Island. The situation of the hotel, its architectural beauty, and internal arrangements, were all worthy of admiration. H. and I were called for by those gentlemen in their carriage, and conducted on board a steamboat chartered for the occasion, where we were welcomed by German music, with German flags flying. How richly our physical wants were provided for, is shown by the bill of fare which lies beside me ; but the intellectual feast gave me much greater pleasure still. So warm an attachment was evinced for our old Fatherland, so just an appreciation of its excellences, so much sense and spirit in the speeches and toasts, that (even if they had contained no personal reference to myself) I must reckon this among the most delightful and most memorable entertainments at which I have ever been present. With great justice and delicacy the president, Mr. B., spoke *at first* not of me, but of *Germany*. The second toast he proposed to my health ; and others afterwards, with great friendliness, followed his example. These excessive praises constrained me to modesty. I have perhaps never in my life felt *how little I am*, as sensibly as in this moment of flattering distinction, thousands of miles from home. Remembrances of our noble country, desires for its prosperity and that of youthful America, joy at still being able to live and learn, thoughts of individual insignificance, a glance towards the close of my already long life, &c., passed in rapid succession through heart and brain, in a manner that nothing short of the most powerful excitement could produce. Hence I scarcely knew what I meant to say, or what I did say. I believe it was somewhat as follows : Gentlemen, this festival and this reception give me the greatest delight, and awaken my most heartfelt gratitude. But though your worthy speaker has designated me as a man who possesses much and can liberally expend, I must disclaim his praise, and say of myself in the words of the poet, "It is but little that I have and am ; and what I have, that owe I unto others." As in France,

England, and Italy, so too in America, I have incurred great debts! That I have come hither notwithstanding my advanced age, and that the desire to learn still animates and aids me on, is the sole praise to which I may perhaps aspire. The thought of Germany, the love of Germany, has assembled you here together; and this is perfectly compatible with attachment to your newly adopted country and a just estimate of the advantages it affords. Germanic civilization is now penetrating into all parts of the world: it reveals itself in countless physical and mentalefforts and achievements, from Transylvania to Liverpool, New York, Oregon, China,—from Tornea to the Cape of Good Hope,—from Baffin's Bay to Texas. Would he be a true gardener, who should wish to lop off and cast away some of the branches of a stately tree, not perceiving that they all at last united into one stem? Or shall the fable of the Sybilline leaves be repeated: shall some parts of the great Germanic family be devoted to destruction, to enhance the value of the rest? Heaven forbid! The glorious mission entrusted by Providence to the nations of the Germanic stock, of promoting the advancement of the whole human race, can be accomplished only by the manifold exertions of each in its proper sphere, and by unity among themselves. Here's to the prosperity of the old and the new countries! May the physical impediments to their free intercourse keep constantly diminishing, and may they become more and more united in mind and heart! Germany and the United States of America!

— — — We had seen but a part of the wonderful water-works of New York. Accordingly Mr. W. accompanied us to the more distant portions of the structure. The water is conveyed in a closed aqueduct to the declivity of a broad and deep valley with a river in its midst; it passes in monstrous pipes underneath the river; forms at the lowest point a magnificent fountain; ascends, according to hydrostatic laws, the other side of the hill; and then runs in a narrow conduit to the reservoir already mentioned. But in order that those pipes may not hereafter impede the navigation of the river, fourteen monstrous granite pillars are grounded in the bed of the river, and raised to the elevation of the heights on either side. These are to be connected by arches into a bridge, over which the water will then be carried.

The Romans never executed any thing bolder or grander. The utility of these water-conduits to the city—for the purposes of drinking, washing, cleansing the streets, factories of all kinds, baths, and fountains—is incomparably greater than one at first imagines. Here art and beauty go with usefulness hand in hand.

The *democracy* of a city has here accomplished more than

many a great monarch.—In the afternoon we went with the amiable young S. over to Brooklyn, to the justly celebrated cemetery; which attracts the living by the beautiful manner in which it is laid out, and promises to each a place of calm repose.

PHILADELPHIA, 23d August.

Yesterday at nine o'clock we crossed in a steamboat from New York to New Jersey, and proceeded on the railroad to the Delaware, and thence in another steamboat to Philadelphia. This distance of one hundred miles was performed in six hours, at a cost of four dollars each person. The country is green, and in part well cultivated, but not picturesque. We stopped at the Franklin House; where one may breakfast and dine by the *carte*, when and how he pleases.

— — — After finishing my work, I took a long walk to-day through the city, to the other side of the bridge over the Schuylkill. I had an opportunity of seeing great numbers of women coming out of church. They were all more simply, naturally, and tastefully dressed, and accordingly looked far better, than those fashionable ladies, whose ideal of female beauty seems to be a pipe-stem stuck upon a beer-barrel. As to the city itself, I will not enter into details that are to be found in every traveller's guide: concerning, for instance, its long, straight, wide streets, some set out with trees; its cleanliness, so great that even the side-walks are scoured, and the lower parts of the houses washed; the spacious "squares" planted with uncommonly beautiful trees; the neat and tasteful churches; the numerous porches and door-steps of white marble; the balustrades of elegant iron-work, &c. Of Quakerdom, so far as it may be externally visible, I have as yet observed nothing.

PHILADELPHIA, 24th August.

This has been equally a day of enjoyment and instruction. Mr. R. came for us in a carriage, and we visited with him first the engine manufactory of Mr. Norris. He employs about three hundred persons, who are paid from five to eight dollars per week. Yet he is able to furnish steam-engines to Austria, and wants no high duties. Of the great and much talked of Prison and House of Refuge I have given an account elsewhere. The water-works here deserve the most honorable mention beside those of New York. A mighty dam restrains the waters of the Schuylkill, which are raised by means of immense wheels to the reservoirs

above; whence it is then distributed throughout the city in a highly appropriate manner. A cemetery near the Schuylkill, formed by the exertions of Mr. R., extending over hills and slopes, and abounding in beautiful trees, monuments, and views, is, next to Père la Chaise and Greenwood, the most beautiful I have seen.

PHILADELPHIA, 28th August. 7

Yesterday, through the uncommon kindness and attention of several gentlemen, and of Dr. D. in particular, proved a highly entertaining and instructive day. First Dr. D. took us to the Athenæum, a scientific institution possessing a good library and a reading-room. The Philosophical Society has existed already one hundred years, and has performed meritorious services of various kinds. We saw there a number of curiosities: immense mammoth-bones; rude works of art from Central America; the original of the Declaration of Independence; and a picture of Jefferson, which represents him older, but much handsomer and more intellectual looking, than other portraits. In the State House we saw the hall, as it was when the Declaration of Independence was signed in it; and obtained from the cupola an extensive and delightful prospect over the great city and its environs. Dr. D. then took us in his carriage successively to the Insane Asylum, the Poor House, the Institution for the Blind, and the gas-works. These establishments are not only large and well adapted to their objects, but the two first are so magnificently appointed, that they look like palaces.

— — — On the 29th we went by railroad in a northwesterly direction through Reading to Pottsville; and saw what inexhaustible treasures of coal are found there. This portion of country will gradually become as black as Newcastle upon Tyne and Wolverhampton. On the 30th we returned to Reading; took, under the guidance of a German preacher and his sexton, a look at the lovely country from the top of a steeple; and in the evening reached Harrisburg. In the German Hotel, a bootjack and slippers were offered us for the first time; and a pair of snuffers lay on the candlestick. But the German was of a very mixed description, as: *Morgen ist ein öffentliches Vendu! Wo werden Sie hinaus travellen? Wo stoppen Sie?* and the like. From the State House in Harrisburg the view of the surrounding landscape is very fine, especially over the Susquehanna, its islands, the nearer hills, and more distant mountains. From Harrisburg we proceeded through a pleasant and well cultivated country to Lancaster. The population of these tracts is chiefly German;

and the women, girls, and children had a healthy, hearty, pretty, and cheerful appearance, such as I have hardly met with before in America. The general paleness therefore cannot be altogether the effect of climate.

— — — Last evening I had a long and instructive conversation with Mr. B., one of the most esteemed leaders of the democratic party. So far this lateral excursion turned out as well as could be desired; though here too a few drawbacks were not wanting. The stage-coach from Reading to Harrisburg was small and crowded; and the road such, that we were tossed about for twelve hours like foxes in a blanket. A babe in arms, which with its tender mother occupied a seat at my side, loudly manifested from the first its reasonable displeasure; and even gave warning to a lady who was stepping in, by bespewing her from top to bottom. On the lady's showing her horror at this reception, the mother quietly observed: "Oh, that's nothing; the child is only a little unwell," &c.

— — — Several Germans residing in Philadelphia invited me with the utmost kindness to an evening entertainment, given on my behalf. We sat at three long tables and one cross one. Before me on elegant tables stood my *immortal* works, and two emperors of the Hohenstauffens, the whole made of perishable sugar,—a present from a friendly pastrycook. My health was drunk; and afterwards that of Clio the muse of history, the President of the United States and the King of Prussia, H., my brother Charles (proposed by Mr. Linden, one of his Nuremberg pupils), besides many more. The warmest attachment to Germany was displayed by all, and in the most pleasing manner. Full of emotion and gratitude, I returned to my lodgings at midnight; and was retiring to bed, when a band of music sounded under my windows, and gave me a hearty serenade.

Of the excellent speech of the president of the company, Dr. Hering, in reference to Germany, I will give some passages (not relating to myself) from an extract in the papers. It is there said: Dr. Hering passed in brief review the many different occasions on which the Germans of Philadelphia had *united* together. How they had maintained German churches and schools; had founded benevolent societies, libraries, and settlements; had formed military companies, singing clubs, and so forth. He called to mind particularly their celebration of the jubilee in honor of the discovery of printing, "when the trees before the Court House, which have seen and heard so much, rustled to their German choral songs." And then it was remarked: "This is the first time that a German scholar has been welcomed by the citizens of German origin." Princes, it was said, have indeed come over, "to see a country without princes;" but "they had

forgotten that many an old king and emperor could only sign their names with a cross, and yet knew well enough how to govern."

"Natural philosophers," continued the speaker, "have been here; physicians have also come over, who have visited our prisons and our hospitals. But this time it is an historical inquirer, who comes to see, not the prisoners, but the free; not the sick, but the healthy. Let us then, as such, bid him welcome."

— "The Germans have no colonies beyond the sea, like the English and Spaniards, or even the French and Russians. But are there not also intellectual colonies? And have not we Germans established such colonies over the whole circuit of the earth? colonies where German science and arts, German industry, and German perseverance, have formed settlements among other nations?"

"Yes, gentlemen, and we, we are such an intellectual colony! And to intellectual Germany we all still belong! . . ."

"The colonies of England and Spain have separated from the parent states; but these German colonies will never rend asunder the tie that binds them to their early home."

My reply, which I also extract from the newspapers, was as follows: "Gentlemen, I beg to tender you my most sincere and heartfelt thanks, for all the kindness and distinction you have shown me. Should it be asserted, that I do not *merit* this flattering consideration, I would at once decidedly answer, that with this opinion *I fully coincide!* But then who can say that he is deserving of all the love and kindness shown him by parents, kindred, friends, and countrymen? Or who could have the intolerable presumption and self-esteem, to institute a debit and credit account of the countless blessings he receives from above? If then in *this* sense I accept your kindness, I offend against no law of modesty; on the contrary, an obstinate rejection would savor of insensibility and ingratitude.

"Here I might close my address, if it only concerned myself. But as custom permits the addition of other remarks of various kinds, I trust you will not be displeased, if I claim your attention a few moments longer. If an American citizen of German origin, in view of the extraordinary advantages and the gigantic progress of his *new* country, should deplore with tender sorrow the approaching dotage of Germany, or call upon her in noble indignation to know her own strength, and press forward with rapid course to higher aims,—it could scarcely be wondered at or blamed. And yet such a view of things would be too exclusively American. The Germans are perfectly well aware of many domestic wants and imperfections; but do not wish a single ruler, with forcible, iron hand, to suddenly sweep them away,

even were he a Peter or a Frederick the Great. Nor do they imagine that these evils are to be removed by imitating the revolutions of neighboring nations; but they look forward to a German development, from German principles and elements. I may refer to the matter of slavery in these United States, as a proof that there are admitted evils and maladies, which even the greatest statesmen are unable to heal at once. Did Germany contain the greatest, most important, most salutary of remedies in such abundance as America,—did she possess fertile districts of land without a master,—she would free herself with ease from the various wants and cares with which she has so often been reproached. But has nothing been done in Germany, because *all* is not yet done! Many young men forget, in their noble longings after further improvements, the important occurrences of the last forty years. I will not endeavor to excite your admiration by relating how the flame of victorious enthusiasm burst forth from the depths of abasement, and how Germany arose like a phoenix from her ashes; I will only allude to the internal reforms which were introduced into Prussia under the government of one of the worthiest of kings. The burden of maintaining the cavalry and providing relays, was taken off the people; the duty and honor of defending the country were assigned to all, the barriers between city and county removed, the exemption from taxation abolished, the freedom of trades introduced, and the citizens placed on an equality with the nobles, and one church with another. Excellent municipal ordinances took the place of very defective institutions; millions of dependent peasantry were boldly raised to the rank of free proprietors; and for schools, art, and science more was done than perhaps in any other country. Lastly, the German Zollverein has embraced all the states, increased their internal prosperity, and strengthened their power abroad. If the outstretched hand of Germany was not immediately accepted by the United States, causes may be assigned for it whose discussion would here be out of place; but we should all live in the hope and expectation, that by earnest and well directed efforts, all difficulties and hindrances may be removed. When two noble nations, when fifty millions of people desire to tread a new path, which for ages to come must ensure peaceful blessings to both, the event must not be allowed to depend on petty calculations or cunning attempts to overreach one another; but must be based on great principles and conclusions, and on the firm determination never blindly or cowardly to submit to the dictation of any opposing power.

“There certainly remains much to wish for and to do, in Germany, in America, and in all the countries of the world. Let each then, according to his best knowledge and ability, co-ope-

rate with word and deed; and let none forget, that *he who despairs of his country is never in the right!*

“Having thrown out these remarks as an old man of business, permit me to add another as an author. It is with pleasure that I behold the great interest displayed by the Germans in America on behalf of their ancient fatherland. But many of those who immigrated hither would in their former circumstances devote little or no time to the German language and literature; and there is danger that the language as spoken here will gradually become impure, or be forgotten altogether. This danger can by no means be obviated by neglecting to study the English; on the contrary, it is my opinion, that the acquisition of the latter is both a duty and an advantage. But the former should not therefore be given up. He who makes himself master of two languages, and two literatures of such richness and extent, doubles his powers, his knowledge, and his enjoyment. With these views, some of the states (as Ohio for instance) have founded schools for instruction in both tongues; and if I mistake not, there is another means at hand, whereby an extraordinary progress may be insured in this respect. I consider the establishment of school and district libraries as one of the happiest, most successful, and most valuable institutions in America. Education, which almost every where closes very imperfectly with the years of boyhood, is thus in an easy and salutary manner extended throughout life. If in these collections, German as well as English works are introduced, the happiest results cannot fail to ensue, both for the increase of knowledge, and for the preservation of the language in its purity.

“But it is high time to break off observations that might be indefinitely spun out. Instead, therefore, of a longer speech, I will merely give you—since custom permits it—a *text* to many speeches by way of a toast. ‘May *true freedom*, which ever goes hand in hand with law and order, and *true science*, which is never opposed to genuine religion and morality, grow, flourish, blossom, and bear fruit in Germany and in these United States!’”

Thus you see I was able sincerely and cordially to praise many things in our fatherland. Other things there are so totally opposed to the views and convictions which prevail here, that it is best to say nothing about them; and others again, which I really cannot understand myself, e. g. the form of our legislation with eight quasi-parliaments, twenty-five governments, thirteen ministers, and a many-headed state council! At least in the whole history of the world there is nothing like it to be met with.

HARTFORD, Connecticut.

On the 5th of September we went in a steamboat from New York to New Haven. The weather was fine, though cool. The sun has still great power here during the day; but in the mornings and evenings, the thermometer ranges from 48° to $54\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Our friend T——'s place of residence is situated in one of the most delightful towns in America; so elegant and tasteful are many of the houses, the streets so well shaded with trees, the churches and public edifices so handsomely built, and the views so fine from some neighboring hills.

——— On Friday, the 6th, Mr. O. showed us some brilliant experiments with prismatic lights; afterwards we visited, under C. B.'s guidance, a school conducted on the Lancasterian plan. The rooms were large and well lighted, and the mode of instruction has been found successful. Several boys, for instance, multiplied in their heads the number 35,724 by 58,132. In Philadelphia a girl solved an algebraic problem which was by no means a very easy one.

On Saturday, the 7th, we proceeded to Hartford through a not very fertile, but cultivated country; and visited the college, the prison, and the asylum for the insane. To-day we went to an Episcopal church. The service lasted an hour and three quarters: of which an hour and a quarter were spent in reading, praying, and singing; and half an hour in preaching. The sermon treated first of the *equality* of all the *attributes* of the three Persons in the Trinity, and of the diversity of their *offices*; and then of the temporary mediatorial kingdom of Christ, and the final absorption of all things into the Godhead; *after which epoch*, we were to live and move in the perpetual and visible presence of God.

——— An American recently said to me: "I can readily comprehend that you need a king and a queen in Europe: but to what purpose is the long train of useless and expensive princes and princesses?" I was not exactly disposed to enter into a long political discussion; and merely observed in reply: The princes may defend themselves for me, and show of what use they were in the Spanish, Austrian, and Bavarian wars of succession; but I must oppose the sentence of condemnation you have indiscriminately pronounced upon all *princesses*. Fancy to yourself a woman of great talents, the most finished education, and the most indefatigable desire for knowledge; an enthusiast for art and science, and for all that is beautiful and good; one possessed of force of will and elevation of character, without detriment to female gentleness and amiability; imposing by her royal dignity, encouraging by her cheerfulness and good humor; of such transcendent loveliness and grace, that a glance of her eye, a motion of her

hand, wins even those who would fain pride themselves on a cold independence. Are not this dignity of character, this wealth of mind, this grace and beauty, more poetical, more influential, more inspiring,—are they not a fairer after-growth and fruit of the so-called dark ages, than all that newspapers and stump orations can produce in our days? “Ah, these are a poet’s fables,” said the American. “They are an historian’s truths,” replied the European.

BOSTON, 10th September.

Yesterday at half past seven we left Hartford in a steamboat, and ascended the Connecticut and a canal running alongside of it to Springfield. We dined there, and reached Boston by the railroad at seven in the evening. The whole country showed great industry on the part of the farmers; but it is neither picturesque, nor fertile. Were I a tiller of the soil, I would certainly emigrate from this stony and scantily watered region to the far more favored West.

— — — To your question, whether it is true, that Jefferson whom I have so highly praised had illegitimate children by a negress, and sold them as slaves,—I answer, after very careful inquiries, that Madison, his most intimate friend; Gallatin, secretary of state under his presidency; and several others who knew Jefferson well, deny the assertion in the most unqualified manner. Nor have his descendants the slightest knowledge of such a thing. Andrews Norton, one of the most zealous whigs of New England, remarks in the *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature* (iii. 99), concerning Hamilton’s statement, on which the rumor is grounded: “We have always been connected with the political party which Jefferson opposed; perhaps too there never was in any country a man whose moral character was subjected to a keener scrutiny and bitterer condemnation on the part of the public; moreover, we have heard many stories to his disadvantage; some perhaps true, others false,—but this story, which a stranger just arrived in the country has picked up somewhere, we have never before known or heard of, and we have been unable to find any one to whom it was not in like manner unknown. It is in itself wholly and utterly incredible. Doubtless Mr. Hamilton can and will produce sufficient proofs of its truth; for if he cannot do so, no libeller that ever was put in the pillory more richly deserved such punishment than the relater of this story.”

To refute some doubts respecting Jefferson’s views with regard to *banks*, I cite the following passages from his *Writings*: “It is folly to expect that by juggling tricks and banking dreams, money

can be made out of nothing.”—“Banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies.”

BOSTON, September 11th.

Boston is more like a European city than any other in the United States. It has grown up gradually, without any previously designed, general, regular plan. Hence the streets are some of them very crooked. The fronts of the houses show great variety; while the newer portions, which have been rapidly springing up since the opening of the railroad to Albany, remind one of the streets in the West End of London. A regular extension is difficult, on account of several inlets and bodies of water, over which long bridges lead to the suburbs. The “Common” and the adjoining public garden form a delightful walk, like the Battery in New York. The laying out of a number of squares to be converted into parks, has been neglected; and it is now too late to repair the error. The high granite obelisk set up as a monument of the bold and courageous beginning of the war, on Bunker Hill, commands a very extensive and beautiful prospect. The same may be said of the State House, which at a distance reminds one of the Capitol at Washington.

BOSTON, 14th September.

Yesterday, having finished my work, we paid several visits, and then went to the Athenæum. Here we saw, first, a collection of casts of ancient works of art, and many busts of celebrated Americans. Secondly, a collection of original paintings and copies, which on the whole appeared to me but mediocre in quality. Thirdly, an exhibition of statuary by Mr. Crawford, an American sculptor, comprised some good busts and a group, to wit, Orpheus going down with Cerberus into hell. Under the left arm he holds his lyre; his outstretched right hand seems to cover his face, or rather his eyes, from the glare of light. One leg is thrown far forward, and his mantle floats backward in the breeze. Criticism might find something to censure in this mantle, and in the right arm; but on the whole, the work shows a remarkable progress in American art.

BOSTON, 15th September.

The new Custom House in Boston, which we visited in company with the amiable and obliging Mr. T., is built almost entirely

of granite, in noble style and fine proportions. Even in the roof and stairs there is no combustible material whatever.

— — — The Market House in Boston is spacious and cleanly. No American city is without such a building, which is equally agreeable and useful for protecting the buyers, sellers, and articles brought for sale from the weather; whereas in the capital city of Prussia, which is moreover the residence of a court, every body and every thing is exposed to the snow, the rain, the wind, and the dust.

— — — It appears as if many of the citizens of Boston (perhaps from their education and their close relations to England) were impelled if not to an aristocratic tendency, at least to an aversion to locofocoism. And yet they tell me, the difference between the higher and lower classes is not so great as in New York. Moreover, no where in the world does there exist such a universal, finished, and withal quiet democracy, as in New England. The use of compulsory influence, or of secret corruption in elections, is a thing unheard of. An attempt, for instance, to deprive of custom such mechanics and shopmen as would not vote in obedience to the dictates of their employers and patrons, would be immediately detected, and bring the offender to the pillory.—During a doubtful election, one of the most respectable men in Boston told his coachman to go to the poll and vote; supposing that he would follow his master's example. The coachman replied, that he was quite indifferent as to *this* election, and had not intended to go at all; but if he went, he should vote against his master's candidate, as he had always been in the habit of doing. In another very dubious election, it is said, the wealthiest man in the country was afraid that his free negro servant, who enjoyed the right of suffrage, would vote contrary to his wishes. His wife undertook to prevent it. She ordered him to bottle off without stopping a large cask of wine; and when her husband returned, told him with great glee of the manœuvre by which she had imprisoned the negro in the cellar. "But," replied her husband, "he was there and voted."—"Scipio," said the lady to her servant, "did I not tell you to bottle off that wine?" "Yes, ma'am, and so I did; but you see the *corks* did not hold out; so I had to get some more; and while the shopman was counting them out, why I had time to go and vote!"

Boston, September 19th.

— — After dinner we visited Mount Auburn cemetery; which may rank with those near New York and Philadelphia, though

it does not surpass them. Thence we went to a lake, on the shore of which stand large buildings for keeping the ice, which is sent from Boston to all parts of America, and even to China. A simple machine, a kind of harrow, is drawn by horses lengthwise and crosswise over the ice. The ice divided by these cracks, breaks into large regular blocks; which are easily taken out, packed in masses as high as a house with layers of shavings and sawdust between, and afterwards sent thousands of miles away, without melting.

On the 17th I turned over, in the well provided and well arranged Athenæum, the latest volumes of some journals, particularly the notices of different works on America. A piquant attack in the Foreign Quarterly of London, drew forth an equally sharp retort in the North American. It attacks the prerogatives of birth, the morals and manners of the royal family (George IV. and his wife, the Duke of Cumberland, &c.), the nobility and clergy, the severity of the laws, the barbarity of English amusements (such as boxing), the abuses of the factory system, the treatment of Ireland, the language, the pretended originality of the English, &c. I will give a short passage or two by way of specimens of this parody upon the English reviewer's attack: "The great mass of the English nation gibber their scanty thoughts in a complication of hideous sounds, which neither gods nor men can comprehend." "Every thing with them is transplanted from other nations; the waltz and transcendental philosophy were borrowed from Germany. And surely, in the whole range of modern spectacles, there is not one so well suited to inspire serious reflections upon the uncertainty of human affairs, as an Englishman of the present day attempting to wind through the mazes of a waltz, or to thread a dark problem of Teutonic metaphysics."

There is much dispute about the mode and formation of English English and American English. At any rate the Americans have the right and the need to make further improvements on their language; and in this respect they are as little subject to the pleasure of the English, as the latter are to the caprice of the Americans. And yet their innovations and alterations are in fact but few, if we consider how much and in how many things their circumstances differ. Many of the English themselves own that in the United States the language is spoken generally with greater purity and uniformity, and with fewer differences of dialect, than in England. Hence too it is universally intelligible; although delicate English ears may detect the want of a certain elegance of expression, and of a favorite modulation of the voice. It is certainly in general more easy for a German, who can make no pretensions to such connoisseurship, to understand the Americans and the Scotch, than the English.—On occasion of

some investigations into the uncommon difficulty of spelling and reading English, Horace Mann remarks upon the almost incredible difference between the written and spoken language; and calls the five English vowels, on account of their various pronunciation, the five harlequins. But how frequently are the consonants too either changed in sound or passed over in silence!

On the 18th we went on the railroad to the first manufacturing town in the United States,—*Lowell*. It is one of the wonders of America, produced by intellect, industry, perseverance, and virtue,—all in such measure and combination as are very rarely to be found. It is astonishing that such a town, with so many handsome houses, such immense factory buildings, and so many thousand inhabitants (it had already 21,000 in 1840) should have grown out of nothing in the course of twenty-two years. I cannot forbear subjoining a few figures by way of illustration.* The capital of the manufacturing companies amounts to 11 millions of dollars; there are 6,144 looms and 201,076 spindles. There are employed in the factories 2,345 men and 6,295 girls; they make every week 1,425,000 yards of cotton stuff; and use in the year 23 million pounds of cotton and 600,000 bushels of coals. The money paid in wages averages \$150,000 a month, &c. Great as these quantities may seem, they are also to be found elsewhere; but the most admirable peculiarities of Lowell are altogether unique. The philanthropist who views the enormous strides of the factory system, and reflects on all the well known and oft repeated evils with which it is accompanied, cannot hear without anxiety and sadness of the progress which Lowell is making in this direction; but he must *see* it, in order to become convinced that here, Heaven be praised, the state of things is different, and, with the blessing of God, it is to be hoped will continue so. Together with the houses and factory buildings, there have arisen schools and churches. And, what is still more important, all, without exception, employers and employed, have been and are possessed with the firm conviction, that their temporal welfare depends on that of each other; and that this can be permanently founded upon and secured by morality and virtue alone. I mention a few facts; but a great many would be required to give an adequate idea of the whole. Only a very small number of the female operatives belong to the town itself; almost all the rest are daughters of farmers in New England. They are sent willingly by their parents to Lowell, and go themselves without reluctance; for instruction keeps pace with work, due precautions are taken to guard their morals, and they are furnished with proper facilities

* For further particulars, see Appendix II.

for laying up small sums of money. How altogether different is it in Europe, where the highest wages which the employer gives and can give, scarcely suffices to appease their hunger, and to cover their nakedness! For one dollar and a quarter a week, the girls can obtain in the boarding-houses food, lodging, and washing. Their weekly wages amount, in proportion to their skill and industry, to from one dollar and a quarter to three dollars. The girls generally visit their parents once in the course of the year; and after remaining here from one to four years, return to the circle of their homes. Here, being well trained and well educated girls, and not without means of their own, they are rather sought after than avoided, by young men desirous to marry. None are admitted into the factories under fifteen; and any one guilty of a serious offence is immediately dismissed, and will not be received into any other factory. This strictness enforces circumspection and good behavior. The boarding-houses before mentioned are under the management of steady, respectable women; and the furniture and chambers, several of which I saw, are neat and even elegant, to a degree beyond what citizens' daughters in Europe usually enjoy. There is no opportunity, and hardly any possibility of going astray; and it may be, that the women and girls here are less impelled by nature to evil courses. At any rate, *want* never drives them to extremes. Some of the factory girls have been teachers in schools; and some, after the accumulation of a little money, return to that occupation. It is commonly found, that those girls who diligently attended school make more rapid progress in the factories, and earn more than the uneducated. The printed productions of some of the workwomen (the Lowell Offering) show a degree of cultivation, of which one has no idea in the European factories. And even if but few attain to such advancement, the rest follow in their track, and make use of the collections of books. Even the mechanics here have built themselves a house, and have established a circulating library and reading-room; which is more than has yet been accomplished in Berlin, even by authors and educated men.

Now and then the natural fondness of girls for finery may lead to individual instances of extravagance; but on the whole, it is pleasing to observe that there is no appearance of poverty or want of neatness, and to see the natural form undisfigured by the grotesque devices of Parisian fashions. I saw in a single factory (and it is so in all of them) more healthy, blooming, and handsome girls, than I had before in all America. They do not vibrate between the Scylla and Charybdis of dyspepsia and calomel; but move in regular measure between work and recreation. If you ask,—Is there no essential defect to counterbalance all

these advantages? I answer, I have perceived none; but my heartfelt sympathy impels me to anxious wishes for the future. May the friendly harmony betwixt employers and employed never be disturbed by selfishness or presumption! may there never grow up in Lowell itself a generation of mere factory children; may the erroneous idea of the necessity and utility of protective duties never lead to the adoption of artificial and imminently dangerous courses; and may it never be forgotten, that those riches only are lawful and honorable, which are not gained at the expense of our fellow-citizens!

Boston, 20th September.

Yesterday we passed a day peculiarly American; there being here a "mass-meeting" of the whigs. The time from nine till one was spent by the companies in putting themselves in order, and marching in procession through many parts of the city; after which they assembled on the Common, where a stage had been erected for the orator of the day. The streets were ornamented with numerous banners, pieces of tapestry, and emblematic devices; and the windows were filled with ladies, who testified their approbation by waving their handkerchiefs. Hurrahs resounded in every direction; but they were briefer and more moderate than those of the South. A large number of well mounted horsemen were followed by the procession on foot, in regular divisions, consisting of citizens of Boston and strangers present on the occasion. Many of the banners and legends were not wanting in wit and significance; although the opposite party could easily attach to some of them a contrary meaning. The standard of Maine, for instance, where the locofocos are in the majority, bore the inscription, "Wait till November!" For Tennessee there was only *one* man present; and the motto was, "Tennessee is doing her duty at home." A large strong carriage contained a number of young girls dressed in blue and white, and waving flags which bore the names of the different states. Two carriages succeeded each other filled with mechanics; one of which bore the inscription, "Henry Clay and Frelinghuysen; protective duties for American industry;" and the other, "Polk and Dallas; Free Trade." The former carriage was a handsome one, the driver and workingmen well dressed, the horses in excellent condition, &c.; the latter was the reverse in every particular. The last in the procession carried a banner inscribed, "Millions are behind us!" I heard nothing of the speech; the crowd and the heat were absolutely intolerable. To-day I can read the whole in print.

It bespeaks much previous training and admirable bringing up, that so vast a number of men can associate and act so freely together, without the slightest disorder, and without the direction or supervision of soldiers and policemen. It is a great and purely republican advantage, that their interest in the affairs of their country should be so lively and general, the expression of their thoughts and feelings so completely unfettered, and that they should still keep within the bounds of decorum and moderation. The first men of the country do not esteem it beneath their dignity, but regard it as an honor, to address these masses of their fellow-citizens; and with all their democracy, all their feelings of equality, these masses listen with attention and respect. Lastly, the interruption of their serious way of life, by processions, music, cheering, &c., is all the more useful, inasmuch as the ideas that prevail here with regard to keeping Sunday or rather the Sabbath, do not allow the cheerfulness of other nations to come into vogue.

I should have much still to say on this subject, were it not perhaps better to give my remarks elsewhere. I will rather candidly confess (which will perhaps please you more), that notwithstanding the praise I have expressed, and which is less than they deserve, all the republican meetings and celebrations I have witnessed here, have not afforded me complete satisfaction or unalloyed pleasure. Not that I felt any desire for soldiery, policemen, or other signs of government interference; not that the old aristocratic leaven worked within me; the cause of my objections, my misgivings, my sadness, was, that in all of them we behold an American *party* rather than the American *people*; that millions abuse, what other millions praise; that differences which can, nay *must* be accommodated, are artificially worked up into seemingly irreconcilable contradictions. I know full well how all this moderates and clears up of itself, and how wrong and faint-hearted it is to confound this ripple on the surface of pure waters with the foul fermentation of streams corrupted through and through; but America has greater festivals to celebrate than these mere *party* gatherings. What glorious, what unique days were those, when Jefferson and his friends looked forward with eagle eyes into the mists of futurity, and saw a really new world spring up before their prophetic vision; when Washington, the renowned warrior, resigned his sword into the hands of the civil authorities; when, after a long and peaceful administration, he returned gladly to his quiet domestic life, and left in his parting words, an inexhaustible treasure of wisdom, which, in good and in evil times, shines forth like a pillar of fire, both to present and future ages! Those were festivals without an equal! Nor are there wanting days of mourning of the noblest kind, when tears

of sorrow mingle with tears of joy ; such for instance as the fiftieth anniversary of the nation's birth, the day that witnessed the death of Jefferson and Adams, those men who had aided in bringing into the world, had stood sponsors for at the font, and had reared to a hopeful adolescence, this great and glorious child. These recollections present themselves to the mind of even me, a stranger, with such vividness, that the pageants of the present day, in spite of all the splendor shed around them, appear but as tawdry theatrical decorations.

Boston, 21st September.

Yesterday we went to the neighboring town of Cambridge, the seat of Harvard University. We heard first a spirited lecture from Judge Story, on marine insurance. He showed among other things, how difficult it is, to clothe ideas in such definite language, that no misinterpretation is possible. Next we heard a very clear and instructive lecture from Mr. Sparks, on the earlier constitutions of the American states. We attended also Mr. Beck's instruction of a Latin class, which may be compared with our Tertia. The students displayed a good degree of proficiency. We dined with Mr. B. The conversation was very interesting and instructive, on the subjects of the Constitution, Rhode Island, the writing of history, &c. The assertion was here made, that no such thing as a history could be written, and above all, a history of the United States. If this means no more than that God alone possesses the entire and absolute truth, no one will venture to dispute it. But if it involves the often expressed supposition, that history rests substantially on private anecdotes and the gossip of chamberlains and waiting women, it shows an over-estimation of mere worthless and wretched trifles, and a want of discernment and feeling for what is truly great and proper to history. If such a one succeeds in fixing a few spots on the fame of an illustrious man, he exults in his heroic deed, and cackles over it as though he had found a veritable mare's nest. The sun may show more specks than a cobbler's lamp ; yet both remain what they are.

— — Instead of enumerating the contents of the sermon I heard to-day, I will give you an anecdote. The father of Mr. P. many years ago, was travelling in Connecticut on a Sunday, when a magistrate came up to the carriage, and asked if he knew that by the law Sunday travelling was prohibited ?—" I know it," replied Mr. P.—" Then you must turn back with me."—" By no means ; you have the right to stop me, but not to fetch me back. I choose to remain here till Monday morning." He then settled himself back in his carriage, pulled out a paper, and began to

read. After pondering awhile, the magistrate went off; whereupon the traveller resumed his journey.

Another anecdote. Water-power, and the right of using it, are called here a *privilege*. A Yankee, on seeing Niagara for the first time, exclaimed, "What a first-rate privilege!" Some predict that after a few years that miracle of nature's beauty will be destroyed, and its voice of thunders changed into the clatter of spinning machines. I hope the ancient river-god will be on his guard, should they attempt to dam up his crystal floods, or lead them away.

Boston, September 25th.

Yesterday we went to Salem, and visited, under the guidance of a very agreeable gentleman, Mr. S., that pleasant town adorned with numerous trees, and the museum, established by the free contributions of captains sailing from the port. It is rich for its size, in curiosities from all parts of the world. I will mention only a *globe*, which I would fain have brought with me for S. This globe was received by the donor from a Mr. Müller, a Westphalian, who said he got it in Italy. It consists of two halves; one of which represents heaven, the other hell, carved in wood (probably boxwood). There are altogether 110 figures, in the most various attitudes, and with every imaginable diversity of expression. The diameter of these curious hemispheres, which are hollowed out on the inside, is about one and a half German inches.

— — — We received yesterday from the railroad people in Boston a bank note which they would not take in the Salem office. So much for the boasted convenience of eight hundred sorts of paper-money for travellers. In the evening we went to what is called the Museum in Boston. On the ground floor was a chapel full of people singing; in the second story a museum *de omni scibili et quibusdam aliis*, Frederic II.—with the inscription Frederic I., a tall giraffe, and opposite to it, a small Medicean Venus. A story higher, there was a theatre in operation (the people below singing hymns the while). The play was "The Drunkard;" which, according to the bill, was a very moral piece, in five acts. We had sufficient reasons for leaving after the second act, before the sinner joins the temperance society.

From Mr. P., the secretary of the commonwealth, I have received, I may say, a library of the most valuable papers and reports relating to Massachusetts. I meet every where a readiness to oblige, which altogether surpasses that practised by us.

Boston, 26th September.

Yesterday the mayor of Boston, Mr. B., took us in his carriage (it was a rainy day, and gloomy as night) to see the Lunatic Hospital, the Prison, the Poor House, and the House of Refuge for helpless and neglected children: all large, useful, and well conducted institutions. To-day Mr. B. came again, and escorted us to the equally valuable schools. Yesterday moreover I visited a court of justice, to hear some pleadings; and afterwards what is called the "Mechanics' Exposition." I saw here an immense number of articles which to examine and judge of with accuracy, would require a great deal of time and knowledge.

Boston, 28th September.

This morning Mr. B. took us to several extremely well conducted schools; and this afternoon to some very elegant and tasteful country-houses and gardens, the surrounding scenery of which is beautifully diversified with hill and valley, while the distant views, particularly those towards the city, are as enchanting as the foreground. On such a drive with a highly intelligent companion, a great deal of varied information may be gathered.

— — — The Yankees are often ridiculed for their cunning and shrewdness; but we seldom hear of their extraordinary liberality to objects of public utility. Here is an instance to the point: The Athenæum, now so admirably arranged, was formerly cramped for want of room. "I will present you with my house," said the wealthy Mr. P., "if you will buy another as large and join to it." The offer was thankfully accepted. Afterwards the library needed to be increased. He subscribed \$8,000, on condition that those who had taken the matter in hand should raise an equal sum. They waited next upon his nephew. "What has my uncle subscribed?" he asked. "Eight thousand dollars." "I will give the same sum provided you raise \$16,000 more." In this manner \$43,000 were subscribed. Facts of this kind show that they not only understand here how to make money, but also how to dispose of it in magnificent style.

Boston, 30th September.

Yesterday we dined with Dr. W., and went in the evening to hear the Creation. We had been told the performance might be curious to us as strangers, but would certainly not be satisfactory in a musical point of view. As I had heard nothing but dances played in America, I was too anxious to attend a great perform-

ance to be kept away by this warning. The hall was spacious and simple, with gradually ascending seats and a gallery. In the middle of one end was an organ; in front of it the orchestra; and on either side of it the choir, consisting of more men than women and girls, the latter of whom, with very few exceptions, were naturally and simply dressed. If I compare this with the great European performances (for example, in the Garrisonkirche, with the collective force of the opera and the whole Singing Academy), it certainly falls very far behind them. But if I, though a spoilt man in music, experienced sincere and great pleasure in this performance, and pronounce it successful,—those who have never been in Europe should not find fault, but lend their aid. The difficult introduction was performed by the orchestra (which to be sure was not very numerous) with spirit and delicacy; the choruses were brisk and vigorous; and among the female singers, Miss Stone was particularly remarkable for compass, purity, and execution. The laudable object of the Handel and Haydn Society is at once evident from its name; and I trust the great and noble twin-brother of the first of these geniuses, Johann Sebastian Bach, will not remain unknown, but be called in to share their sovereignty. All the musical instruction in the schools, all the lessons taken by fashionable ladies, will never convert the Americans into a musical people, so long as they adhere strictly to the puritanical Sabbath. A people who are allowed to sing only during the week, or on Sunday only one or two chants in the liturgy, will never find time for the cultivation of that noble art,—will never become penetrated with a universal feeling for it, and elevated to the proper pitch of enthusiasm. I look upon it therefore as an event of very great importance, and one denoting essential advancement, that the value and excellence of a union between art and religion should be admitted, and performances of sacred music be instituted on Sundays. If it be impossible to execute properly here grand, genuine, dramatic compositions,* still it may be called a piece of good fortune, that the Americans are not pestered with the stupid, characterless operas of many modern composers, and (as it often happens in Europe) seduced by them into a superficial and ridiculous furor. On the other hand, it is to be hoped, that the still unwilling part of the people may gradually be reconciled to sacred music on Sundays. This musical society is, I understand, substantially founded and supported by mechanics. As Zelter, the master-mason, was long at the head of the Singing Academy in Berlin,—so butchers and goldsmiths in Boston have shown equally

* The department of lyric music is also deficient, and the popular songs inferior to those of many other nations. The tune of "Hail Columbia" is positively said to be founded on a Hessian march.

praiseworthy activity, if they have not exactly converted themselves into artists. Whether, as I have been told, the rich and fashionable part of the community show an inferior degree of interest in the subject, I am not qualified to assert. But I can scarcely believe that in this respect Boston exhibits more aristocratic feeling than Berlin.

Boston, 29th September.

You are right in supposing that a large, interesting, and instructive volume might be written on American *customs* and *manners*. But my own observations were by no means adequate to this purpose; and I do not wish to copy the accounts of others, nor indeed would I entirely confide in their correctness. I will merely throw together to-day a few desultory remarks on the subject.

The Americans complain, and with justice, that many travelers, for the purpose of giving interest and piquancy to their descriptions, indulge in invention and embellishment, or in downright misrepresentation. If the truth, as is proper, were strictly adhered to, there would often be little to relate. Besides, as a general rule, nothing is more difficult, than to impartially observe and fairly judge, manners and customs which differ from our own; nothing more doubtful and dangerous, than to deduce general rules from solitary facts. Of Americans the most opposite things have been said, with respect to a thousand different matters; so that one might be led to put no faith in any of their statements. Yet it would be better to believe them *all*, since each has its relative degree of truth, and only to be cautious not to take a part for the whole. For instance, we are told that the Americans are cold and indifferent, and again that they are excitable and fanatical; that they have no self-command, and that they have too much; that they scarcely ever marry for money, and that they seldom marry for any thing else; that they are polite, and rude; are civilized, and uncivilized; are addicted to drinking, and are moderate in sensual pleasures; are devoted to women, and care nothing about them, &c.

It is not only true that many of their customs and usages differ materially from those of Europeans, but they are naturally so diverse in separate parts of the great confederacy, that any general description or judgment must of necessity be erroneous. What differences may be observed between the English, German, and French elements of the population; the manufacturers and slaveholders; the over-active, restless New Englander, and the wealthy, luxurious Virginian; the Puritans in New England,

and the Catholics in New Orleans ; the social circles of opulent merchants in New York, and the forest dwellers of the West,* who take a pride in not entering a house the year round.—On the other hand, these diversities are compensated by much that is homogeneous, all-pervading, and promotive of union ; much that reconciles sectional peculiarities, moderates the opposition of religious sects, and brings nearer the gradations in the social scale. There is particularly in their public life and the universal love for the republican form of government, a strong bond of union in thought and action ; so that neither what is peculiar nor what is general can exclusively prevail, while unity amidst variety is most happily preserved.

Equality and distinction, or the gradations of society in the United States, are very different from what they are in Europe. Now that *political* equality has been won and acknowledged for all, the *social* circles naturally separate from each other, and wealth and education exercise their inevitable influence. But it makes an immense difference whether this political equality *exists* or *is wanting* ; whether it has a soothing effect, or whether the social separations are accompanied by political prerogatives conferred on hereditary ranks, which are then regarded as doubly odious monopolies.

It has been made a subject of censure, that the wealthy merchants in America do not associate with the petty shopkeepers. But is this the case in Europe ? or does the bright day ever arise in that quarter of the world, when the man of humble rank can attend some election or other popular assembly, where he can feel and make available his own worth and importance ? The citizen of the United States never hears his importance in *this* respect disputed ; and hence he can recognise without reluctance or bitterness the superiority of those higher in station or more cultivated than himself, can let that sort of aristocracy rule in its sphere without envy, and can emulate it in doing honor to the great men of America.

As in steamboats, on railroads, in hotels and stage coaches, there exists no distinction or separation into classes, European travellers are brought into contact with all sorts of persons ; and many of their habits appear strange and repulsive, such as spitting about, cocking their legs up on the chair-backs, tables, window-sills, &c. In polite society no one takes these unbecoming liberties, and no one would set up the principle, in opposition to Athens and Florence, that a true republican must not sacrifice to the graces. There is a certain refinement, elegance, and pleasing polish of manner, equally remote from coarseness and from the

* Buckingham, Eastern States, i. 119

affected airs of a dancing master's saloon ; this is found in the best society of America ; and will continually have more to appreciate and practise it, without detriment to the graver virtues. Only a few, however, of the more highly cultivated, have a taste for humanity without gloss or meretricious ornament. Jefferson hit the true medium in this, as in many other things. He says : " With respect to what are termed polite manners, I would wish my countrymen to adopt just so much of European politeness, as to be ready to make all those little sacrifices of self, which really render European manners amiable, and relieve society from the disagreeable scenes to which rudeness often subjects it."*

It was observed by an American lady, " Our best society is aristocratic in principle and feeling."† True, and so it is every where ; in all grades of society, every one strives to rise higher, and emulates those who are his superiors in education or position. Only in America this has nothing at all to do with the political system, and does not originate from it. There the *highest* and *lowest* grades of English society are wanting. The want of the former class may be esteemed a gain or a loss according to the point from which the subject is viewed ; but the absence of the latter is certainly a gain. Because there is no court ton in America it does not follow that there is no good ton ; and it is better that personal qualities should be allowed to manifest themselves, than that they should be ground down to a dead level by considerations of social diplomacy, so that all we come in contact with has neither character nor physiognomy of its own. From natural reasons already often mentioned, the lower classes of America, taken altogether, are more cultivated and more rational than in other countries. Even the backwoodsmen read the newspapers, and show considerable information on many subjects.‡ We may smile to see here a major of militia driving a stage-coach, and a colonel taking measure for a suit of clothes ;§ but we ought to weep when we hear European village squires assert, that the right and ability to think and act for the whole community belong to them alone.

It would be an advantage if the Americans would have nothing to do with the routs, soirées, and crowded saloons, in which so many persons belonging to the *haute volée* think they see the bloom and triumph of European social life. On such occasions there is not even space enough to see the handsome women ; and as to conversation, properly so called, or interchange of thought, it is never dreamed of. On the contrary, this kind of social life leads to a dissipation and extinction of all thought, and places the

* Tucker's Life of Jefferson, i. 190. Jefferson's advice has since been frequently followed.

† M'Gregor's America, i. 32.

‡ Vigne, ii. 71.

§ Murray, ii. 330, 364.

wisest and most stupid upon a level. The refinement and forms of an old aristocracy, the polish of courtiers, the yielding, pliant condescension of superiors, and the meaningless compliments of equals, must not be sought for in America. Those who find the highest charm of social intercourse in such things, will doubtless bewail the irreparable loss. There is also no capital city that gives the tone to manners; nor is there that strong contrast between city and country which exists in many countries of Europe.

Scarcely any reproach is more frequently uttered against the Americans, than that they are arrogant and irritable, and excessively fond of flattery. "They are," says Hamilton, "a nation of braggarts." "They will endure no blame," says De Tocqueville. "America is therefore a free country, in which, lest any body should be hurt by your remarks, you are not allowed to speak freely of private individuals or of the state, of the citizens or of the authorities, of public or of private undertakings, or in short of *any thing at all*. I know no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America."* Spurzheim too observed, that "he had never experienced so much restraint in the expression of his religious views under monarchical governments, as he had felt in a country where republican freedom is supposed to exist."†

My own experience does not by any means confirm these accusations. I have often expressed myself freely, nay severely, concerning matters of *every description*, and have combated with earnestness the opinions of others, without ever being subjected to the slightest censure on *that score*. The worthy men who listened and replied to me, knew that my conduct was not the result of vanity or presumption, but that I was actuated by the wish to view matters on every side, and to obtain as much information as I could. Thus, when I spoke against slavery with the slaveholders, against immediate emancipation with the abolitionists,—in favor of democratic opinions with the whigs, and of whig principles with the democrats,—I drew forth such varied and instructive communications, as I should never have obtained, had I, like a mandarin on a mantelpiece, kept nodding a perpetual assent. The Americans would have far more reason to find fault with *my* behavior, than I (like the writers above quoted) to complain of *them*. It stands to reason also, that where unconditional freedom of speech and of the press exists, there cannot be such uneasiness, such aptness to take offence, and such a tyrannical demeanor, as in countries where civil and military officers, literati, &c. are wholly unaccustomed to blame, and are vulnerable at all points.

* Hamilton's Eastern States, i. 305. De Tocqueville, ii. 136, 172.

† Abdy, Residence and Tour in the U. States, i. 131.

I must say too, that I have not found the Americans excessively curious, and disposed to annoy every stranger with questions. They seemed to me in this respect rather indifferent. It is certain that I asked a hundred times as many questions as have been put to me. The Americans, it is true, are often fond of praising themselves, and chiefly because there is much in their country worthy of praise; they also seek to ward off censure, as every patriot is wont to do with strangers, without seriously and absolutely denying the existence of faults. The people are certainly often flattered in the United States, as sovereigns are in Europe;* since it every where requires courage to speak and hear the truth. But this praise is counterbalanced by such severe, eloquent, and bitter denunciation, as show that no stranger can judge more harshly of the Americans than they do themselves; indeed, sometimes their moral sensibility and noble indignation—or else mere ill humor—urges them to melancholy and almost desponding complaints.†

As a procession was once passing through the midst of a crowd, a gentleman called out, "Make way; we are the representatives of the people!"—"Make way yourself," was the reply. "We are the people themselves!"‡ This anecdote throws a flood of light on regions where many cannot see their way. Hence a French observer remarks: "I prefer the involuntary rudeness of plebeians to the insolent politeness of courtiers."§ The traveling journalists and their readers usually persevere in observing things from the European point of view of persons of the *higher* ranks, instead of also looking at them with the eyes of the majority who are in an inferior condition. Hence, for instance, so many complaints of the presumption and the expensiveness of *servants* and *domestics* in America. The high wages, however, are very welcome to them, and are the natural consequence of the relation which the demand bears to the supply. Besides, every one prefers the condition of an independent freeholder, a citizen of the United States, to that of a domestic servant; a position which he only consents to assume on very advantageous terms, in order that he may the sooner escape from it. Hence too arises the beneficial result, that masters are often obliged to help themselves, and thus never fall into the foolish

* Thus Slick, the Clockmaker, says (p. 52): "Nothing improves the manners, like an *election*. What bowing and smiling; what flattering, and scraping, and shaking of hands! They are as full of compliments as a dog is full of fleas."

† "New as the country is, it is already in a great measure in possession of a population as perfectly initiated in all the mysteries of vice, as conversant in all the scenes of depravity,——as can be found in any of the oldest and most depraved countries of the old world."—Report upon the Extension of the Suffrage in Rhode Island, p. 13.

‡ North American Review, xxv. 432. § Beaumont, Marie, i. 219.

habit, as they do in Spain, of maintaining a pack of idlers in the quality of servants.

This bears a very close relation to general and most important facts and truths. In a country where wages are high, land cheap, and taxes low, and where there is no burdensome subjection to military service, the mass of the people *must* be well off. This *prosperity* produces *contentment*, which is of more value than the disposition to criticise and find fault. To this widely diffused prosperity the principles of an equal distribution of all heritable property essentially contribute. If they had retained or introduced unequal rights of inheritance, privileges of primogeniture, Fideicommissa, and the like, wealth would soon have been accumulated in the hands of a few, and a class of luxurious idlers established.

In America every one is made to know, that it is *labor* in some specific pursuit that alone gives life its value and importance. A Neapolitan admirer of the sweets of indolence may regard this sentiment as absurd; and another may express his fear that the mental powers will be stifled by a restless passion for gain. But the activity of the hands and the complete accomplishment of the head stand in close connection; and the American constitution carries education beyond school-days, and makes higher claims on every individual than are made elsewhere. But, it has been a thousand times repeated, in this manner the Americans fall into downright selfishness; the acquisition of money is the sum and substance of their existence, and is esteemed beyond every thing else. One would imagine these fault-finders had a mortal antipathy to gold and silver!* The American looks on money essentially as the means of further activity; he does not lock it up in coffers, or accumulate for the mere purpose of leaving it to a few lazy heirs; he is no miser that never makes use of his wealth, nor is he a spendthrift that squanders it away; but his endeavor is, to employ it in the truest advantage. Mistakes in this respect are only the exceptions, and do not form the rule, as with prodigals and misers. The Americans are reasonably disinclined to all useless expenses, which in Europe so often impoverish both individuals and states; yet on behalf of all great and peaceful enterprises, they show themselves rather too venturesome than too niggardly and circumspect.

Putting out of consideration those persons who do nothing at all, the American does not labor more than the European; in fact, the latter must undergo severer exertion, without attaining such satisfactory results. On this account labor and business are more attractive in America than in Europe: in the latter

* And yet they themselves often speculate in railroad stocks, Spanish paper, &c., and would fain become rich *without labor*.

country, in spite of all the desire that is felt and all the exertions that are used to become wealthy, the end is very seldom attained; while in the former, success is so much easier, that it naturally encourages to redoubled zeal in the pursuit.

There was no greater obstacle in the United States to physical and mental well-being, than the prevalent vice of drunkenness. In opposing this, the temperance societies have had an exceedingly beneficial effect; although the temperance of voluntary resolution is worth more than that secured by a kind of vow, which prohibits even what is innocent for fear of excess, and thus leads but too often to a reaction and relapse into old habits. In all countries of the world this enterprise would find warmer and more lasting support, if the prohibition were restricted to the more pernicious spirituous liquors, and not extended to beer and wine.*

After the drinking, I may as well mention the *eating* and *cooking*; because this is a subject of importance, not merely for pleasure, but still more for health. In the richer families, Jefferson's principles in regard to eating have been adopted along with his principles in politics. His biographer, Tucker, says: "Jefferson's discriminating taste soon taught him to appreciate the merits of French cookery."† But in general, with the exception of a few families who show good taste also in this respect, the art is still in a very low condition in the United States. In proportion to the excellence of the materials (fish, flesh, vegetables, fruit, &c.) is the ignorance shown in the art of preparing and improving them. Give the most exquisite block of marble to a common stone-cutter, and he will not produce a statue; so let the finest ox be taken into the kitchen, and a bungler of a cook will fail to give you from him a good roast joint. The excessive quantity of seasoning, particularly pepper and salt, destroys all the original flavor, creates an unnatural thirst, and heats the blood. The roast meats are for the most part dry and hard; the sauces without variety; many vegetables, such as peas, too old; the bread often doughy and smoking hot, &c. A good cook knows how to alter and improve the poorest material; the presumptuous, self-complacent beginner destroys the best food, and the eaters into the bargain. On this subject an American connoisseur‡ observes: "When we think of the quantities of half-masticated meat, the pounds of seasoning to make it palatable, and the raw and indigestible substances which we

* In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Mississippi, there are laws against the sale of spirits in small quantities, and against the liquor shops. I have seen no one completely drunk in the United States, but many who drank a great deal of spirits.

† Life of Jefferson, ii. 505.

‡ Mr. Sanderson of Philadelphia.

force into our innocent stomachs,—we acknowledge our sins with the deepest humility and repentance!"

I will here venture to express myself against the English and American custom, in compliance with which the host and hostess, during the whole time of dinner, can scarcely do any thing else but rival each other in offering their provisions all about the table. —Will you take roast beef, or mutton? The wing, the leg, or the breast? Potatoes, peas, or cabbage?—This questioning and replying is an interruption to all conversation; whereas our method, of having things carried round by servants, provides much better for the helping of the guests, and leaves the entertainers at liberty to contribute in an intellectual manner to the animation and pleasure of the company.

The prevalent habit of eating rapidly, and swallowing the food half chewed, has awakened the attention of those who have the jurisdiction of schools. They say to the children and to their parents: "The food should be taken slowly and in company, and amidst agreeable conversation."* In no country in the world do so many persons suffer from indigestion as in America; and a thorough reform of the system of cooking and eating would be productive of the most salutary effects. It would be attended with the happiest consequences, with respect to health, contentment, and the pleasures of domestic life, if, as is often the case in Europe, the art of cooking were included in the list of female accomplishments taught at school, or if theoretical and practical lectures were given on the subject.

It might be thought unbecoming to pass here into a few general remarks upon the *women*, were it not that the transition very naturally presents itself.

Every traveller, indeed every man forms a judgment respecting the women, though the majority are not capable of appreciating even their external beauty. To speak correctly on this subject, there are needed the right disposition, practice, and talent, in which even many artists are wanting; otherwise they would not give out so many wretched faces for beauties to be admired. It is oftener a misfortune than a blessing to be beautiful; whereas a taste for beauty and art is attended with no danger, and belongs to the higher grade of mental cultivation. Learned connoisseurs, however, are often accustomed to praise and admire the singular, the artificial,—nay, in their perversity, the disagreeable and repulsive; and the chorus of refined amateurs repeat, parrot-like, the dicta of their abounding wisdom.—But I meant not to talk of these generalities, or to repeat what other travellers have said of American women. I will recall to mind the fact, how-

* H. Mann's Sixth Report on Schools, p. 113.

ever, that they admire the beauty of the female sex in the United States, and at the same time assert that they soon grow old and lose their teeth. And certainly, for my own part, I have seen in no country in the world, among handsome women, so many pale, sickly faces. Whether this is the effect of the climate, the food,* the manner of life, the tight lacing, the drinking of vinegar, or all these causes combined,—the fact itself cannot be disputed. I should not mention vinegar drinking, if men, women, and physicians had not unanimously assured me this means is frequently resorted to in order to remove what is considered the vulgar red from the cheeks. In comparison with this perversity, the practice of rouging to relieve paleness is a more natural, and certainly a less deleterious custom. The mere pleasure of the eye, the feeling for beauty, is here not alone concerned, but the existence and welfare of future generations. Many professional men complain of the great number of still-born children and premature births. None but a person incapable of judgment could confound the paleness of embodied spirituality, which gives us glimpses of a higher existence, and confers angelic beauty, with the ghastly hue produced by a disordered stomach. When God (it might be said, slightly altering a Shakspearian saying) has created a fair being, let her not fall upon the vinegar-cruet and the calomel-box!

That women in America are every where honored and respected, that they can travel alone without the slightest apprehension through the whole country, and that even he who is rough or discourteous in his intercourse with men is modest and civil towards the gentler sex,—is perfectly certain, and is a proof of good morals and praiseworthy self-control. But it also cannot be denied, that certain forms and customs designed to prove this respect, have something in them stiff and unsocial, or even seem to be regarded as a still necessary means of defence. The invariable, externally prescribed, dry distinction always made of the ladies, is quite a different thing from a chivalric, poetical, and varied homage. And even this habit is not consistent: for example, it would be deemed offensive on board a steamboat to sit among the ladies, but not to spit about the path where they have to walk with their long dresses. The smallest girls claim these distinctions as a matter of right; while another duty, which is praised and practised in all other republics, to wit, respect for age, nowhere makes its appearance.

The seclusion of the ladies in parlors by themselves is a custom very inconvenient for travellers. One may live for weeks in

* I frequently saw young girls eat in the morning not only over-cooked meat, but also (what was if possible still more unwholesome) the smoking hot corn-bread covered with melted butter.

the same hotel with twenty or thirty, and never become acquainted with one of them. They eat, drink, read, or play alone; and only their husbands, parents, or children are allowed to penetrate into this seraglio. To seek an acquaintance, or begin a conversation of one's own accord, would at least excite surprise. In a single hour in France, the most motley company will become better acquainted and more intimately associated with each other than in America in many months.

There is no ground for this complaint in company properly so called, where the women exhibit much cordiality, and in their cheerful and intelligent conversation show a cultivation quite equal to that of Europeans. It is true that in the new, as in the old world, time is often wasted and the taste corrupted by the reading of wretched novels; and the mental powers are sometimes so much blunted and enfeebled, that serious works are neither relished nor understood. Otherwise one might suppose that the education of women in America was too masculine and abstruse, when informed that they receive instruction in algebra and politics, technology and logic, &c. These however are only the exceptions; or else the academies are designed for the formation of future teachers. For my own part, I have by no means found that the American ladies made a display of learning: even popular authoresses never paraded their accomplishments; and the only woman, or the only girl with whom I conversed accidentally about philosophy, combined with knowledge and true love of science the most winning feminine grace.

As every where else, so in America, *home and family* form the central point around which the affections and activity of woman revolve. It is talking absurdly and at random, to assert that the women here are all idle and careless, neglect their household affairs and the education of their children, or trifle away all their time at the toilet. This may be true, as in all countries, in individual cases of negligent and spoiled persons; the climate and manner of life may be unfavorable to exertion, and the novel-reading already condemned may be regarded as no better than idleness;—still the mental activity and cultivation often undeniably found, are to be more highly esteemed than mere manual labor. How any one can imagine, or induce others to believe, that in America women in good circumstances thoughtlessly and unfeelingly desert their natural, favorite, and delightful sphere of action as wives and mothers; and that the wives of mechanics, farmers, and laborers sit lazily the whole day long in their rocking-chairs,—is altogether incomprehensible. Equally strange and unjust is the assertion, that in the life of the American man, all is material; while in that of the woman, all is moral:

as if in labor there was no essentially moral element, and no morality in public political life!* Let all have their due!

Although much still remains to be related, I must break off and conclude this last American letter for want of time. I have here seen, heard, and learned, more than in any equal portion of time in my life; so that I regard my journey as fully justified and abundantly rewarded. I shall always remember the United States, in spite of some little drawbacks, with feelings of interest, gratitude, and admiration.

You will understand and feel, that a longing for home, and love for my native country, are perfectly compatible with the sentiments I have expressed. Nevertheless, I distinctly foresee, and am sorry to say it, that in both respects I shall be assailed with loud complaints and bitter reproaches. Yet I cannot let this consideration induce me to timidly conceal what, after diligent investigation, I feel to be the truth, or to color it in conformity with party prejudices.

* Among many toasts offered on public occasions, I will give a few as specimens. "The ladies! the only aristocracy that can be borne. They govern without laws, decide without appeal, and are never in the wrong!"—"The ladies! in happiness and misfortune always valued and dear to us; and without whom life would be a burden!"—"The beauty of a cultivated woman; it is the only tyranny a man should ever submit to!" Not content with these marks of regard, a female traveller complains that the republican Americans are inconsistent in not allowing their women the full exercise of civil rights. But it does not appear that they themselves are very desirous of such an emancipation, or consider their present influence too small.



REMARKS TO APPENDIX I.

1. ALABAMA.—Judges appointed by both houses of the legislature, for 6 years. Compensation 4 dollars per day.
2. ARKANSAS.—Judges appointed by both houses, for from 4 to 8 years. The votes are given publicly.
3. NORTH CAROLINA.—A council of seven persons, elected by both houses for 2 years. The judges are elected in like manner, during good behavior. They meet every 2 years.
4. SOUTH CAROLINA.—All public officers and electors of the president are appointed by both houses.
5. CONNECTICUT.—Judges appointed by both houses, during good behavior.
6. DELAWARE.—Judges appointed by the governor, during good behavior.
7. GEORGIA.—Judges appointed by both houses, for 3 years.
8. NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Councillors of the governor chosen by the electors for 5 years, 30 years of age, 7 years resident, with a property of £500. Judges remain in office during good behavior. The governor has a veto like the president of the United States.
9. NEW JERSEY.—In 1844 a new and more democratic constitution was adopted, from which I could obtain only what I have already given.
10. ILLINOIS.—Judges appointed by both houses, during good behavior.
11. INDIANA.—The different judges are appointed in different ways, mostly for 7 years.
12. KENTUCKY.—Judges appointed by the governor, with the assent of the senate, and during good behavior. Vivâ voce elections, without ballot.
13. LOUISIANA.—Judges appointed by the governor and senate, during good behavior.
14. MAINE.—Councillors of the governor chosen every 7 years by the senators and representatives. The governor has a veto like the president.
15. MARYLAND.—Judges appointed by the governor with concurrence of the senate, during good behavior.
16. MASSACHUSETTS.—Nine councillors elected annually by both houses. Judges appointed by the governor, with advice and assistance of the council, during good behavior.
17. MICHIGAN.—Judges appointed by the governor and senate, for 7 years.
18. MISSISSIPPI.—Judges elected by the people, for from 2 to 6 years.
19. MISSOURI.—Judges elected by the governor and senate, during good behavior. A majority of both houses decides against the governor's veto.
20. OHIO.—Judges elected by both houses, for 7 years. The governor has no veto.
21. PENNSYLVANIA.—Judges appointed by the governor with assent of the senate, for different periods.
22. RHODE ISLAND.—Judges elected by both houses, and removable by a majority of them.
23. TENNESSEE.—Judges chosen by both houses, for from 6 to 12 years.
24. VERMONT.—Judges elected annually by both houses.
25. VIRGINIA.—The higher judges appointed by both houses, during good behavior. The elections are vivâ voce without ballot.
26. NEW YORK.—Judges appointed by the governor, with assent of the senate, during good behavior.

APPENDIX II.—STATISTICS OF MANUFACTURES IN LOWELL.—January 1st, 1844.

Corporations.	Locks and Canals.	Merrimack.	Hamilton.	Appleton.	Lowell.
Incorporated,	1792	1822	1825	1828	1828
Commenced operations,	1822	1823	1825	1828	1828
Capital Stock,	600,000	2,000,000	1,000,000	600,000	600,000
Number of Mills,	2 Shops, Smithy, & Furnace.	5 & Print Works.	3 & Print Works.	2	2, 1 cotton, 1 carpet.
Spindles,		40,384	21,243	11,776	6,000 Cotton, besides Wool. 132 Cotton, 50 power carpet, 40 hand do.
Looms,		1,300	590	400	
Females employed,		1,250	650	340	400
Males employed,	500	550	250	65	200
Yards made per week,		250,000	100,000	100,000	2,500 Car. 150 Rugs, \$5,000
Bales of Cotton used in do.,	1225 tons wro't and cast iron per ann.	130	100	90	110
Pounds of Cotton wro't in do.,		56,000	42,000	36,000	40,000
Yards dyed and printed do.,					
Kind of Goods made,	Machin'y, R R Cars and Engines.	210,000 Pr'ts & Sheet'gs, No. 22 to 40	63,000 Pr'ts, Flau'ls, Sheet'gs &c. No. 14 to 40.	Sheetings & Shirt-ings, 14. 300	Carpets, Rugs & Negro Cl'th.
Tons Anthracite Coal per annum,	15,000 bush. ch'l coal 200 ch'l. smith's coal 400 tons hard coal.	5,000	3,000		500
Cords of Wood per annum,	200	200	500		500
Gallons of Oil per annum,	2,300	13,000	6,500	3,440	Olive, 4,000, Sperm, 4,000
Diameter of Water-wheels,	13 ft.	30 ft.	13 ft.	13 ft.	13 ft.
Length of do. for each mill,	14 ft.	24 ft.	42 ft.	42 ft.	60 ft.
How Warmed,	Hot Air Furnace.	Steam.	Steam & H. A.	Steam.	Hot Air Furnace.

CONTINUED.

Middlesex.	Suffolk.	Trenton.	Lawrence.	Boott.	Massachusetts.	Total.
1830	1830	1830	1830	1835	1839	10,650,000 33, exclusive of Print Works, &c. 201,076
1830	1832	1832	1833-4	1836	1840	
950,000	600,000	600,000	1,500,000	1,200,000	1,200,000	
2	2	2	5	4	4	
2 and 2 Dyehouses.						
7,200	11,776	11,520	32,640	31,524	27,008	
37 Br'dl'th, 122 C'sm.						
550	352	409	950	910	882	6,194
250	340	360	900	780	725	6,295
9,000 Cassim. 1,800	70	70	170	130	160	2,345
Broadcloth.	90,000	115,000	210,000	180,000	260,000	1,425,800
1,000,000 lbs. wool per ann. and 3,000,000 teasles.	90	75	180	145	200	1,120
Broadcloth & Cassim.						
600	32,000	30,000	65,000	59,000	80,000	440,000
	Drillings, 14.	Sheetings & Shirtings, 14.	Print'g Cl'ths Sheet- & Shirt No. 14 to 30	Drillings, 14, Shir'gs. 40. Pr'g Cloth, 40.	Sheetings, 13. Shir'gs, 14. Drillings, 14.	273,000
	300	250	650	750	750	12,500
1,500	70	60	120	70	70	3,290
Lr'd, 15,000 Spm. 5,000	3,500	3,692	8,217	7,100	7,100	67,849
17 & 21 ft.	63 ft.	13 ft.	17 ft.	17 ft.	17 ft.	
23 & 21 ft.	42 ft.	42 ft.	60 ft.	60 ft.	60 ft.	
Furn. & Steam.	Steam.	Steam.	Steam.	Steam & H. A.	Steam.	

Yards of Cloth per annum.....	74,141,600
Pounds of Cotton consumed.....	22,880,000
Assuming half to be Upland and half New Orleans and Alabama, the consumption in bales, 361 lbs. each, is.....	58,240

A pound of Cotton averages $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards.

100 lbs. Cotton will produce 89 lbs. Cloth.

Average wages of Females, clear of board, per week.....\$1.75

Average wages of Males, clear of board, per day.....70c.

Medium produce of a Loom, No. 14 yarn, yds. per day.....44 to 45

Medium produce of a Loom, No. 30 yarn, yds. per day.....30

Average per Spindle, yards per day..... $1\frac{1}{10}$

Average amount of wages paid per month.....\$150,000

Consumption of Starch per annum (lbs.).....800,000

Consumption of Flour for Starch in Mills, Print Works, and Bleachery, bbls. per annum.....4,000

Consumption of Charcoal, bushels per annum.....600,000

The Locks and Canals Machine Shop, included among the 33 Mills, can furnish Machinery complete for a Mill of 5000 Spindles in four months; and lumber and materials are always at command, with which to build or rebuild a Mill in that time, if required. When building Mills, the Locks and Canals Company employ directly or indirectly from 1000 to 1200 hands.

To the above-named principal establishments may be added, the Lowell Water-Proofing, connected with the Middlesex Manufacturing Company; the extensive Powder Mills of O. M. Whipple, Esq.; the Lowell Bleachery, with a capital of \$50,000; Flannel Mill; Blanket Mill; Batting mill; Paper Mill; Card and Whip Factory; Planing Machine; Reed Machine; Foundry; Grist and Saw Mills—together employing about 500 hands and a capital of \$500,000.

With regard to the health of persons employed in the mills, six of the females out of ten enjoy better health than before entering the mills; and of the males one-half derive the same advantage. In their moral condition and character, they are not inferior to any portion of the community.

A very considerable portion of the wages of the operatives is deposited in the Lowell Institution for Savings.

APPENDIX III.

PLAN OF RECITATIONS AND LECTURES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

Years.	<i>Times of Recitations and Lectures.</i>	AUTUMN TERM, <i>Ending on the first Wednesday of December.</i>		
		September.	October.	November.
I.	Morning, 5—7.	Algebra.	Algebra.	Algebra.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Greek Forms.	Greek Syntax.	Greek Syntax.
	Afternoon, at 4.	Herodotus.	Herodotus.	Herodotus.
II.	Morning, 6 per week.	Trigonometry.	Trigonometry.	Conic Sections.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Chronology. History.	History.	History. Heat.
	Afternoon, 4 per week.	Odyssey.	Odyssey.	Odyssey.
III.	Morning.	Horace.	Horace.	Thucydides.
	11 o'clock A. M.	Chemistry.	Chemistry.	English Literature.
	Afternoon.	Statics.	Statics.	Statics. Dynamics.
IV.	Morning.	Physiology.	Psychology.	Psychology.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Anatomy. Physiology.	Central Forces.	Chemistry.
	Afternoon.	Chrystallography.	Mathematics.	Mathematics. Astronomy.
Years.	<i>Times of Recitations and Lectures.</i>	SPRING TERM, <i>Ending on the second Wednesday of May.</i>		
		February.	March.	April.
I.	Morning, 5—7.	Livy.	Livy.	Livy. Tacitus.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Roman Antiquities.	Algebra. English Grammar.	Principles of Gen- eral Grammar.
	Afternoon, at 4.	Algebra.	Geometry.	Geometry.
II.	Morning, 6 per week.	Quintilian.	Surveying. Navigation.	Navigation. Projection.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	French.	French.	French.
	Afternoon. 4 per week.	Analytical Geometry.	Quintilian.	Greek Orators.
III.	Morning.	Dynamics.	Thucydides. Latin Drama.	Greek Drama.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Experimental Electricity.	Zoology. Natural Philosophy.	Natural Philosophy.
	Afternoon.	Thucydides.	Hydrostatics. Hydrodynamics.	Electricity. Hydrodynamics.
IV.	Morning.	Science of Logic.	Metaphysics.	Metaphysics.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Natural History.	Astronomy.	Astronomy.
	Afternoon.	Science of Logic.	Plato.	Plato.

Years.	Times of Recitations and Lectures.	SUMMER TERM, Ending on the first Wednesday of August.		
		May.	June.	July.
I.	Morning, 5—7	Tacitus.	Tacitus.	Tacitus.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Practical Logic and Rhetoric.	Practical Logic and Rhetoric.	Practical Logic and Rhetoric.
	Afternoon, at 4.	Geometry.	Geometry.	Geometry.
II.	Morning, 6 per week.	Nautical Astronomy. Calculus.	Calculus.	Calculus.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Mineralogy, Botany.	Botany. Practical Surveying.	Practical Surveying and Levelling.
	Afternoon, 4 per week.	Greek Orators.	Greek Orators.	Horace.
III.	Morning.	Greek Drama.	Greek Drama.	Greek Drama.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Botany. Galvanism.	Galvanism. Electro-Magnetism.	Latin or Greek Literature.
	Afternoon.	Electricity. Magnetism.	Optics.	Optics.
IV.	Morning.	Moral Philosophy.	Principles of Government.	Evid. of Nat'l & Reveal'd Religion.
	11 o'clock, A. M.	Cicero de Officiis.	Princip's of Rhetoric and Fine Arts.	Princip's of Rhetoric and Fine Arts.
	Afternoon.	Metaphysics.	Political Economy.	Evid. of Nat'l & Reveal'd Religion.

English Compositions or Translations once in two weeks, and Declamation, by divisions, weekly, through the first two years. Every recitation from 1 to 1½ hours English Compositions and Original Declamations weekly, through the last two years.

University of Vermont, October 1, 1843.

APPENDIX IV.—PLAN OF RECITATIONS IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Tabular View of the Exercises during the First Term. 1844-5.

Class.	8-9.	9-10.	10-11.	11-12.	12-1.	1-2.	3-4.	4-5.	5-6.
Monday. { Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Rhetoric.</i> Latin & Gr. <i>Philosophy.</i>	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>Rhetoric.</i> Latin & Gr. <i>Philosophy.</i>	Modern <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Rhetor. Lect.*</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Languages. <i>Philosophy.</i> Latin.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> { Mod. Lit.* Mod. Lit.*	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Physics.	Modern Modern	Modern Languages. Languages.	
Tuesday. { Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>History.</i> Physics. <i>Philosophy.</i>	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>History.</i> Physics. <i>Philosophy.</i>	Mathem. <i>Philosophy.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> Latin.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Latin & Gr. Mathem. Mathem.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> { <i>Physics.*</i> <i>Physics.*</i>		<i>Rumf. Lect.*</i>	
Wedn'y. { Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Rhetoric.</i> Latin & Gr. <i>Philosophy.</i>	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>Rhetoric.</i> Latin & Gr. <i>Philosophy.</i>	Modern <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Declamation.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Languages. <i>Philosophy.</i> Latin.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Mathem. { Mod. Lit.* Mod. Lit.*	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Mathem. Greek.	Modern Modern Modern	Modern Languages. Languages.	
Thurs'y. { Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>History.</i> Physics.	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>History.</i> Physics. <i>History.*</i>	Mathem. <i>History.*</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Mathem. Greek.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Latin & Gr. Philosophy. Mathem.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Latin & Gr. Physics.	<i>Themes</i> <i>Themes</i> <i>and</i> <i>and</i>	<i>Forensics.</i> <i>Forensics.</i>	
Friday. { Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Rhetoric.</i> Latin & Gr. <i>Philosophy.</i>	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>Rhetoric.</i> Latin & Gr. <i>Philosophy.</i>	Modern <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Rhetor. Lect.*</i>	Languages. <i>Declamation.</i> Greek.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Latin & Gr. <i>History.*</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> Latin & Gr. Physics.	Modern Modern Mod. Lang.	Modern Languages. Languages. <i>Rumf. Lect.*</i> Mod. Lang.	
Saturday. { Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Them. & Dec.</i> Physics. <i>Philosophy.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Them. & Dec.</i> Physics. <i>Philosophy.</i>							

The prescribed studies are printed in Italics. The rest are the only elective studies allowed. * By Lectures.
April 15, 1844.

Tabular View of the Exercises during the Second Term. 1844-5.

<i>Class.</i>	8-9.	9-10.	10-11.	11-12.	12-1.	1-2.	3-4.	4-5.	5-6.
Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Logic.</i> <i>Pol. Econ. &</i>	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>Logic.</i> <i>Const. Law.</i>	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Declamation.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Mathem.</i> <i>Latin.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Mod. Lang.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Mod.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i>	<i>Modern</i> <i>Modern</i>	<i>Nat. Hist.</i> <i>Modern</i> <i>Languages.</i>	<i>Nat. Hist.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Anatomy.</i>
Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Physic.</i> <i>Pol. Econ. &</i>	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Physic.</i> <i>Const. Law.</i>	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Physic.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Mathem.</i> <i>Latin.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Mathem.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i>	<i>History.</i>	<i>History.</i>	<i>Botany.*</i> <i>Botany.*</i> <i>Botany.*</i>
Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Logic.</i> <i>Pol. Econ. &</i>	<i>Logic.</i> <i>Const. Law.</i>	<i>Chemistry.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Greek.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Latin.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Mod. Lang.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Mod.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i>	<i>Modern</i> <i>Modern.</i>	<i>Nat. Hist.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Anatomy.*</i> <i>Min. & Geog.</i>	<i>Nat. Hist.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Anatomy.*</i> <i>Min. & Geog.</i>
Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Physic.</i>	<i>Mathem.</i> <i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Physic.</i>	<i>Chemistry.</i> <i>Mathem.</i> <i>Greek.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Philosophy.</i> <i>Mathem.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Mathem.</i> <i>Physic.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Physic.*</i> <i>Physic.*</i>	<i>History.</i> <i>Them. & For.</i> <i>Them. & For.</i>	<i>History.</i> <i>Them. & For.</i> <i>Them. & For.</i>	<i>Botany.*</i> <i>Botany.*</i> <i>Botany.*</i>
Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Logic.</i> <i>Pol. Econ. &</i>	<i>History.</i> <i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Logic.</i> <i>Const. Law.</i>	<i>History.</i> <i>Declamation.</i> <i>Greek.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Physic.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Mod. Lang.</i>	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Physic.*</i> <i>Physic.*</i>	<i>Modern</i> <i>Modern.</i>	<i>Nat. Hist.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Languages.</i>	<i>Nat. Hist.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Lan guages.</i> <i>Anatomy.</i> <i>Min. & Geog.</i>
Freshmen. Sophomores. Juniors. Seniors.	<i>Latin & Gr.</i> <i>Them. & Decl.</i> <i>Physic.</i> <i>Pol. Econ. &</i>	<i>Latin or Gr.</i> <i>Them. & Decl.</i> <i>Physic.</i> <i>Const. Law.</i>							

Time occupied each week, by each Student, in Recitation in required Studies.

FIRST TERM.

FRESHMEN.

Recitations,	{ Mathematics	5h.	
	{ Greek	6	
	{ Latin	6=17h.	

No elective studies allowed.

SOPHOMORES.

Recitations,	{ Rhetoric	3h.	} 1=6h. { Leaving for Recitation in Elective Studies.....12 hours.
	{ History	2	
	{ Themes, or		
	{ Declamation		

JUNIORS.

Recitations,	{ Philosophy	3h.	}
	{ Physics	3	
	{ Themes, or	1	
	{ Forensics		
	{ Declamation	1=8h.	

Lectures,	{ Physics	1h.	}
	{ Modern	2	
	{ Literature		
	{ History	2=2½	

10½h. { Leaving for Recitation in
Elective Studies.....7½ hours.

SENIORS.

Recitations,	{ Philosophy	5h.	}
	{ Rhetoric	2	
	{ Themes, or	1	
	{ Forensics		
	{ Declamation	1=9h.	

Recitations,	{ History	2	}
	{ Physics	1	
	{ Application		
	{ of Science to	2	
	{ the Arts		
	{ Modern		

2=3½

11½h. { Leaving for Recitation in
Elective Studies.....5½ hours.

SECOND TERM.

FRESHMEN.

Recitations,	{ Mathematics	3h.	
	{ Greek	6	
	{ Latin	6	
	{ Nat. History	2	
	{ History.	3=20h.	

No elective studies allowed.

SOPHOMORES.

Recitations,	Chemistry	3h.	{	Leaving for Recitation in Elective Studies.....11 hours.		
	Philosophy	3				
	Themes, or	1=7h.				
	Declamation					

JUNIORS.

<i>Recitations,</i>	{	<i>Logic</i>	3h.	
		<i>Physics</i>	3	
		<i>Themes, or</i>	1	
		<i>Forensics</i>		
		<i>Declamation</i>			1=8h.
<i>Lectures,</i>	{	<i>Physics</i>	2	
		<i>Botany</i>	2=2	
			10h.	
				{ Leaving for Recitation in
				Elective Studies 8 hours.

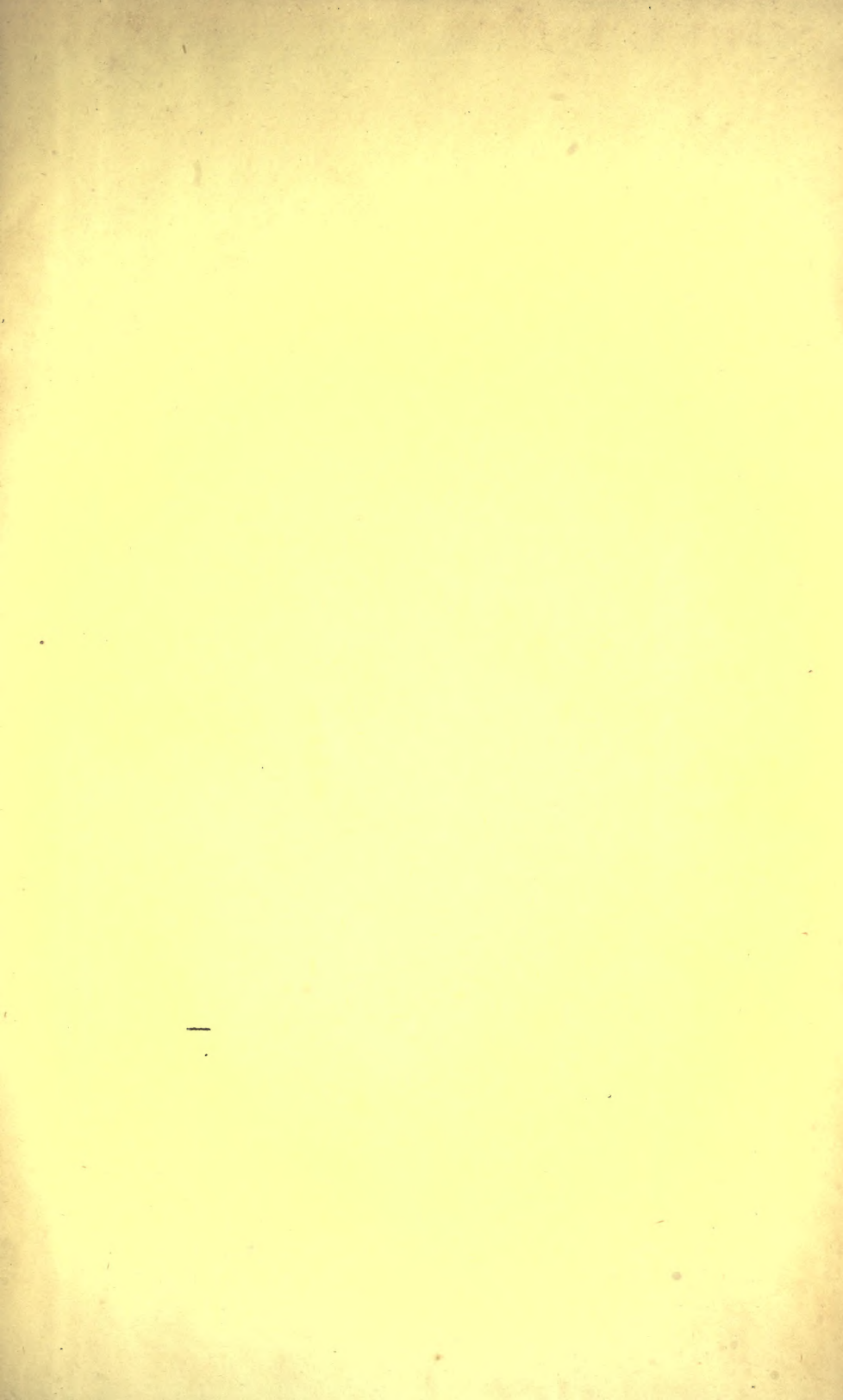
SENIORS.

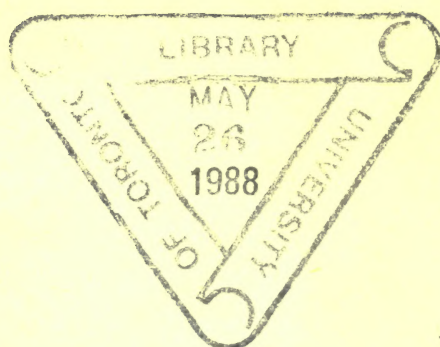
<i>Recitations,</i>	<i>Polit. Econ.</i>	5h.	{			
	<i>Declamation</i>	1				
	<i>Themes, or</i>	1=7h.				
	<i>Forensics</i>					
<i>Lectures,</i>	<i>Anatomy</i>	3	{	Leaving for Recitation in Elective Studies.....7½ hours.		
	<i>Physics</i>	2				
	<i>Botany</i>	2=3½				
		10½h.				

THE END.









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CAT. D. SLIP

AUTHOR:

DONOR

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RAUMER, Frederi

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tr. by W. W. J

SERIES

PLACE, PUBLISHER, DATE

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date 1968
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BDG. INSTRUCTIONS

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